JAPAN
BY THE JAPANESE

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Some Press Opinions.

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LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN, 21 BEDFORD STREET,

JAPAN BY THE JAPANESE

A Survey by its Highest Authorities

EDITED BY

ALFRED STEAD

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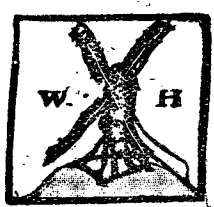

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1904

JAC
915.R
Ste/Jap
87228

First Edition, August, 1904
Second Impression, October, 1904
Third Impression, December, 1904

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THIS BOOK

IS DEDICATED

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TO

HIS MAJESTY

THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

PREFACE

In the history of the world there has been no such wonderful development in so short a space of time as that of Japan. Less than forty years ago she was a nation at the mercy of the great Powers of the world, who on more than one occasion took advantage of her weakness. The intense patriotism of the Japanese people and the far-sighted direction of the Emperor and his statesmen have enabled Japan to reach a point in international affairs where she is predominant in Eastern Asia, and strong enough to have a voice of no mean weight in the councils of the world. And how has this change come about? The prime factor in the change has always been the necessity of keeping Japan for the Japanese. It was wisely recognised that to do this in the most thorough way it was essential that the Japanese people should be able to meet the foreigners on their own ground and surpass them. This system of universal excellence and efficiency has been carried out with the most absolute thoroughness, until to-day we see in Japan a country with a smaller foreign population than any other great nation, and one which has worked out its salvation by its own hands, not, however, disdaining the ripe fruits of experience in other lands. These methods of selection, which were followed by rapid and complete assimilation, until the country was furnished with an almost perfect organization in every department, have produced the present-day Japan. But this they could never have done had there not been already in existence a wonderful national civilization, which enabled Japan to adopt systems *en bloc* instead of obscure details. Japan has the advantage that her people can think as thoroughly as do the Orientals, and act on the result of her thoughts as decisively as do the Occidentals. To no other race in the world, as far as can be seen at the present moment,

have both these gifts been given. And therefore it may be safely said that the future of this remarkable nation, equipped with every element of perfection, pulsating with loyalty and patriotism, and thorough in every detail, cannot fail to be brilliant. Just what it is that Japan will accomplish nobody who is not of Japanese blood can foretell. But that her emergence as a great nation, recognised by the world, marks an epoch in the world's history there can be no doubt. Those who fear yellow peril, with Japan as the motive-power of a united Asia, only afford a proof of how little is known of the Japanese and their national feelings. If a united Asia is so dread an apparition and one to be expected so speedily, it must mean that totally diverse nations, varying in religion, race, and ideas can amalgamate into one perfect whole—an idea which the present state of Europe would seem to disprove. If it has been impossible in all these years to take even one step forwards towards the union of the European States, why should it be imagined that the whole continent of Asia, with its millions of people, with its illimitable distances and deserts, can become as one nation? There need be no fear that Asia will unite; but there is a fear that the European nations lacking the thoroughness of their new sister will find in Japan a serious rival to their arrogant claims to direct the internal affairs of other nations. Japan's future lies along commercial and industrial lines, but the exigencies of Western civilization demand that her fleet and her army shall attain a certain superiority, in order that she shall be ranked as a nation on an equality with the Christian white races. But the ambitions of Japan are peaceful ambitions, and look to the development of markets and the employing of her ever-increasing population as the true secrets of *greatness*. War without commerce is recognised by the Japanese to be no true means of national greatness. Battles and campaigns on land and sea may be used as the opening wedges, but it is the industry and commerce ready to follow in the wake of the war that enable the benefits to be reaped. To be 'the England of the Orient' has often been said to be Japan's ambition. This seems to be always taken to mean that Japan desires naval greatness, to be able to wage wars in all quarters of the globe, and obtain great colonies. But is not that a sad commentary upon our own estimation of our country's greatness? Is it not

even more likely that, in seeking to be a second England, Japan wishes to emulate the industries, the commerce of our country, and not the wars, which have too often retarded the national development and impoverished our people.

Be Japan's ambitions what they may, it is undoubtedly the Japanese who will have everything to say in directing the national policy, and therefore it is of more than mere interest—it is of vital importance—that the opinions of the men at the head of the Japanese State and business enterprises should be known to the world. It is, as I have said before, most difficult for any foreigner to speak authoritatively of Japan. I may have some little knowledge and some little understanding of the Japanese people, but I certainly could not write authoritatively on Japan. I may have succeeded in acquiring a certain amount of Japanese atmosphere, and a deep sympathy may enable me to see many things and understand many things Japanese which others do not. But for that very reason, I know better than anyone else how absurd it would be for me or any European to write such a book on Japan as this. As all the world knows, there are thousands of books on Japan; it was at one time the fashion for every chance visitor to write a book. Some of these books are favourable, some are unfavourable, to Japan. Some few are excellent, the majority are inaccurate and misleading. How many people in the past, and even now, form their opinions of Japan upon Pièrre Loti's 'Madame Chrysanthème,' and similar books, without pausing to consider that the writers had deliberately placed themselves beyond the possibility of seeing real Japanese life. What would be said of a Frenchman who should come to England to live, as Pièrre Loti did in Japan, and then write a book, delightful and attractive in style, of his experiences? 'Madame Chrysanthème' and such books are extreme cases, but the fact remains that the hundreds of books which exist do little to dispel the ignorance which exists in the outside world concerning Japan. At best they are only critical works from the outside. In the absence of authoritative writings, however, they have usurped the position of authorities. This was inevitable. The Japanese were so busy making Japan a great State that they had no time to write books. Also, doubtless, the butterfly books of the chance traveller were more to the

taste of the public. Japan was the land of artists and quaint peoples; the public at home did not want to learn that Japan was a nation like unto themselves—with improvements. But years have brought changes, and now the world can no longer ignore the serious side of Japan.

It was with a knowledge of this need, and the impossibility of any foreigner to supply it, that I conceived the idea of inducing the Japanese to do it themselves. I went to Japan for this purpose, and suggested to several of their leading men that they should undertake the production of an authoritative account of their country for the information of the outside world. The idea was taken up with enthusiasm, and at a gathering in Tokyo I was honoured by being requested to undertake the collecting, editing, and arranging of the work. I mention this because I feel that I owe the readers of this book some explanation as to why the name of a non-Japanese appears in a book, which, as its very title makes clear, is written by the Japanese. The difficulties of collecting the materials for such a book were not small, and much time had to be spent in the work. The war and the necessary preparations for the war prevented some of the contributions arriving, and changes were made necessary in others. At best the book must be considered as a trial essay, to be improved and enlarged later. Nobody can be more aware of its omissions, its faults, than myself, to whom, indeed, to a certain extent many of them are due. But, as it stands, I venture to claim that it is a unique work of great interest. To have secured the record of a country's progress written by the men who are now guiding her destinies is no small thing, and in no other great country would it have been possible. Some of the statesmen who responded to my appeal for special contributions have selected their most important public utterances for inclusion in the book. This they have done because they felt that in these deliverances they had expressed their views on vital national questions so thoroughly that to write on them again would only entail repetition.

The confidence which has been placed by the leading men of Japan in what I have thus tried to do for their country has received its crown by the gracious permission accorded to me by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan to dedicate the book to him. Just how much Japan owes to the guiding rule

of her most able and far-sighted monarch can never be measured in words. Some idea may be gained from the series of Imperial edicts, speeches, and proclamations with which the book begins. They are landmarks in the history of the progress of Japan since the accession of the present Emperor to the throne, which enable us to understand more clearly than before the way in which His Majesty has guided his nation to success. I can only record here my admiration for his achievements and my gratitude for his consideration. All my efforts to compile the book would have been in vain had it not been for the active and unceasing co-operation of many of my Japanese friends. Principal among these I must mention Mr. Sakatani, Baron Sannomiya, Baron Suyematsu, Baron Shibusawa, Mr. Yamazaki and Mr. Kodama of the Finance Department, and the Hon. K. Tsudzuki. My thanks can only repay in very small degree their many kindnesses, and I trust that the benefit to Japan resulting from the publication of the book in the way of spreading information may be a more adequate recompense to them and to all those who have contributed to the work. This book represents much toil, much time, and much effort cheerfully spent by all for the sake of Japan. I am proud to have been associated with this patriotic work of those whom I am happy in being able to call my friends. Believing as I do that a few years will show Japan to be one of the greatest of the great nations of the world, I am glad to have thus been able to assist towards establishing a better and fuller understanding of the country and of its people.

ALFRED STEAD.

LONDON,
June 7, 1904.

THE MEIJI ERA

	A.D.
1st year Meiji	1868
2nd ,, ...	1869
3rd ,, ...	1870
4th ,, ...	1871
5th ,, ...	1872
6th ,, ...	1873
7th ,, ...	1874
8th ,, ...	1875
9th ,, ...	1876
10th ,, ...	1877
11th ,, ...	1878
12th ,, ...	1879
13th ,, ...	1880
14th ,, ...	1881
15th ,, ...	1882
16th ,, ...	1883
17th ,, ...	1884
18th ,, ...	1885
19th ,, ...	1886

	A.D.
20th year Meiji	1887
21st ,, ...	1888
22nd ,, ...	1889
23rd ,, ...	1890
24th ,, ...	1891
25th ,, ...	1892
26th ,, ...	1893
27th ,, ...	1894
28th ,, ...	1895
29th ,, ...	1896
30th ,, ...	1897
31st ,, ...	1898
32nd ,, ...	1899
33rd ,, ...	1900
34th ,, ...	1901
35th ,, ...	1902
36th ,, ...	1903
37th ,, ...	1904

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The *Kin* or the *Catty* = 160 *momme* ... ... = 1·32277 lb. avoirdupois.
,, *Picul* = 100 *kin* or 100 *catties* ... ... = 132·277 lb. avoirdupois.
,, *Kwan* = 1,000 *momme* ... ... = 8·281 lbs.
,, *Shaku* ... ... = ·994 foot.
,, *Sun* ... ... = 1·193 inches.
,, *Ken* = 6 *shaku* ... ... = 5·965 feet.
,, *Chō* = 60 *ken* ... ... = $\frac{1}{18}$ mile, 5·4229 chains.
,, *Ri* = 36 *chō* ... ... = 2·44 miles.
,, *Ri* sq. ... ... = 5·9552 sq. miles.
,, *Chō*, land measure ... ... = 2·45 acres.
,, *Koku*, liquid ... ... = 39·7033 gallons.
,, ,, dry ... ... = 4·9629 bushels.
,, *To*, liquid ... ... = 3·9703 gallons.
,, ,, dry ... ... = 1·9851 pecks.

1 metre = 3·3 *shaku*.
1 gramme = 0·26667 *momme* ($\frac{4}{15}$ *momme*).

The *Yen* = 100 *sen* = 1000 *rin* = 2 shillings 0·582075 pence.
,, *Sen* ... ... = 0·2458208 pence.
,, *Rin* ... ... = 0·0245821 pence.

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CHAPTER I

THE EMPEROR: IMPORTANT IMPERIAL EDICTS AND RESCRIPTS*

IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION ON THE OPENING OF INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE (JANUARY 1, 1868).

RELATIONS with foreign countries being of the greatest importance, the late Emperor was long concerned about its establishment. The mistaken policy pursued by the Shogun Government had misled public opinion as to this question, with the result of the present confusion. Now that the changed condition of the country urges Us to leave such a policy of seclusion, We do hereby make proclamation that henceforth international intercourse upon the basis of international rules is opened, and both Government and governed shall unite to achieve this Our intention.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON THE RESTORATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POWER TO THE EMPEROR (JANUARY 15, 1868).

We hereby proclaim to the Sovereigns and subjects of all foreign countries, that the Shogun Tokugawa Keiki has abdicated his administrative power, and henceforth all administration will be carried out under Our direct control, and all public affairs will be executed under the name of Emperor, instead of Taikun, as it has been hitherto. Further, special officials will be appointed for intercourse with foreign countries. Ambassadors of foreign countries, do observe well this Our will.

IMPERIAL OATH ON THE FIVE PRINCIPLES (MARCH 14, 1868).

1. Public meetings shall be organized, and administrative affairs shall be decided by general deliberation.

2. Governors and governed alike shall devote themselves to the good of the nation.

* The most important pronouncements of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor have been chosen in this chapter. They form a progressive commentary upon the growth of new Japan, and throw light upon what must always be the most powerful influence in the nation.

3. All the civil or military officials shall endeavour to encourage individual industries in all classes, and to call forth their active characteristics.

4. The defective customs hitherto prevailing shall be corrected.

5. Useful knowledge shall be introduced from the outside world, and thus the foundations of the empire shall be aggrandized.

ADDRESS BY WAY OF PREFACE TO THE CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF THE DELIBERATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES (MAY 2, 1874).

In accordance with the meaning of the oath taken by Us at the commencement of Our reign, and as a gradual development of its policy, We are convening an Assembly of representatives of the whole nation, so as to ordain laws by help of public discussion, thus opening up the way of harmony between the Government and the governed, and of the accomplishment of the national desires; and We trust, by insuring to each subject throughout the nation an opportunity of peacefully pursuing his avocation, to awaken them to a sense of the importance of matters of State. We have therefore issued this constitution of a Deliberative Assembly, providing for the convening of the chief officials of the different local jurisdictions, and for their meeting and deliberating as representatives of the people. Observe it well, members of the Assembly.

IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION ON ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM (APRIL 14, 1875).

At the time of Our ascending the Throne, when We became the head of affairs, We summoned together the whole of Our servants, and on five several points took oath before heaven. We determined the welfare of the country, and sought after the means whereby to insure the peace and tranquillity of the people. By the favour of the spirits of Our ancestors, and also by the exertion of Our servants, We have happily attained the slight degree of tranquillity of the present day. But, upon consideration, We find that Our assumption of power dates from no far-distant period, and that, as regards the pacification of the interior of Our country, there are by no means few matters that have to be set on foot or newly regulated. Wherefore We, now extending the spirit of Our oath, do hereby found the Genro-in, and thereby extend the fountain-head of the establishment of laws; and create the Daisin-in, and thereby render firm the powers of careful judicial procedure: We likewise call together the local officials, causing them to state the opinions of the people, plan the public welfare, and by degrees

set on foot a well-founded political fabric for Our country and homes, We being desirous that each and every one should partake of its benefits.

Do you, then, abstain from becoming accustomed to old customs; beware likewise of paying little heed to your advancing steps, or of being slow to act.

Give, then, due attention to Our words.

Imperial Address on the Occasion of the Approaching Opening of the Assembly of Provincial Authorities (May 20, 1875).

In accordance with the oath We took upon ascending Our Imperial Throne, We now summon to their deliberations the representatives of Our subjects. It is Our wish that they should amply discuss and determine upon such new measures as may be thought necessary for the welfare of the people, and thus facilitate the administration of Our domestic concerns; and, further, that the Government and the governed may be of one mind, and that the voice of the latter may thus find access to Ourselves.

It is hoped that all men may feel a due sense of the duties they owe to the State, and that the chief magistrates of the cities and provinces will maturely consider and well weigh such projects as may be submitted to them for promoting the welfare and advancement of Our Empire.

Imperial Address on the Opening of the Genro-in (July 5, 1875).

Some short time since We issued Our proclamation ordering the institution of the Genro-in, with a view to the better enactment of laws for this realm. For this purpose you have been nominated Gikuan, and We confide in your wisdom and discretion for the due execution of the important functions of your high office, which, if conscientiously discharged, cannot fail to redound to the happiness and well-being of Our subjects.

Understand Our object, therefore, and aid Us.

Imperial Message on the Drafting of the Constitutional Law (September 6, 1876).

It is Our wish to consider extensively the laws of all foreign countries with reference to Our national Constitution, and thereby to determine Our constitutional law. Do you, therefore, prepare a draft for this purpose and submit it to Us. We will then make Our choice.

IMPERIAL DECREE AS TO THE TIME IN WHICH A PARLIAMENT IS TO BE ESTABLISHED (OCTOBER 12, 1881).

We, sitting on the Throne which has been occupied by Our dynasty for over 2,500 years, and now exercising, in Our own name and right, all the authority and power transmitted to Us by Our ancestors, have long had it in view to establish gradually a constitutional form of Government, to the end that Our descendants on the Throne may be provided with a rule for their guidance.

It was with this object in view that, in the 8th year of Meiji, We established the Senate, and in the 11th year of Meiji authorized the formation of Local Assemblies, thus laying the foundations for the general reforms which We contemplate. These Our acts must convince you, Our subjects, of Our determination in this respect from the beginning.

Systems of government differ in different countries, but sudden and unusual changes cannot be made without great inconvenience.

Our ancestors in heaven watch Our acts, and We recognise Our responsibility to them for the faithful discharge of Our high duties, in accordance with the principles and the perpetual increase of glory they have bequeathed to Us.

We therefore hereby declare that We shall, in the 23rd year of Meiji (1890) establish a Parliament in order to carry into full effect the determination We have announced; and We charge Our faithful subjects bearing Our commissions to make in the meantime all necessary preparations to that end.

With regard to the limitations upon the Imperial prerogative, and the constitution of the Parliament We shall decide hereafter, and shall make proclamation in due time.

We perceive that the tendency of Our people is to advance too rapidly, and without that thought and consideration which alone can make progress enduring; and We warn Our subjects, high and low, to be mindful of Our will, and that those who may advocate sudden and violent changes, disturbing the peace of Our realm, will fall under Our displeasure.

IMPERIAL ADDRESS ON THE REORGANIZATION OF THE CABINET (DECEMBER 23, 1885).

In Our opinion the essence of government lies in the establishment of a sound system of administration, and in the wise use of opportunities. Similarly, what is essential to a Cabinet is that it should have direct control in all matters of State, and that its action should be uniform and expeditious.

In the present reconstruction (of the State), Ministers of

State have been appointed to various posts of high responsibility, and a Prime Minister has been appointed to preside over them. In this way the evils of obstruction caused by the circuitous methods of business under which, heretofore, action has been fettered by tedious routine, owing to the subordination of the various public departments to the Council of State, will be removed.

It is Our intention to put an end to the confusion by clearly defining the controlling authority in each department of State; to remove obstruction by abolishing the circuitous methods which have created it; to invite genius by careful selection; to proceed with urgent works by economizing expenditure; to promote efficiency in the public service by the strict enforcement of disciplinary measures, and by these means gradually to reorganize the whole administration. This, Ministers of State, is what We ask of you. The Government of the Restoration cannot be allowed to advance at one moment and to fall back at another. Discard pretence, make reality your aim at all things, both great and small, and thus insure the continued maintenance of the present form of Government.

Ministers, bear in mind these Our wishes in the performance of your duties.

Imperial Rescript on National Education (October 30, 1890).

The Founder of Our Imperial House and Our other Imperial ancestors laid the foundations of Our Empire on a grand and everlasting basis, and deeply implanted the virtues to be ever cherished.

The goodness of Our subjects, displayed generation after generation in loyalty and piety, and in harmonious co-operation, contributes to the lasting character of Our country. These form the fundamental principles of education for Our subjects: Be filial to your relations, as husbands and wives, and faithful to your friends; let your conduct be courteous and frugal, and love others as yourselves; attend to your studies and practise your respective callings; cultivate your intellectual faculties and train your moral feelings; foster the public weal and promote the interests of society; ever render strict obedience to the Constitution and to all the laws of Our Empire; display your public spirit and your courage, and thereby give Us your support in promoting and maintaining the honour and the prosperity of Our Empire, which is coeval with the heavens and the earth.

Such conduct on your part will not only be what is fitting in Our good and loyal subjects, but will also suffice to make

manifest the customs and manners bequeathed to you by your ancestors.

These instructions, bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial ancestors to indicate a course of conduct which We and Our subjects are bound to pursue, have been of unfailing validity in all ages past, as in the present, and in all countries whatever. Consequently, We trust that neither We nor Our subjects shall at any time fail to observe faithfully these sacred principles.

Imperial Address on the Promulgation of the Constitution (February 11, 1889).

Whereas We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, by the virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

The Imperial Founder of Our House, and Our other Imperial ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our subjects, laid the foundation of Our Imperial Empire on a foundation which is to last for ever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country is due to the glorious virtues of Our sacred Imperial ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country, and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with all Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously co-operating together, they will share with Us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country at home and abroad, and of securing for ever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial ancestors.

Imperial Proclamation on the Constitution of the Empire (February 11, 1889).

Having by virtue of the glories of Our ancestors ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal, desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to, the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our ancestors; hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial rescript of the 14th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State to exhibit the

principles by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are for ever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants; neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby given and granted.

We now declare that We will protect and respect the security of the rights and of the prosperity of Our people, and secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law.

The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23rd year of Meiji, and the time of its opening shall be the date when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume Our right of initiative, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no other wise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall for ever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

Imperial Oath at the Sanctuary of the Imperial Palace (February 11, 1889).

We, the successors to the prosperous Throne of Our predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of our House and to Our other Imperial ancestors, that, in pursuance of a great policy coextensive with the heavens and with earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs, and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provisions of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of action in giving Us their support, and that the

observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time.

We will thereby give greater firmness to the stability of Our country, and promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of our dominions; and We now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These laws are really only an exposition of the grand precepts for the conduct of the government bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial ancestors. That We have been so fortunate in Our reign in keeping up with the tendency of the times as to accomplish this work We owe to the glorious spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of their sacred spirits, and make to them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the laws hereby established.

May the heavenly spirits witness this Our solemn oath!

Imperial Address to the Assembled Diet on its First Opening (November 29, 1890).

We announce to the members of the House of Peers, and to those of the House of Representatives:

That all institutions relating to internal administration, established during the period of twenty years since Our accession to the Throne, have been brought to a state approaching completion and regular arrangement. By the efficacy of the virtues of Our ancestors, and in concert with yourselves, We hope to continue and extend those measures, to reap good fruits from the working of the Constitution, and thereby to manifest, both at home and abroad, the glory of Our country and the loyal and enterprising character of Our people.

We have always cherished a resolve to maintain friendly relations with other countries, to develop commerce, and to extend the prestige of Our land. Happily, Our relations with all the treaty Powers are on a footing of constantly growing amity and intimacy.

In order to preserve tranquillity at home and security abroad, it is essential that the completion of Our naval and military defences should be made the object for gradual attainment, We shall direct Our Minister of State to submit to the Diet the Budget for the 24th year of Meiji, and certain projects of laws. We expect that you will deliberate and advise upon them with impartiality and discretion, and We trust that you will establish such precedents as may serve for future guidance.

IMPERIAL MESSAGE ON THE SUPPLEMENTARY FUND FOR THE BUILDING OF MEN-OF-WAR (FEBRUARY 10, 1893).

In the earliest beginnings of the Empire the Sovereign pledged himself to administer the affairs of State not only within the home borders, but also beyond the seas.

During the twenty and odd years which have elapsed since We assumed the reins of government, the feudal policy has been abolished and replaced by a government of progress, and, having regard to the conditions existing in the outer world, We have entered the route of international intercourse; but each and every part of the executive body has been framed on the lines bequeathed Us by Our ancestors, no object being contemplated other than to promote the welfare of Our subjects and to further the prosperity of the State.

We established the Diet, trusting that thus by the multitude of counsellors the cardinal work of the nation would be facilitated. The Constitution is now in the earliest stages of its operation. Circumspection is essential in the beginning, so that the achievement may be assured in the end. To-day the outlines have to be fixed, so that hereafter the great whole may be completed. The force of the progressive movement receives day by day, in all countries, more and more rapid increase. In such an era as the present any semblance of time squandered in fruitless quarrelling, or any opportunities forfeited for extending the country's prosperity, is a spectacle We have no desire to display to the spirits of Our ancestors, neither can the fair goal of representative institutions be reached by such routes. We entrust to Our Ministers the duty of establishing order in these important matters, and We look with confidence to the chosen representatives of Our people to share the anxiety felt by Us on this subject morning and evening.

The items of expenditure referred to in Article 67 of the Constitution are protected by the clear text of the article, and cannot properly become a ground for dispute. Hereby We specially direct Our Ministers to bring all sections of the Administration into good order, and, having due regard to essentials, to take such deliberate and careful counsel as shall secure freedom from error under Our direction.

With regard to matters of national defence, a single day's neglect may involve a century's regret. We shall economize the expenses of the Household, and shall contribute during the space of six years a sum of 300,000 yen annually. We direct Our military and civil officials, except in cases where special circumstances interfere, to contribute one-tenth of their salaries during the same period, which sums

shall be devoted to supplement the fund for building men-of-war.

We regard Our Cabinet and Our Diet as the machinery of constitutional government, and We trust that each will be careful to observe the due limitations of its powers, so as to assist Us in this great undertaking, and contrive to secure successful achievement.

Imperial Address relating to Official Discipline (December 24, 1893).

We have read the address which the House of Representatives presented to Us on the 4th of the present month, as well as the memorial submitted to Us by Count Hirobumi Ito, Our Minister President of State, and Count Goto Shojiro, Our Minister of State for Agriculture and Commerce.

It is needless to tell you that the functionaries of the Department of State for Agriculture and Commerce ought to be cautious and discreet in their contact with the people. It is Our pleasure that the Minister of that Department of State should use his endeavours to maintain strict discipline among his subordinates.

As to the appointment and dismissal of Our Ministers of State, it rests entirely with Our pleasure, and no interference can be allowed on the part of anyone else.

The condition of things in the outside world urgently calls for greater progress on the part of Our country. At a critical juncture like the present, it would be a source of exceeding regret to Us should anything be suffered to impede the course of Our enlightened and progressive policy. It is therefore Our wish that you should spare no exertion to assist Us in the fulfilment of Our mission.

Imperial Rescript declaring War against China (August 1, 1894).

We, by the grace of Heaven, the Emperor of Japan, seated on a Throne occupied by the same dynasty from time immemorial, do hereby make proclamation to all Our loyal and brave subjects as follows:

We hereby declare war against China, and We command each and all of Our competent authorities, in obedience to Our wish, and with a view to the attainment of the national aim, to carry on hostilities by sea and by land against China, with all the means at their disposal, consistently with the law of nations.

During the last three decades of Our reign, Our constant aim has been to further the peaceful progress of Our country in civilization; and being sensible of the evils inseparable from

complications with foreign States, it has been Our pleasure to instruct Our Ministers of State to labour for the promotion of friendly relations with Our treaty Powers. We are gratified to know that the relations of Our Empire with those Powers have yearly increased in goodwill and fellowship. Under the circumstances, We were unprepared for such a conspicuous want of amity and of good faith as has been manifested by China in her conduct toward this country in connection with the Corean affair.

Corea is an independent State. She was first introduced into the family of nations by the advice and under the guidance of Japan. It has, however, been China's habit to designate Corea as her dependency, and both openly and secretly to interfere with her domestic affairs. At the time of the recent civil insurrection in Corea, China despatched troops thither, alleging that her purpose was to afford succour to her dependent State. We, in virtue of the treaty concluded with Corea in 1882, and looking to possible emergencies, caused a military force to be sent to that country. Wishing to procure for Corea freedom from the calamity of perpetual disturbance, and thereby to maintain the peace of the East in general, Japan invited China's co-operation for the accomplishment of that object. But China, advancing various pretexts, declined Japan's proposal. Thereupon Japan advised Corea to reform her administration so that order and tranquillity might be preserved at home, and so that the country might be able to discharge the responsibilities and duties of an independent State abroad. Corea has already consented to undertake the task, but China has secretly and insidiously endeavoured to circumvent and thwart Japan's purpose. She has further procrastinated, and endeavoured to make warlike preparations both on land and at sea. When those preparations were completed, she not only sent large reinforcements to Corea, with a view to the forcible attainment of her ambitious designs, but even carried her arbitrariness and insolence to the extent of opening fire upon Our ships in Corean waters. China's plain object is to make it uncertain where the responsibility rests of preserving peace and order in Corea, not only to weaken the position of that State in the family of nations—a position obtained for Corea through Japan's efforts—but also to obscure the significance of the treaties recognising and confirming that position. Such conduct on the part of China is not only a direct injury to the rights and interests of this empire, but also a menace to the permanent peace and tranquillity of the Orient. Judging from her actions, it must be concluded that China from the beginning has been bent upon sacrificing peace to the attainment of her sinister object. In this situation, ardent as

Our wish is to promote the prestige of this country by strictly peaceful methods, We find it impossible to avoid a formal declaration of war against China. It is Our earnest wish that, by the loyalty and valour of Our faithful subjects, peace may be soon permanently restored, and the glory of the empire be augmented and completed.

Imperial Rescript concerning Volunteer Troops (August 4, 1894).

We, relying on the glorious spirits of Our ancestors and the co-operation of Our subjects, and through the instrumentality of Our loyal and gallant land and naval forces, are determined to preserve the dignity and prestige of Our realm.

We know that it is on account of loyalty and patriotism that Our subjects in various localities are undertaking to organize volunteer corps. But deeming, as We do, that there are fixed institutions in the country, as well as fixed avocations for the people, it is Our desire that, except in case of requiring extraordinary recourse to their services, Our subjects should continue industriously to pursue their accustomed vocations, so as to promote the industrial development of the realm and to cultivate the national resources. At present We do not deem that there is any need of volunteer troops, and We enjoin local Governors to instruct the people concerning Our wishes.

Imperial Rescript on the Great Victory at Phyong-yang (Ping-yang) (September 17, 1894).

We are rejoiced to receive intelligence, immediately after Our arrival at headquarters, that Our army has gained a great victory at Phyong-yang. We appreciate the ability shown by Our officers and soldiers, and applaud the signal success they have achieved.

Imperial Message to the Diet (December 24, 1894).

We hereby formally open the Imperial Diet.

We have commanded Our Ministers of State to lay before you the Budget for the 28th fiscal year of Meiji, and other necessary Bills.

Our expeditionary forces have been victorious in every battle, and are steadily advancing into the enemy's territory. In the face of a severe winter, they have endured bitter cold and suffered privations, and have repeatedly given fresh proofs of their valour.

Our relations with the neutral Powers have become more cordial, and the work of treaty revision, which has long been the object of Our desire, has, apart from the satisfactory result

already achieved, made favourable progress with respect to the negotiations still pending.

At this bright epoch of progress it is Our desire to push forward the national civilization, and, assisted by the virtues of Our ancestors, to secure a crowning glory such as shall befit the auspicious beginning. We call upon you to observe the political situation at home and abroad, and by harmonious co-operation of the Government and the people to promote Our wishes.

Imperial Message directing a Field-Marshal to return from the Field (1895).

We were greatly pained to learn that sickness had overtaken you during the campaign, and We despatched an envoy to inquire about you. Finally, being anxious to learn direct from you the enemy's condition, We directed that you should return. It gives Us great satisfaction to observe that your health is now improving. We relieve you of your present office, and appoint you to one of deliberative character. We desire that you receive treatment for your malady, and give Us the benefit of your counsels.

Imperial Rescript appointing His Imperial Highness Prince Komatsu as Commander-in-Chief (March 16, 1895).

Whereas Our land and sea forces advancing against China have already completed the first period of the campaign, and are now about to enter upon the second, therefore We, deeming it essential to appoint a Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against China, do hereby nominate you to that office, ordering you to assume command of all Our expeditionary forces, investing you at the same time with the authority to appoint, remove, promote, and degrade the officers under your command; and We charge you in accordance with Our will to proceed and assume the duties of this office so as to increase the prestige of Our realm.

Imperial Proclamation on the Restoration of Peace with China (April 21, 1895).

We deem it that the development of the prestige of the country could be obtained only by peace. It is Our mission, which We inherit from Our ancestors, that peace should be maintained in an effectual way. The foundations of the great policy of Our ancestors has been made more stable. We desire that We shall, together with Our people, be specially guarded against arrogance or relaxation.

It is what We highly object to, that the people should become

arrogant by being puffed up with triumph, and despise others rashly, which would go towards losing the respect of foreign Powers. Since the development of the nation can be attained by peace, it is a divine duty imposed upon us by Our ancestors, and it has been Our intention and endeavour since Our accession to the Throne to maintain peace so as to enjoy it constantly. The expeditionary forces have gained fame for their benevolence and moderation.

We are, of course, glad of the glorification of the Empire by the victories of the present war, but at the same time We are aware that the Empire, as well as the schemes pursued since Our accession to the throne, have yet a distant future. We are positively against insulting others, and falling into idle pride by being elated by victories, and against losing the confidence of Our friendly States.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT RELATING TO THE RETROCESSION OF THE PENINSULA OF FENG-TIEN (LIAOTONG) (MAY 10, 1895).

We recently complied with the request of China, and in consequence appointed Plenipotentiaries, causing them to confer with the Plenipotentiaries appointed by China to conclude a treaty of peace between the two empires.

Since then the Governments of their Majesties, the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Germany, and the President of the Republic of France, have united in a recommendation to Our Government not to permanently possess the Peninsula of Feng-tien, Our newly acquired territory, on the ground that such permanent possession would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient.

Devoted as We unalterably are, and ever have been, to the principles of peace, We were constrained to take up arms against China for no other reason than Our desire to secure for the Orient an enduring peace.

Now, the friendly recommendation of the three Powers was equally prompted by the same desire. Consulting, therefore, the best interests of peace, and animated by a desire not to bring upon our people added hardship or to impede the progress of national destiny by creating new complications, and thereby making the situation difficult and retarding the restoration of peace, We do not hesitate to accept such recommendation.

By concluding the treaty of peace, China has already shown her sincerity of regret for the violation of her engagements, and thereby the justice of Our cause has been proclaimed to the world.

Under these circumstances We can find nothing to impair the honour and dignity of Our Empire if We now yield to the

dictates of magnanimity, and, taking into consideration the general situation, accept the advice of the friendly Powers.

Accordingly, We have commanded our Government, and have caused them to reply to the three friendly Powers in the above sense. Regarding the arrangement by which We will renounce the permanent possession of the peninsula, We have specially commanded Our Government that the necessary measures shall be made the subject of future negotiations and adjustment with the Government of China.

Now the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace has already been effected; the friendly relations between the two empires have been re-established, and cordial relations with all other Powers are also strengthened.

We therefore command Our subjects to respect Our will; to take into careful consideration the general situation; to be circumspect in all things; to avoid erroneous tendencies; and not to impair or thwart the high aspirations of Our Empire.

Imperial Address to the Soldiers and Sailors of the Empire (May 13, 1895).

Our beloved soldiers and sailors,—When in the 15th year of Meiji the system of reorganization of the army and of the navy was perfected, We, who hold the supreme command of the army and navy, laid down five points, which you as warriors ought to observe with all your strength, and We proclaimed to you that, loyal, courteous, brave, upright, and frugal, you ought to be permeated with undivided sincerity.

That We were very earnest in Our instructions to you was because We relied upon you as Our main pillars of support. Since then tranquillity has reigned over the domain for more than ten years. When, however, last year war broke out with China, you rose up at one word from Us, and endured the sultry heat of summer and braved the icy cold of winter. Those who stayed behind devoted themselves to securing the safety of the Empire at home, while those who were despatched abroad undertook the arduous task of marching upon and attacking the enemy. The result has been that both by land and by sea glorious success, never exampled before, has been achieved, thereby accomplishing the object of the war and displaying the glory of the Empire to the four seas.

We are highly gratified to see that the Imperial army and navy have arrived at such a state of efficiency, and We appreciate at the same time that you, ever keeping in mind the five points aforesaid, have disregarded your lives in order to fulfil Our order, and have admirably discharged the duties incumbent upon you as the main pillars of Our State. As to

those who fell dead in battle or died of disease, and those that have been disabled, We deeply appreciate their patriotism and sympathize with their lot.

We have concluded peace with China, and are about to share with you the felicity of peace. But We think the enhanced honour of the army and navy and the glory of the Empire have added weight to your duties and responsibilities. Desirous as We are, now that the Imperial glory has been augmented, to enjoy and share with you the glory and honour of the Empire, We cannot but perceive that the future destiny of the State is as yet undeveloped; and We therefore enjoin upon you, whether you remain in the respective services or are disbanded and go home, to obey faithfully Our instructions, to keep always in view the five articles, and to observe the duties of warriors, so as to discharge with the utmost sincerity on any necessary future occasion the duties that you owe to the Empire.

Imperial Rescript on the Revised Treaties with Foreign Powers (July 8, 1899).

Governing Our realm by the abiding aid of Our ancestors' achievements, which have enabled us to secure the prosperity of Our people at home and to establish relations of close amity with the nations abroad, it is a source of heartfelt gratification to Us that, as a result of exhaustive planning and repeated negotiations, an agreement has been come to with the Powers, and the revision of treaties, Our long-cherished aim, is to-day on the eve of becoming an accomplished fact, a result which, while it adds materially to the responsibilities of Our Empire, will greatly strengthen the basis of Our friendship with foreign countries.

It is Our earnest wish that Our subjects, whose devoted loyalty in the discharge of their duties is conspicuous, should enter earnestly into Our sentiments in this matter, and, in compliance with the great policy of opening the country, should all unite with one heart to associate cordially with the people from far countries, thus maintaining the character of the nation and enhancing the prestige of the Empire.

In view of the responsibilities that devolve upon Us in giving effect to the new treaties, it is Our will that the Ministers of State, acting on Our behalf, should instruct Our officials of all classes to observe the utmost circumspection in the management of affairs, to the end that subjects and strangers alike may enjoy equal privileges and advantages, and that, every source of dissatisfaction being avoided, relations of peace and amity with all nations may be strengthened and consolidated in perpetuity.

REPLY OF THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN TO THE SPECIAL MISSION OF APOLOGY FROM THE EMPEROR OF CHINA SUBSEQUENT UPON THE BOXER OUTBREAK (SEPTEMBER, 1901).

In the disturbance which occurred at Peking last year, Sugiyama Akira, the Chancellor of Our Legation, was made the victim of a cruel assassination perpetrated by the soldiers of your country. His Majesty the Emperor of China, feeling profound regret at the incident, has been pleased to send you to Our Court on a special mission, with an Imperial letter in acknowledgment of the reparation which is due to Us. In accepting this message which you have been charged to deliver to Us, it behoves Us to express Our belief that the friendly relations between the two countries will in the future become closer and closer. It is Our earnest wish that the great work of reform, which depends on Your Sovereign, will soon be found in effective progress, and that the maintenance of permanent peace in Eastern Asia will be thereby secured. In submitting to His Majesty the result of your mission, you will not fail to state that We pray for his unbounded happiness and prosperity.

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST RUSSIA (FEBRUARY, 1904).

We, by the grace of Heaven, the Emperor of Japan, seated on the same Throne occupied by the same dynasty from time immemorial, do hereby make proclamation to all Our loyal and brave subjects as follows:

We hereby declare war against Russia, and We command Our army and navy to carry on hostilities against that empire with all their strength, and We also command all Our competent authorities, in pursuance of their duties and in accordance with their powers, to attain the national aim with all the means within the limits of the law of nations.

We have always deemed it essential to international relations, and made it Our constant aim, to promote the pacific progress of Our Empire in civilization, to strengthen Our ties with other States, and to establish a state of things which would maintain enduring peace in the extreme East and secure the future of Our dominion without injury to the rights and interests of other Powers. Our competent authorities have also performed their duties in accordance to Our will, so that Our relations with the Powers have been steadily growing in cordiality. It was thus entirely against Our expectation that We have unhappily come to open hostilities against Russia.

The integrity of Corea is a matter of constant concern to this Empire, not only because of Our traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Corea is essential

to the safety of Our realm. Nevertheless, Russia, in disregard of her solemn treaty pledges to China and her repeated assurances to other Powers, is still in occupation of Manchuria, has consolidated and strengthened her hold upon those provinces, and is bent upon their final annexation. And since the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of Corea, and would, in addition, compel the abandonment of all hope for peace in the extreme East, We determined in those circumstances to settle the question by negotiation, and to secure thereby permanent peace. With that object in view, Our competent authorities by Our order made proposals to Russia, and frequent conferences were held during the course of six months. Russia, however, never met such proposals in a spirit of conciliation, but by her wanton delays put off the settlement of the question, and by ostensibly advocating peace on the one hand, while she was on the other extending her naval and military preparations, sought to accomplish her own selfish designs.

We cannot in the least admit that Russia had from the first day serious or genuine desire for peace. She has rejected the proposals of Our Government; the safety of Corea is in danger; the vital interests of Our Empire are menaced. The guarantees for the future which We have failed to secure by peaceful negotiation We can now only seek by Our appeal to arms.

It is Our earnest wish that, by the loyalty and valour of Our faithful subjects, peace may soon be permanently restored, and the glory of Our Empire preserved.

CHAPTER II

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY*

BY BARON YOSHITANE SANNOMIYA,
Grand Master of Ceremonies of the Imperial Japanese Household

'THE RESTORATION' is that epoch-making event in the history of Japan that gave to her people the pre-eminent position in the Far East of being, as far as forms of government go, the professed and allied companion of the most powerful nations of the West. It meant also that the Emperor's influence over Japan was brought back to the form and power that it held at the time of the first Emperor Jimmu, who reigned B.C. 660-584, and the Imperial Proclamation of the 14th of December, 1867 (3rd year of Kei-o), declares that its development is re-established upon the same basis as that laid 2,527 years ago.

The existence of the Shogunate since 1187 (2nd year of Bunji) under the Emperor's authority gave a singular feature to the governmental system of Japan, and led to much misapprehension. That there reigned two Emperors contemporaneously over Japan, one 'spiritual' and the other 'secular,' was an idea which misled the outside world for centuries to an erroneous conception of Japan's government. The real situation will be understood if it is remembered that the Shogun, the head of the Shogunate, was always appointed by the Emperor, and exercised in his name only the civil and military administration of the country, which were accredited to him as the hereditary right of his family. Thus, what are called the 'rights of sovereignty' have remained uninterruptedly in the person of the Emperor since the foundation of the Japanese Empire.

When the first Emperor Jimmu conquered the country and founded the empire, he, as head of the State, combined in himself the rights of sovereignty and supreme command of the army and navy, as the present Emperor does now according to the provisions of the Constitution. The Emperor Jimmu appointed from among his followers his Ministers of State, who

* The Imperial House Law is printed in Appendix A.

in the time of peace formed his Government, and who composed his General Staff in the time of war. These offices were made hereditary in the families of the different functionaries.

This state of things continued till the time of the forty-ninth Emperor, Konin (A.D. 770-781), who decreed that these peaceful and military offices should be distinctly separate. This distinction was made probably by the fact that on the whole the country enjoyed long years of peace, and the civil government developed into importance as the settled life of the people gave sufficient chance for development of agriculture and trades. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the later extended growth of the military class in Japan only dates its beginning from this time.

During the reign of the fifty-sixth Emperor, Sewa (859-876), the precedent—which became customary under most of the succeeding Emperors—was made for the first time of entrusting to one of the Ministers of State the exercise of sovereign power in the name of the Emperor. This Emperor was only nine years old when he occupied the throne, and one of his Ministers of State from the Fujiwara family, or Fujiwara-no-Yoshifusa, was appointed Regent. According to Chapter V. of the present Imperial House Law, the Regency shall be assumed only by some member of the Imperial Family when the Emperor is under age.

In the eighth year of his reign, 866 (8th year of Tekwan), the Emperor issued a decree announcing that the exercise of sovereign power should henceforth be delegated to Yoshifusa, and that his successors should enjoy the hereditary privilege of being appointed Regent when the Emperor was a minor, and of Minister President when he was of age; even in the latter case the exercise of the sovereign power was delegated to them. The granting of these powers was probably caused by the very important rôle played by the Fujiwara family both at the Court and in the Government. This was really the beginning of the Shogunate régime. Some of the succeeding Emperors attempted to abolish this anomalous condition, but it was not until 1069-1072 that it was successfully achieved by the seventy-first Emperor, Go-Sanjo. The exercise of the sovereign power was then completely restored to the Emperor, and so continued till the reign of the seventy-ninth Emperor, Rokujo (1166-1168), although during these periods (1069-1167) the Emperors retiring from the throne assumed the right of tutorage over their successors. The Fujiwara family still enjoyed, though really only nominally, the position of Regent or Minister President as their hereditary right.

The military powers hitherto possessed by the Ministers of State were from the time of the Emperor Konin (770-781)

gradually extended, and a military class sprang up which rapidly grew to occupy a powerful position. People of the Court and in the Government were losing their vigour, living amid the luxury, corruption, and intrigue which was increasing at the capital Kyoto during the centuries of peace, while the two principal military clans of Japan, the Taira and the Minamotos, descended from the Princes of the Imperial Family, were spreading the sphere of their influence over Japan, the former chiefly in the South, and the latter in the North and East. Certain disagreements arising at Court between the Emperor and his Minister of State on one hand, and the ex-Emperor and his Minister of State on the other, these two clans were called upon to help settle the dispute. The Taira clan assisted the new Emperor, Go-Shirakawa (1156-1158), and his Minister Fujiwara-no-Tedamichi, while most of the Minamoto clan joined with the ex-Emperor Sutoku (1124-1141) and his Minister Fujiwara-no-Yorinaga, and they carried on the war known as the war of Hogen (1156, 1st year of Hogen). The Minamotos being defeated on the field, the Taira clans occupied, naturally, more dominant positions at Court, and later in the war of Heji (1159, or 1st year of Heji) gained entire control over them. The influence of the Fujiwara family at Court then gave way to that of the Taira clan, and the Ministers of State were appointed from among their chief generals. During the reign of the Emperor Rokujo (1166-1168), in the year 1167 (2nd year of Ninnan), Taira-no-Kiyomori was appointed Minister President (Dajo-Daijin), and occupied the same position at Court and in the Government as the Fujiwara had formerly. This is considered the second step in the establishment of the Shogunate.

The civil and military supremacy of the Taira clan did not continue long, owing to their mismanagement of political affairs. During the reign of the eighty-first Emperor, Antoku (1180-1183), Minamoto-no-Yoritomo rose in the province of Izu, and waged war against the Taira (1180, 4th year of Jisho), to restore the military prestige lost by his clan; and at the famous naval battle of Dan-no-ura the Taira were utterly defeated (1185, or 1st year of Bunji). Then Yoritomo appealed to the Emperor (eighty-second Emperor, Go-Toba, 1183-1198) to give him sanction for establishing the military administration of Japan, as a military administration was the only system that could be adopted at that time for the restoration of peace and order in the country after it had suffered so many successive tumults by war.

The Emperor granted his request, and Yoritomo established his residence and seat of operations at Kamakura (province of Sagami), a situation which enabled him to hold the military

command and to administer the Minamoto power throughout Japan. He established his leading retainers in the best strategic positions throughout the country, who acted as military Governors, and reported to Kamakura as the centre of military government. This system of administration introduced by Yoritomo was the foundation of that feudalism which prevailed in Japan for a period of more than seven centuries.

In the 3rd year of Kenkyu (1192) the Emperor was pleased to again appoint Yoritomo the 'Sei-i Taishogun,' or Commander-in-Chief, against the barbarians. The office of the 'Sei-i Taishogun' was first instituted by the fiftieth Emperor, Kwammu (782-805), who appointed Sakanoue-no-Tamuramaro to suppress the insurrection of the Aino tribes, who inhabited the northern part of the main island of Japan at that time. Again, in the reign of the fifty-second Emperor, Saga (810-823), Bunya-no-Watamaro was nominated to the same office for the same purpose. These are the only two instances which occurred before Yoritomo held the office, so the 'Sei-i Taishogun' was not therefore a hereditary office, but instituted temporarily when necessary to direct attack against the barbarians or to suppress the Ainos in their occasional insurrections. As the latter were completely subdued, however, before the time of Yoritomo, it had lost that significance, but was used in the sense of official designation of the chief controller of the military government, and was as such made hereditary to his successors. This word 'Taishogun,' contracted to its abbreviated form of 'Shogun,' began to be used in the time of Yoritomo to designate the holder of this position, and marks the real beginning of the Shogunate.

The Rise and Fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The feudal system of government was first established by Yoritomo, as has already been observed, and completed by Ashikaga Takauji, the first Shogun of the Ashikaga Shogunate (1338-1573), and finally perfected by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the first Shogun of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). From those military Governors distributed by Yoritomo rose the later feudal lords, or 'Daimyos,' who rendered homage to their chief, or the Shogun. The Shogun held the position of Governor-General, who was appointed, and to whom the exercise of the sovereign power was granted, by the Emperor, and who enjoyed the office as a hereditary gift. When a Shogun died, he was succeeded by one of his sons, or his nearest kinsman, and the latter was appointed as Shogun by the contemporaneous Emperor, always with a definite ceremony. But as the strongest and most powerful of all the military class always assumed the supremacy over the rest,

and was thus appointed Shogun or military Governor, so the occupant of the Shogunate could not be confined to the different generations of the same family. Moreover, the development of the military government produced many powerful 'Daimyos,' who possessed great numbers of retainers and large extents of land. At the end of the Ashikaga Shogunate, these 'Daimyos' from 1467 to 1590 fought amongst themselves for supremacy, until Toyotomi Hideyoshi, commonly known as Taiko, subdued the rest and restored peace and order in 1590. However, the struggle for supremacy soon flamed up again after his death, and his retainers on one hand, and the followers of Tokugawa Iyeyasu on the other, fought the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), which decided the final victory of the latter. The one hundred and seventh Emperor, Go-Yoze, applauded the great merit of Iyeyasu for having put an end to the long-prevalent state of warfare in the empire, and was pleased to appoint him the 'Sei-i Taishogun' in 1603 (8th year of Kecho). Thus, the Tokugawa Shogunate was established and its bases consolidated by the third Shogun, Iyemitsu, who summoned to the Castle of Yedo, now Tokyo, the so-called 'Tozama Daimyos' — *i.e.*, those Daimyos who were not his own retainers, but who had stood upon an equal footing with the Tokugawa from the time of Taiko, and made them all swear before him that they should thereafter render him homage in the same manner as his own retainers.

With the purpose of maintaining the perpetual peace and unity of the whole country, Iyeyasu and his successors eagerly aimed at the improvement of social life, and promoted as one of the means the art and learning which had long since been abandoned for military development on account of the successive wars. Besides this, the strict exclusion throughout the entire country from missionary influence was adopted as the best policy of avoiding complications occasioned by any political ambitions they would have undoubtedly developed. But the commerce with foreigners was never impeded on this account; but, rather, encouraged to as great an extent as possible, without allowing the missionaries to gain a footing in connection with it. The Dutch traders, who had no intention of propagating a religion, but were only intent upon developing the country, as the Chinese, were permitted for this reason to transact their mercantile affairs at the port of Nagasaki. Everything being thus put in order, peace prevailed throughout the country; people enjoyed a quiet and undisturbed life; learning developed, the arts flourished; cities and towns grew and prospered, and the current of progress and civilization ran with a new speed.

The Tokugawa's policy for the pacification and unification

of the country was so wisely adapted to the conditions of the times, and moved with such perfection and success, that it finally brought the military government and feudalism into dissolution—a very natural consequence. With the development of learning, the study of the history and the literature of Japan, together with the Chinese system of politico-ethics of Confucius and Mencius, was greatly extended. Several Daimyos encouraged their retainers to pursue learning, and Tokugawa Mitsukuni (born 1622, died 1700) accomplished the publication of his famous 'Dai Nippon,' or 'The History of Great Japan.' The origin and nature of the Shogunate became better known and understood by the increasing numbers of educated men, who began to doubt the necessity of continuing the state of military government. This sentiment was often expressed by the popular cry of 'Kinno'—the restoration of the *status quo* of the Emperor's rule—which originated at this time. The growth of the city also effected a great change in the economical condition of the country, and tended to weaken the basis of feudalism. Moreover, the financial state of the later Tokugawa Shogunate lost its fame and credit.

The eighth Shogun, Yoshimune (1716-1744), was a keen, foresighted statesman, and renewed in many respects the reputation of the Tokugawa Shogunate. One of his most remarkable merits was his endeavour to aid the progress of his country by introducing Western science and civilization. From 1720 (5th year of Kyoho) he permitted the importation of Dutch books concerning mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, botany, chemistry, etc., except those relating to the Christian religion. He encouraged at the same time the study of the Dutch language, and ordered scholars to publish the translation of important Dutch books. Many of the Daimyos followed his example, and a better understanding of the state and condition of Europe was secured.

During the period from 1792 to 1853 (4th year of Kwanse to 6th year of Kaye), besides the Dutch, the visits of foreign vessels —chiefly English and Russian—became more frequent, and Japan's attention was directed towards coast defence. When the disturbances occurred in the North with the Russian adventurers in 1806 and 1807 (3rd and 4th year of Bunk), and the English man-of-war *Phaeton* abruptly appeared off Nagasaki in 1808 (5th year of Bunkwa), the mind of the entire nation was turned to the question of Japan's integrity from foreign ambition. This feeling was often expressed by the cry of 'Joi' (expulsion of the ambitious foreigners) which arose at this time. The Dutch system of military discipline was adopted in 1837 (8th year of Tempo), and was soon adopted by all the principal Daimyos, Tokugawa of Mito, Shimazu of

Satsuma, Nabeshima of Hizeu, etc. After 1849 (2nd year of Kaye) the warships were constructed after European (Dutch) methods. Tokugawa Nariaki of Mito earnestly endeavoured, among other Daimyos like Shimazu, to introduce Western civilization into the country. He employed for the first time the design of our present national flag, which was promptly accepted by the Government. Moreover, iron factories for manufacturing firearms, and cotton-mills after the Dutch pattern, were founded. William II. of the Netherlands sent two messages to the Government—one in 1844 (1st year of Kokwa), the second in 1852 (5th year of Kaye)—demonstrating the benefit to be derived from opening the country to international relations, and predicting in the latter message that the Americans would probably adopt strong measures to that effect. The Shogun's Government, on the whole, was inclined from the start to settle matters peacefully, but, in regard to the opening of the country, the various opinions among the statesmen and politicians were very conflicting.

This was the general condition of things in Japan before the arrival of the American fleet in 1853 (6th year of Kaye). Progress and civilization were already advancing before the presence of foreigners in Japan, and the gradual change of the Governmental system was well under way. Advantageous changes were not so rapidly and decisively carried out then as after the Restoration, but the flame of the new epoch in our national history was already burning, and the Americans only, as it were, poured oil on, and so accentuated a conflagration which was gradually consuming the feudalism and military government.

In 1853 (6th year of Kaye) Commodore Perry arrived off the harbour of Uraga with a fleet consisting of two men-of-war and two transports, and demanded that the Governor of the harbour should meet the diplomatic representatives of his Government. The Governor instructed him to negotiate all such matters at Nagasaki, the place appointed for all negotiation concerning foreign intercourse. But Commodore Perry insisted upon his demands, and threatened to dash at once with his fleet to Yedo, now Tokyo, if his proposal were rejected. The Governor was at once appointed as a proper representative of the Government to settle the question. He met with Perry at Kuri-gahama, and received there the letter from the President of the United States. Perry soon abandoned the harbour, leaving word that he would return the following year to receive a definite answer from the Japanese Government, and threatened at the same time to bombard the city if the proposed treaty should not receive sanction. What the real intent of Perry was in making such a demonstration we do not know, but, as far as

his action itself was concerned, his menace only caused a great indignation throughout the whole country.

Among the Shogun's Government, and also amongst outside politicians, two antagonistic opinions were struggling against each other concerning the settlement of this grave question—one in favour of the enclosure of ports against foreign ambition, termed 'Sako,' the other in favour of opening the country to international relations, termed 'Kaikoku.' The former maintained that the national peril should be coped with after the manner of Iyeyasu, who closed up all the ports of Japan in order to check the secret entrance and venomous attempts of the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries; the other opinion was that Japan's integrity could be best secured by the opening of the country, and that her practical isolation from all international relations was opposed to the development of civilization, and hence unfavourable to her national interests and progress. Both parties had naturally the same purpose to accomplish, but in regard to its execution one was negative, the other positive.

The late Emperor Komei (1847-1867) and the greatest part of his Court were inclined to the former opinion, and, indeed, the enclosure of the ports was the predominant opinion of the country.

In 1854 (1st year of Ansei) Commodore Perry entered the harbour of Uraga with a more powerful fleet than in the preceding year. The Shogun's Government did not wish to endanger the country by entering into a conflict with the Americans, and the preliminary convention of friendship and commerce was concluded at Kanagawa in 1854 between the plenipotentiaries of Japan and of the United States of America. Similar conventions were signed by the representatives of Japan on the one hand, and those of Great Britain in 1854, of Russia in 1855, and of Holland in 1836, on the other. The Shogun's Government acted entirely against the public opinion of the people, and its credit and reputation began to fall.

When the negotiations for concluding a new treaty with the United States of America began in 1858 (5th year of Ansei), a strong opposition against its draft sprang up, even from the inner circle of the Shogun's Government and among the most powerful of the Daimyos, all of whom could not consent to the existence of extraterritorial jurisdiction in Japan. They brought up the question with so much vigour that they began to dispute about the extent to which the Shogun was accredited by the Emperor with the exercise of the sovereign power. Being unable to resist the public tendency, the thirteenth Shogun, Iyesada (1854-1858), begged the Emperor's own decision of the matter. But before any definite decision was given him

by the Emperor, the 'Tairo' Ii Naosuke (one of the Princes in the Shogun's Government), the present Count Ii's grandfather, concluded on his own responsibility the new treaties with the United States of America, 1858, and successively with Holland, Russia, Great Britain, and France. The Emperor Komei was vehemently irritated by this action, and so were the opponents of Ii. The treaties remained, therefore, practically speaking, unratified until the Emperor was reconciled later to the giving of his formal consent.

Coincidently the selection of the Shogun's heir was acutely discussed between the 'Tairo' Ii and the principal Daimyos of the Tokugawa's family. The Emperor was again appealed to for the final decision. When the fourteenth Shogun, Iyemochi (1859-1866), succeeded to the office, it was utterly against the will of the Emperor and of a large number of Daimyos, such as the Daimyos of Mito, Owari, Yechizen, Tosa, Uwajima, etc. The Shogun and his Government now stood quite isolated, even from the Daimyos of his own family, and the cry of 'Kinno' ('honour the Emperor') became popular throughout the country. The abolition of the Shogunate was much thought of from this time (1858) among the patriots of Japan. The reconciliation between the Emperor and the Shogun seemed very difficult until the marriage of the Emperor's sister, Her Imperial Highness the Princess Kazu-no-Miya, with the Shogun Iyemochi, which was sanctioned by the Emperor in 1861 (1st year of Bunkyu).

This marriage aimed at an alliance between the Emperor and the Shogun in order to sustain the Shogun's power under the auspices of the Emperor, and was called 'Kobu Gattai.' The result of this policy was, however, to cause the immediate fall of the Shogunate.

The Restoration.

The dawn of the Restoration broke when the Shogun's Government became the centre of public enmity. Its failure in both internal and external politics produced the greatest dissatisfaction throughout the country. The majority of the Daimyos and the Samurais ardently longed for the restoration of the ancient state of the Emperor's rule. The Emperor Komei and his Court also inclined to the abolishment of the Shogunate. Such Daimyos as Shimazu of Satsuma, Mori of Choshiu, Yamanouchi of Tosa, and others whose forefathers had stood upon an equal footing with Tokugawa, would no longer recognise the supremacy of the latter. All of them endeavoured to occupy an equal position with Tokugawa in the Emperor's rule. Preparations to carry out this plan had been begun long

before the rise of the schism within the Shogun's Government. They introduced, as has been stated, to a great extent the elements of Western civilization, and trained their troops after the European system, thus preparing, if necessary, to enforce their demands against the Shogunate. Shimazu and Mori first sought to establish a close connection with the Emperor's Court. A mutual relationship existed between them and the courtiers, amongst them Sanjo, father-in-law of the present Prince Sanjo; Iwakura, father of the present Prince Iwakura; and others who also cherished the idea of abolishing the Shogunate. They all supported the cause of the Emperor in the national aspiration of abolishing the Shogunate, and amending its dishonourable concession to the foreigners. The seat of the Imperial Government was then, in 1862 (2nd year of Bunkyu), filled with patriots from every part of Japan, who gathered themselves near the palace to persuade the Emperor to assume in himself the exercise of the sovereign power. Shimazu and Mori began to take independent action, and entered Kyoto with their respective troops, alleging as an excuse the desire, if necessary, of suppressing the confusion surrounding the Emperor. The same policy was soon followed by Yamanouchi of Tosa. This was really the first opportunity given them to play a prominent rôle in the Restoration. The untiring energy of Iwakura and Sanjo at last obtained an Imperial decree ordering Shimazu and Mori to admonish the Shogun's Government to change the tone of its foreign policy. Another decree was issued at the same time to the Shogun Iyemochi, and in consequence a decisive measure of reformation was obtained in his Government. The exercise of the sovereign power was thus practically restored to the Emperor, and the Shogun stood in the difficult position of having to choose between expelling the foreigners or disobeying the Emperor's decree. This well-schemed plan was thought out by the eminent politicians of the time, Saigo, Okubo, Kido, Goto, and many others, assisted by such courtiers as Iwakura. The success of this plan was followed by a long period of indecision on the part of the Shogunate Government. Popular tumults rose against them, and many Daimyos withdrew their allegiance as faithful allies.

Ultimately temporary success was, however, gained by the Shogun in 1863 (3rd year of Bunkyu). The troops of Choshiu were driven out of Kyoto, and those of Aizu Matsudaira, one of the Shogun's faithful followers, occupied its place. Sanjo and six other courtiers fled to Mori's province, and the even balance between the Shogun and the anti-Shogun parties was thus established at the Emperor's Court.

Iyemochi, however, not fully satisfied with this successful

establishment of his authority, was always anxious to demonstrate his power. He found a pretext in Mori's independent action against foreign vessels at Shimonoseki, 1863, and appealed to the Emperor for sanction to carry out his first campaign in 1864 (1st year of Genji) against Mori, hoping at the same time to suppress the ambitions of the other Daimyo by a war against him. This campaign ended successfully for him, but he suffered a great defeat in his second campaign, undertaken in 1866 (2nd year of Keio), against the advice of his own statesmen, Matsudaria of Yechizen, etc., and the fall of the military supremacy of the Shogunate Tokugawa dates from this time. A great many of the Daimyos utterly refused to obey the Shogun's commands. He died in the midst of great calamity at Osaka in 1866 (2nd year of Keio). The fifteenth Shogun, Keiki, soon succeeded him, and was appointed the Sei-i Taishogun. At the end of the same year the Emperor Komei died, to the great regret of the whole nation, without being able to reap the fruit of the Restoration, which had been planted during his hard reign in both internal and external relations. The throne was immediately inherited by the present Emperor.

The Shogun was declared at this time by the majority of the Daimyos to be incapable of being vested with the authority of the sovereign power, as his predecessors had so singularly failed in foreign affairs, and had entirely lost both civil and military power. Yamanouchi of Tosa and Asano of Aki advised the Shogun Keiki to resign his office. As such politicians as Goto of Tosa, Komatsu and Okubo of Satsuma, and others, and Katsu of his own Government, persuaded him to the same course, he finally decided upon it. On the 14th of October, 1867 (4th day of the 10th month of the 3rd year of Keio), the Shogun Keiki confirmed his decision, and appealed to the Emperor to grant him the resignation from his office, which was promptly accepted on the following day. This is a memorable day in the history of New Japan, for from this day the present Emperor *de facto* assumed in himself the exercise of the sovereign power, and the Imperial Government was restored to the state that had already existed before the fifty-sixth Emperor, Seiwa, in 859-876. This is the reason of its being called the 'Restoration.'

All the Daimyos of Japan, particularly Matsudaira of Yechizen, Nabeshima of Hizen, Yamanouchi of Tosa, Date and Shimazu of Satsuma, were summoned to Kyoto to form a Council of State for the organization of the new Government. Mori of Choshiu was released, and Sanjo and other courtiers were called back to Kyoto. The troops of Satsuma, Aki, and Choshiu, and later those of Tosa, Owari, and

Yechizen, entered Kyoto to guard the Emperor's seat of government.

With the dismissal of the Aizu and Kuwana troops from the Imperial escort, the Sei-i Taishogun and all other offices of the old Government were at once abolished on the 9th of December, 1867 (9th day of the 12th month of the 3rd year of Keio). The new offices of Sosai (Minister President), Gijo (State Ministers), and San-yo (State Councillors), were created on the same day. His Imperial Highness the Prince Taruhito Arisagawa was appointed the Sosai. The office of Gijo was occupied by the Prince of the Imperial Family, the courtiers Sanjo, Iwakura, etc., and the principal Daimyos—Shimazu, Tokugawa of Owari, Asano, Matsudaira of Yechizen, Yamanouchi, and Date; and the office of San-yo by the ablest politicians of that time—Iwakura, Saigo, Kido, Goto, and others. The basis of the new Government was thus consolidated by the fusion of the old anti-Shogun parties. The Restoration was on this day brought up to its perfect working order. One of the most marked features of the new form of Government was the fact that the offices of the new Administration were not made hereditary, and not limited to certain families, as had always been the case.

The old Shogun parties—that is, the faithful followers of the old Shogun, as the Matsudairas of Aizu and Kuwana—were greatly dissatisfied with this decisive reformation, maintaining that it had been planned by the ambitious Shimazu and Mori. The rivalry between the troops of these four Daimyos grew more and more bitter until the war of 1868-69 broke forth as its inevitable consequence. This war began at Kyoto, extended over the north-eastern part of Japan, and finally ended with the Battle of Hakodate in 1869 (2nd year of Meiji). Had the foresighted statesmen of the old Shogun's Government, like Katsu and Okubo, not provided for the settlement of diverse difficulties which arose after the Keiki's resignation from his office, the disasters of the war would have been far greater than they were.

The new Government, after peace and order had been fully restored, took rapid and decisive steps to promote the well-being and civilization of the country.

The process of development followed since the Restoration is too well known to need description in so short a sketch as this, but before closing it is well to mention the following points:

1. The feudal system of Japan did not cease at the same moment as the abolition of the Shogunate, but remnants of it still existed at the beginning of the new Government. However, all Daimyos, particularly Shimazu, Mori, Yamanouchi, Nabeshima, Tokugawa of Owari, Hosokawa, Ikeda, and Hachi-

suka of Awa, had unanimously come to the conclusion that the existence of feudalism weakened the elasticity of the whole nation and impeded its progress. Consequently, they unanimously appealed to the Emperor to abolish the feudal system. The Imperial decree to this effect was issued in 1871 (4th year of Meiji), and put an end to the distinction of the military class over all others at the same time.

2. The foreign policy of the new Government was determined by the Imperial decree of 1868 (1st year of Meiji), and Japan entered into international relationships. The abolition of the existence of the extraterritorial jurisdiction in Japan, which for long had been the object of discontent to the entire nation, was one of the principal objects of the new Government, the disagreeable abuses of such jurisdiction having produced several fanatic attempts on the part of the people against foreigners, both before and after the Restoration. The negotiations for the revision of the old treaties with the United States of America were first entered upon in 1871 (4th year of Meiji), when the present Emperor was pleased to send his first Special Mission to all the treaty Powers of Europe and America. These negotiations with other Powers continued through a long series of years, until the revised treaty on an equal footing was first signed between Japan and Great Britain in 1894 (on the 16th day of the 7th month of the 27th year of Meiji), and successively between the other nations of Europe and America, with the exception of Mexico, with which country the treaty already existing since 1888 (21st year of Meiji) was on an equal footing. This action of the British Government was the beginning of those relations between Japan and Great Britain which have developed into those of a nation *amie et alliée.*

CHAPTER III

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN*

BY MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

IN our country the relations between Sovereign and subject were established at the time that the State was first founded. The unity of political powers was weakened, during the middle ages, by a succession of civil commotions. Since the Restoration (A.D. 1868), however, the Imperial power has grown strong and vigorous, and the Emperor has been pleased to issue decrees proclaiming the grand policy of instituting a constitutional form of government, which it is hoped will give precision to the rights and duties of subjects, and gradually promote their well-being, by securing unity to the sovereign powers of the Head of the State; by opening a wider field of activity for serving (the Emperor), and by prescribing, with the assistance of the Minister of State and the advice of the Diet, the whole mode of the working of the machinery of State in a due and proper manner. All this is in strict accordance with the spirit of noble achievements bequeathed by the Imperial ancestors, and all that is proposed to do now is to open the way for the ultimate accomplishment of the object originally entertained by the said Imperial ancestors.

The Sacred Throne of Japan is inherited from Imperial ancestors, and it is bequeathed to posterity; in it resides the power to reign over and govern the State. That express provisions concerning the sovereign power are specially mentioned in the articles of the Constitution in no wise implies that any newly-settled opinion thereon is set forth by the Constitution; on the contrary, the original national policy is by no means changed by it, but is more strongly confirmed than ever.

* The text of the Constitution is printed in Appendix B.

ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION, INTERPRETED BY THEIR AUTHOR.*

I.—THE EMPEROR.

1. Since the time of the First Imperial Ancestor the country has not been free from occasional checks in its prosperity nor from frequent disturbances of its tranquillity; but the splendour of the Sacred Throne transmitted through an unbroken line of one and the same dynasty has always remained as immutable as that of the heavens and of the earth. At the outset this article states the great principle of the Constitution of the country, and declares that the Empire of Japan shall to the end of time identify itself with the Imperial dynasty unbroken in lineage, and that the principle has never changed in the past, and will never change in the future, even to all eternity. It is intended thus to make clear for ever the relations that shall exist between the Emperor and his subjects. By 'reigned over and governed' it is meant that the Emperor on his Throne combines in himself the sovereignty of the State and the government of the country and of his subjects.

2. As to the succession to the Throne, there have been plain instructions since the time of the First Imperial Ancestor. In obedience to these instructions, the Throne has been transmitted to the sons and grandsons of the Emperors, and this rule shall remain immutable for all ages. As regards the order of succession, minute provisions have been already made in the Imperial House Law, lately determined by His Imperial Majesty. This law will be regarded as the family law of the Imperial House. That these provisions are not expressed in the Constitution shows that no interference of the subject shall ever be tolerated regarding them. By 'Imperial male descendants' is meant the male offspring in the male line of the Imperial succession. The present clause and Article I. of the Imperial House Law are explanatory the one of the other.

3. 'The Sacred Throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated' (Kojiki). The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; he is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be reverenced and is inviolable. He has indeed to pay respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but he shall not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion.

4. The sovereign power of reigning over and governing

* The following interpretation of the Constitution, by Marquis Ito himself, is of vital importance, placing on record his own meaning when he drew up the different Articles.

the State is inherited by the Emperor from his ancestors, and by him bequeathed to his posterity. All the different legislative as well as executive powers of State, by means of which he reigns over the country and governs the people, are united in this most exalted personage, who thus holds in his hands, as it were, all the ramifying threads of the political life of the country. His Imperial Majesty has himself determined a Constitution, and has made it a fundamental law to be observed both by the Sovereign and by the people. He has, further, made it clear that every provision in the said Constitution shall be conformed to without failure or negligence.

His Imperial Majesty has taken this step out of the high veneration in which he holds his Heaven-bestowed functions, and with a view to the completion of a permanent system of government in harmony with the march of national progress. The combination of all the governmental powers of the State in one person is the essential characteristic of sovereignty, and the carrying of those powers into effect in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution denotes the exercise of sovereignty. When the essential characteristics of sovereignty exist without its exercise in the manner just stated, the tendency will be towards despotism. When, on the other hand, there is such exercise of sovereignty without its essential characteristics, the tendency will be towards irregularities and supineness.

5. The legislative power belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor; but this power shall always be exercised with the consent of the Diet. The Emperor shall cause the Cabinet to make drafts of laws, or the Diet may initiate projects of laws; and after the concurrence of both Houses of the Diet has been obtained thereto, the Emperor will give them his sanction, and then such drafts or projects shall become law. Thus, the Emperor is not only the centre of the executive, but is also the source and fountain-head of the legislative power.

6. The sanction of a law, the causing of the same to be promulgated in a proper form, and the ordering of the taking of measures for the execution of the same—all these belong to the sovereign power of the Emperor. Sanction completes the process of legislation, while promulgation produces binding force upon the subjects. If the power of sanction belongs to him, it is scarcely necessary to remark that, as a consequence, he also possesses the power to refuse his sanction. Sanction is a manifestation of the sovereign powers of the Emperor in matters of legislation. Consequently, without the sanction of the Emperor no project can become law, even if it has received the consent of the Diet.

7. The convocation of the Diet appertains exclusively to the sovereign power of the Emperor. Hence, the Constitu-

tion does not recognise a Diet which assembles of its own accord without summons, and the deliberations of no such Diet shall be allowed to possess any efficacy.

8. When the country is threatened with danger, or when the nation is visited with famine, plague, or other calamity, every necessary and possible measure must be taken for the maintenance of the public safety, for the prevention of such calamities, and for the relief of distress thereby caused. Should an emergency of the kind happen to arise while the Diet is not sitting, the Government will have to take upon itself the responsibility of issuing Imperial ordinances in the place of laws, and shall leave nothing undone that may be required in the juncture; for such action is imperatively demanded for the defence and safe-guarding of the country. It will be seen that Article 5, providing that the exercise of the legislative power requires the consent of the Diet, regards ordinary cases; while the provisions of the present article, authorizing the issuing of Imperial ordinances in the place of laws, refers to exceptional cases in times of emergency. This power mentioned in the present article is called the 'power of issuing emergence ordinances.' Its legality is recognised by the Constitution, but at the same time abuse of it is strictly guarded against. Thus, the Constitution limits the use of this power to the cases of urgent necessity for the maintenance of public safety and for the averting of public calamities, and prohibits its abuse on the ordinary plea of protecting the public interests and of promoting public welfare. Consequently, in issuing an emergency ordinance, it shall be made the rule to declare that such ordinance has been issued in accordance with the provisions of the present article; for should the Government make use of this power as a pretext for avoiding the public deliberations of the Diet, or for destroying any existing law, the provisions of the Constitution would become dead letters having no significance whatever, and would be far from serving as a bulwark for the protecting of the people. The right of control over this special power has, therefore, been given to the Diet by the present article, making it necessary, after due examination thereof at a subsequent date, to obtain its approbation to an emergence ordinance.

9. The present article treats of the sovereign power of the Emperor as to administrative ordinances. A law requires the consent of the Diet, while an ordinance holds good solely by the decision of the Emperor. There are two occasions for the issuing of an ordinance: the first is when it is required to regulate measures and details for the carrying out of any particular law; the second when it is required to meet the necessity of maintaining the public peace and order, and of

promoting the welfare of the subjects. All these matters may, without having been passed through the regular course of legislation, form the subjects of legal enactments, having binding effect upon the people at large by virtue of the executive power of the Emperor. As a binding effect upon the people, there should not be the slightest difference between a law and an ordinance, save that a law can make alterations in any of the existing ordinances, whereas no ordinance can alter any of the existing laws. In case of a conflict between law and ordinance, the law will always have the preponderance over the ordinance.

The power of issuing ordinances is in all cases a consequence of the sovereign power of the Emperor. Those that received the personal decision of the Emperor and his sign-manual are called 'Imperial ordinances.' The issuing of Cabinet or departmental ordinances is to be regarded as an exercise of the sovereign power delegated by the Emperor. The wording of the present article—to wit, 'the Emperor issues or caused to be issued'—is intended to cover the above two different instances for the issuing of ordinances.

Emergency ordinances mentioned in the preceding article may take the place of law; but the administrative ordinances mentioned in the preceding article shall take effect within the limits of law, and although they can supply the deficiency of law, yet they shall have no power to either alter any law or to regulate those matters for which a law is required by the express provision of the Constitution. Administrative ordinances are to be made use of under ordinary circumstances, while the aim of emergency ordinances is to meet the requirements of a time of exigency.

10. The Emperor, in accordance with the requirements for the national existence, establishes the offices in the different branches of the Administration, fixes the proper organization and functions of each of them, and exercises the sovereign power of appointing men of talent for civil and military posts, and of dismissing holders of such posts. When the establishment of the different offices and the creation of official positions pertain to the prerogative of the Sovereign, the said prerogative is necessarily accompanied by the power to give salaries and pensions.

11. The supreme authority in military and naval affairs is vested in the Most Exalted Personage, and those affairs are subject to the commands issued by the Emperor.

12. The organization and the peace standing of the army and navy are determined by the Emperor. It is true that this power is exercised with the advice of responsible Ministers of State; still, like the Imperial military command, it nevertheless belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor,

and no interference in it by the Diet should be allowed. The power of determining the organization of the army and navy, when minutely examined, embraces the organization of military divisions and of fleets, and all matters relating to military districts and subdistricts, to the storing up and distribution of arms, to the education of military and of naval men, to inspections, to discipline, to modes of salutes, to styles of uniforms, to guards, to fortifications, to naval defences, to naval ports, and to preparations for military and naval expeditions. The determining of the peace standing includes also the fixing of the number of men to be recruited each year.

13. Declarations of war, conclusions of peace and of treaties with foreign countries, are the exclusive rights of the Sovereign, concerning which no consent of the Diet is required. For, in the first place, it is desirable that a monarch should manifest the unity of the sovereign power that represents the State in its intercourse with foreign powers; and, in the second, in war and treaty matters, promptness in forming plans according to the nature of the crisis is of paramount importance. By 'treaties' is meant treaties of peace and friendship, of commerce and of alliance.

14. A state of siege is to be declared at the time of a foreign war or of a domestic insurrection, for the purpose of placing all ordinary law in abeyance, and of entrusting part of the administrative and judicial powers to military measures. It is expressly provided that the conditions requisite for the declaration of a state of siege and the effect of the declaration shall be determined by law, and that in pursuance of the provisions thereof it appertains exclusively to the sovereign power of the Emperor, under stress of circumstances, to declare or to revoke a state of siege. By 'conditions' is meant the nature of the crisis when a state of siege is to be declared, the necessary limits as to territorial extent affected, and rules needful for making the declaration. By 'effect' is meant the limit of the power called into force as the result of the declaration of a state of siege.

The exercise of the right of warfare in the field, or of the declaration of a state of siege, as the exigency of circumstances may require, may be entrusted to the commanding officer of the place, who is allowed to take the actual steps his discretion dictates, and then to report to the Government. This is to be regarded as a delegation of the sovereign power of the Emperor to a General in command of an army, in order to meet the stress of emergencies, according to the provisions of the law (Notification No. 36, issued in the 15th year of Meiji, A.D. 1882).

15. The Emperor is the fountain of honour. It belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor to reward merit, to require services, to mark distinguished conduct and praiseworthy under-

takings, and to confer conspicuous titular distinctions, other marks of honour, and special favours. And no subject is allowed to usurp and trifle with this prerogative of the Emperor.

16. The State gives equal and impartial protection to the rights of the subjects, in accordance with the principles of justice and reason, by establishing courts of law and by appointing officers of justice. But the law is not comprehensive or precise enough to meet the various and complicated requirements of human life; and when, as it frequently happens, there are palliating circumstances in the case of an offence against the law, it is to be apprehended that no ordinary process of the legislature or of the judicature will be adequate to supply the deficiency of the law. Consequently, it is intended that the right of pardon may be exercised by the special beneficent power of the Emperor, to give relief where there is no hope of it to be looked for from the law, so that there shall not be one subject ever suffering under an undeserved punishment.

'Amnesty' is to be granted, in a special case, as an exceptional favour, and is intended for the pardoning of a certain class of offences. 'Pardon' is granted to an individual offender to release him from the penalty he has incurred. 'Commutation' is the lessening of the severity of the penalties already pronounced in the sentence. 'Rehabilitation' is the restoration of public rights that have been forfeited.

In the thirteen articles from Article 4 to Article 16 the sovereign powers of the Head of the State are enumerated. These sovereign powers are operative in every direction, unless restricted by the express provisions of the Constitution, just as the light of the sun shines everywhere, unless it is shut out by a screen. So these sovereign powers do not depend for their existence upon the enumeration of them in successive clauses. In the Constitution is given a general outline of the sovereign powers; and as to the particulars touching them, only the essential points are stated, in order to give a general idea of what they are. The right of coining money, for example, and that of fixing weights and measures, are not enumerated; still, the very absence of any mention of them shows that they are included in the sovereign power of the Emperor.

17. A Regent shall exercise the sovereign powers of the Emperor. Except as to title, he is in every respect like the Emperor, and carries on the government in the name of the Emperor. The only restriction upon his power is that mentioned in Article 75 of the present Constitution. 'In the name of the Emperor' means in the place of the Emperor; that is, a Regent issues his orders in the place of the Emperor.

The institution of a Regent is fixed by the Imperial House Law; but as the exercise of the sovereign powers by a Regent

is connected with the Constitution, the provisions relating to the said exercise of sovereign powers are mentioned in the Constitution, while those relating to the institution of a Regent are contained in the Imperial House Law. The question whether it is, or is not, advisable to institute a Regent under any particular circumstances shall be decided by the Imperial Family, and the matter lies in a region that admits of no interference of the subjects. The extraordinary cases, in which the Emperor is incapable of personally taking the reins of power, are of very rare occurrence; still, those rare cases not infrequently give rise to national commotions. In the Constitution of a certain country it is provided that both Houses of Parliament shall be convened and asked to vote upon the necessity of instituting a Regent. But such a practice is open to the objection that, as the decision of a matter of great importance to the Imperial Family is thus delegated to the will of the majority of the people, there would be a tendency to bring about degradation of Imperial dignity. It is for the purpose of respecting the character of the national policy of the country, and of guarding against the opening of a way to such a tendency, that the dispositions touching the institution of a Regency mentioned in the present article have been left to the determination of the Imperial House Law, and that no further provision is made in the present Constitution on the subject.

II. Rights and Duties of Subjects.

18. The expression 'Japanese subject' is here used to distinguish a Japanese from a foreign subject or citizen. Every Japanese subject shall be entitled to possess public as well as civil legal rights. It is consequently necessary to settle by law the conditions for being a Japanese subject. There are two ways by which an individual can be a Japanese subject: one is by birth, the other by naturalization, or by other effect of law.

The status of subjects shall be settled by a special law. But care has been taken to state this fact in the Constitution because the status of subjects or citizens is necessary for the enjoyment of civil rights in whole and of public rights. It will be seen that the provisions of the said special law are framed on the authority of the Constitution, and that such provisions are essentially related to the rights and duties of subjects as mentioned in the Constitution.

Public rights are the right of electing, that of being elected, that of being appointed to office, and so forth. In every country it is the common rule of public law that public rights shall be determined by the Constitution or by special law, and that they shall be enjoyed solely by native subjects or citizens, to the

exclusion of aliens. But as regards the enjoyment of civil rights, the custom of making a rigid distinction between native subjects and aliens is now a matter of history. At present there is a tendency in almost every country to enable aliens to enjoy, with one or two exceptions, civil rights equally with natives.

19. At the present time, appointment to a military or civil post, or to any other public function, is not regulated by consideration of family. This must be regarded as one of the splendid results of the Restoration. The Constitution now guarantees by the present article that neither nobility nor degree of rank shall any longer be allowed to militate against the equality of all men in regard to appointment to office. Still, the proper qualifications established by law or ordinance, —such as, for example, proper age, payment of taxes, the passing of examinations—shall be the required conditions for appointment to an office or to any post of public trust.

As it is stated that 'Japanese subjects may be appointed to civil or military or any other public offices equally,' it follows that this right is not extended to aliens, unless by provisions of a special enactment.

20. Japanese subjects form one of the elements that make up the Japanese Empire. They are to protect the existence, the independence, and the glory of the country . . . every male subject throughout the land on reaching his twentieth year is entered upon the army and navy rolls, though the number actually called upon to serve each year is determined by the organization of the standing army and navy. Those between their seventeenth and fortieth years of age are all enlisted into the militia, and are liable at any time to be called out, upon the breaking forth of war. Such is the outline of the existing conscription law as it is now carried out. The object of the present article is that every male adult in the whole country shall be compelled, without distinction of class or family, to fulfil, in accordance with the provisions of law, his duty of serving in the army, that he may be incited to valour while his body undergoes physical training, and that in this way the martial spirit of the country shall be maintained and secured from decline.

21. The payment of taxes, like military service, is one of the duties of subjects, as it meets one of the necessities for the common existence of the nation. A tax is the contributive share of each subject in the public expenditures of the State. It is neither benevolence paid in response to exaction, nor a remuneration for certain favours which have been received upon a mutual understanding.

22. The liberty of abode and of changing the same is

guaranteed. Every Japanese subject is now free to fix his residence permanently or temporarily, to hire dwelling-places, or to engage in business at any place within the boundaries of the empire. That it is provided in the Constitution that this liberty can be restricted by law alone, and that it shall be put beyond the reach of administrative measures, shows how highly the said liberty is estimated.

23. Personal liberty is guaranteed. Arrest, confinement, and trial can be carried out only under cases mentioned in the law, and according to the rules mentioned therein; and no ill conduct whatever can be punished but in accordance with the express provisions of law. . . . Any police or prison official, arresting or imprisoning anyone, or treating him harshly, otherwise than in accordance with the law, is liable to heavier punishment for so doing than would be a private individual (Criminal Code, Articles 278, 279, and 280). As to the process of trial, no case shall be brought before a police official, but before some judicial authority; defence shall also be permitted, and trial shall be conducted openly. Any judicial or police authority that resorts to violence in order to extort confession of crime from an accused shall be liable to specially severe punishment (Criminal Code, Article 282). Punishments that are not in accordance with the express provisions of the law shall have no effect (Code of Criminal Procedure, Article 410; Criminal Code, Article 2). Such is the extreme thoroughness of care taken for the protection of subjects. The present article insures against the revival of obsolete usages, and places personal liberty on a safe and stable basis.

24. There is also a necessary provision for the protection of individual rights. The Judges established by law shall deal impartially between litigating parties, free from the restraints of power; and every subject shall be able to contend in a court of law with the high and mighty, and, giving his version of the case, defend against prosecuting officials. The Constitution, therefore, does not suffer encroachment upon the judicial power nor denial of the right of individuals, by the establishment of any extraordinary tribunal or commission, other than by the competent court fixed by law.

25. The inviolable nature of dwellings is guaranteed. A house is a place in which subjects reside in security, and not only are private persons forbidden to enter the abodes of other people, without the consent of its occupants, but also any police, judicial, or revenue official, who, in connection with either a civil or a criminal case or with an administrative measure, shall enter the house of a private individual, or make a search therein, otherwise than in cases specified by

law and in accordance with the provisions contained therein, will be regarded as guilty of an illegal act, and shall be liable to be dealt with according to the Criminal Code (Criminal Code, Articles 171 and 172).

26. The secrecy of letters is one of the benefits conferred by modern civilization. In the present article it is accordingly guaranteed that violation of the secrecy of letters, either by opening or by destroying them, will not be tolerated, except in matters of criminal investigation, or in times of war or of emergency, or in cases specified by express provisions of law.

27. In this article assurance is given of the security of the right of property. The right of property is under the powers of the State. It ought, therefore, to be subordinated to the restrictions of the law. It is indeed inviolable, but it is not unrestricted. For instance, certain kinds of buildings are prohibited within a certain distance of the boundary-line encircling a castle or a fortification, and no indemnity is due for such prohibition; minerals in the earth are under the control of the mining laws; forests are managed by regulations framed in accordance with the requirements of dendrological economy; the planting of trees within a certain distance from a railway-line is prohibited; and wells are not to be dug within a certain distance from a cemetery. These are illustrations of the restrictions that are put upon the right of property; and they will be sufficient to show that the property of individuals, like their persons, is under an obligation of obedience to the State. The right of property is one that falls within the domain of private law, and is not in conflict with the supreme right of governing the country, which belongs to the sphere of public law. . . .* When it is necessitated by public benefit, private individuals may be compelled *nolens volens* to part with their property, in order that the requirements of a given case may be met. This provision is based upon the right of sovereignty—the right of reigning over and of governing the country, though the determination of the regulations concerning the matter in question is delegated to the sphere of law. With regard to a measure by which private property is sacrificed for public benefit, the condition is that a reasonable indemnity shall be paid for the property taken. As to restriction upon the right of property, the Constitution abundantly testifies that they must always be fixed by law, and that they are beyond the control of ordinances.

28. Belief and conviction are operations of the mind. As to forms of worship, to religious discourses, to the mode of propagating a religion, and to the formation of religious associations and meetings, some general legal or police restrictions must be observed for the maintenance of public peace and

order. No believer in this or that religion has a right to place himself outside the pale of the law of the empire, on the ground of serving his god, and to free himself from his duties to the State, which, as a subject, he is bound to discharge. Thus, although freedom of religious belief is complete, and is exempt from all restrictions, so long as manifestations of it are confined to the mind; yet with regard to external matters, such as forms of worship and the mode of propagandism, certain necessary restrictions of law or regulations must be provided for, and, besides, the general duties of subjects must be observed. This is what the Constitution decrees, and it shows the relation in which political and religious rights stand toward each other.

29. Speeches, writings, publications, public meetings and associations, are the media through which men exercise their influence in political or social spheres. . . . But as every one of these edged tools can easily be misused, it is necessary, for the maintenance of public order, to punish by law, and to prevent by police measures, delegated by law, any infringement by use thereof upon the honour or the rights of any individual, any disturbance of the peace of the country, or any instigation to crime. These restrictions must, however, be determined by law, and lie beyond the sphere of ordinances.

30. The right of petition is granted to the people out of the Emperor's most gracious and benevolent consideration, so that an avenue may be opened to his subjects by which they may be able to make their wishes known. . . . But petitioners must observe proper forms of respect. They must not abuse the right granted them by the Constitution, and show disrespect to the Emperor, or engage in calumniously exposing the secrets of other people. Such conduct is positively condemned by the rules of morality. It is necessary, therefore, to provide proper restrictions thereon by law or ordinance, or by rules of the House of the Diet.

The right of petition at first related only to representations addressed to the Sovereign, but its sphere has been gradually extended to those made to Parliament and Government offices. No legal restriction is made as to whether a petition concerns individual or public interest.

31. All the provisions in the present chapter give constitutional guarantees for the rights of the subject. It is the principle of every Constitution that the duty of obedience to law is not confined to the subject alone, but that the powers of the State in authority over him shall, in the exercise of their sway, likewise come under the restrictions of the law. Such is the essential feature of the present chapter. But the Constitution has not neglected to make exceptional provisions to meet requirements of exceptional contingencies. For it must be remembered that the ultimate aim of the State is to maintain

its existence . . . in times of danger the State will have to sacrifice, without hesitation, part of the law and of the rights of the subjects, in order to attain its ultimate end, if it considers that such a course is the only available means by which it can save itself and its people and secure its existence. This is not only a right of the Sovereign, but also his highest duty. Did the State not possess this emergency power, it would be impotent to discharge its functions at the time of crisis.

32. The soldiery must observe military laws and commands while under the banner. Obedience is their first duty. Therefore, such of the provisions of the present chapter relating to rights as come into conflict with military laws and commands shall not be applicable to those in the military and naval service. For example, those of them that are in active service are prohibited from discussing either the military or naval system or political matters, forming themselves into associations of public discussions, of writings, of publications and of petitions, on political matters.

III. The Imperial Diet.

In this section are mentioned the essential features of the Constitution and the rights of the Imperial Diet. It takes part in legislation, but has no share in the sovereign power; it has power to deliberate upon laws, but none to determine them. The right of consent of the Imperial Diet has to be exercised within the limits allowed by the provisions of the Constitution, and is by no means an unlimited one.

That the Diet has its part in legislation is the reason why, in a constitutional government, it is an essential part of the political machinery. The Diet not only has its part in legislation, but indirectly it has also the responsibility of keeping a supervision over the Administration. According to our own Constitution, and in the law of the Houses, the following rights are recognised: *First*, the right to receive petitions; *secondly*, the right to address the Emperor and to make representations to him; *thirdly*, the right to put questions to the Government and demand explanations; and, *fourthly*, the right to control the management of the finances.

33. The House of Peers shall be an assembly of the higher class of the community; while to the House of Representatives commoners shall be elected. These two Houses together shall constitute the Imperial Diet, which represents the public opinion of the country. The two Houses shall therefore possess equal powers, excepting in certain exceptional cases, and neither House shall by itself alone be competent to participate in matters of legislation. It is desired by this that deliberations

be thorough and minute, and that public opinion be impartially represented.

34. The members of the House of Peers, whether they be hereditary, elected or appointed ones, are to represent the higher grades of society. If the House of Peers fulfils its functions, it will serve in a remarkable degree to preserve an equilibrium between political powers, to restrain the undue influence of political parties, to check the evil tendencies of irresponsible discussions, to secure the stability of the Constitution, to be an instrument for maintaining harmony between the governing and the governed, and to permanently sustain the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people. The object of having a House of Peers is not merely admittance of the higher classes to some share in the deliberations upon legislative matters, but also representation of the prudence, experience, and perseverance of the people, by assembling together men who have rendered signal service to the State, men of erudition and men of great wealth. Provisions as to its composition being fixed by the Imperial ordinance concerning the House of Peers, they are not mentioned in the Constitution.

35. The members of the House of Representatives are to be elected by the people throughout the country, from among men having certain qualifications, and for a fixed length of time. The provisions relating to elections are, as stated in the previous article, passed over to those of a special law, so as to make it easy, when the necessity for it arises in the future, to make additions or alterations in the mode of carrying out elections. It is, therefore, undesirable that the Constitution should enter into minutiæ on the subject.

The members of the House of Representatives are all of them representatives of the people of the whole country. The object of establishing election districts for the election of members is to make the election general throughout the whole country, and also for the sake of convenience of election. Representatives, therefore, are to speak freely in the House, according to the dictates of their individual consciences, and are not to regard themselves as the delegates only of the people of their respective districts, commissioned to attend merely to matters entrusted to them by their constituents.

36. The two Houses, though forming the parts of the Diet, are different in the elements composing them, and occupy towards each other equalizing and opposing positions. Therefore the combination in one person of membership of both Houses at one and the same time is incompatible with the object of establishing two Houses.

37. The law is a rule of conduct emanating from the sovereign

power of the State, to which it is necessary to obtain the consent of the Diet. Such is one of the fundamental precepts of a constitutional government. No Bill, therefore, can become a law that has not passed through the Diet; nor can one become so that has passed through one House, but been rejected by the other.

38. When the Government makes the draft of a law, and by order of the Emperor submits it to the two Houses of the Diet as a Bill, they shall be competent to pass it with or without amendment, or to reject it. When either House deems it necessary that such and such a law should be issued, it may initiate a Bill for the one purpose. When a Bill, initiated by one House and passed in the other with or without amendment to it, shall receive the sanction of the Emperor, it shall become a law the same as in the case of projects submitted by the Government.

The Emperor shall have no relations with the Diet other than to order its convening, its opening and closing, and to give sanction to laws. He charges the Ministers of State, during the session of the Diet, with the drafting of laws and with public correspondence. Accordingly, such projects are said 'to be submitted by the Government.'

39. The submission to the Diet of the same project for a second time during the same session not only infringes the rights of the Diet, but is likely to prolong the session for the discussion of a solitary matter. It has, therefore, been prohibited by the present article. The Constitution prohibits the evasion of the provisions of the present article by the laying for a second time before the Diet, under a new title and a new phraseology, a project that has been already rejected by the Diet.

A project of a law that has not been sanctioned by the Sovereign cannot be introduced into the Diet a second time during the session. This must be so out of respect to the sovereign powers of the Head of the State, and needs no explicit enunciation. Still, as to representations, it is stated that the same representations cannot be made twice during the same session. For while, on the one hand, whether a project of law be sanctioned or not lies with the Emperor, the acceptance or rejection of a representation, on the other, is in the power of the Government; so there is a distinction between the two as to their relative importance. It will therefore be observed that definite provisions have been made in the one case to avoid all doubt on the subject.

40. The present article shows that the Diet has the right of making representations. But in a preceding article the right of initiating projects of law has been given to both Houses.

What is, then, the object of the provisions of the present article—that both Houses may make representations concerning a law? It is that the Diet is in this way allowed option of either one of two courses of action: either to make a draft of a law and then bring it in, or, instead of doing so, simply to make representations of their opinion to the Government as to the enactment of a new law, or as to the amendment or abolition of an old one, and, if the representation be accepted by the Government, to leave to the latter the framing of the draft of the law.

The Diet not only has to take part in legislation, but it has also the duty of indirectly keeping a watch upon the Administration. Therefore both Houses may also make representations to the Government as to the advantage or disadvantage, expediency or inexpediency, of this or that matter lying outside the sphere of legislation.

But when the opinion of the one or the other House, as to a law or to some other matter, is not accepted by the Government, that House is not allowed to make representation on the same matter twice during the same session, so that there may be no tendency to controversies and coercion on the part of the Diet.

41. The convocation of the Diet belongs to the sovereign power of the Emperor; but the yearly convocation of the Diet has been expressly provided for in the present article, to guarantee by the Constitution the existence of the Diet. But cases like those mentioned in Article 70 are exceptional ones.

42. Three months have been fixed for the length of a session, so as to avoid the endless prolongation of deliberations. The prolongation of a session, or the postponement of the closing of the Diet by reason of unavoidable necessity, shall be carried out by Imperial order; and the Diet shall have no power to take such steps upon its own responsibility. With the closing of the Diet shall terminate all the business of the session. No subject of debate, whether a vote has been taken upon it or not, shall be continued at the next session, unless special provisions have been made in regard thereto.

43. The Diet shall be convened once a year; this is for the ordinary session. No provision is made in the Constitution as to the time of year of the ordinary session, but, it being necessary to give it time for the consideration of the Budget of the coming year, it will usually be opened in the winter months. When there arises an urgent necessity, therefore, an extraordinary session shall be especially convoked by order of the Emperor. The duration of an extraordinary session is not fixed by the Constitution, but is to be settled by the Imperial order convoking it, according to the necessities of the case.

44. The House of Peers and the House of Representatives, though two distinct branches of the legislature, together form one Diet. Therefore a project which has passed through one House, but has not received the consent of the other, cannot become a law. Nor ought the proceedings of one House, at a time when the other is not sitting, to have any effect. It is for these considerations that the present article provides that both Houses of the Diet shall be simultaneously opened and closed.

A portion of the House of Peers consists of hereditary members. Therefore, although it may be prolonged, it cannot be dissolved; and when the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall be ordered only to prorogue at the same time.

45. The provision contained in this article gives a permanent guarantee to the Diet. By it it is intended to dismiss the old members and to introduce new ones. Should the Constitution not have fixed the time for newly convoking the House after its dissolution, its existence would be left to the mere caprice of the Government.

46. When the number of members present is less than one-third of the whole number of members, no meeting can be held; therefore in such cases deliberations shall not be opened, nor can any vote be taken. The whole number of members is that number of them which is fixed by the law of election. As deliberations cannot be opened unless more than one-third of the whole number of members is present, neither can a House be organized unless more than one-third of the whole number has answered the summons of convocation.

47. It is the usual practice in deliberative assemblies to arrive at decisions by an absolute majority of votes. Absolute majority in the present article means the absolute majority of the members present. It is rational that, when for the two sides of a question there is an equal number of members, it should be decided by the voice of the President. But discussion on an amendment of the Constitution, as set forth in Article 73, is an exceptional case. Again, in the case of an election of President, or of a committee, or in the proceedings of a committee, the term 'majority' shall be interpreted according to the rules specially framed for the particular case, and with such cases the present article has no connection.

48. The Diet represents the people; consequently debates and voting therein should be carried on in view of the public. But exceptions should be made for certain affairs that require secrecy of deliberation, such, for instance, as foreign affairs, personal matters, election of the Diet officers and of committees, certain financial matters, certain military affairs, and administrative regulations relating to peace and order. In

such cases the session may be held with closed doors, either upon the demand of the Government or by resolution of the House.

49. To present addresses is to approach the Emperor by presenting to him a certain writing. The meaning of the word 'addresses' includes the reply to an Imperial speech in the Diet, addresses of congratulation or of condolence, representations of opinion, petitions, and the like. The writing may be transmitted, or a delegation of the House may be instructed to ask for an audience and present it to the Emperor. In either case proper forms of respect must be observed. The dignity of the Emperor must not be infringed by any proceeding implying coercion.

50. Subjects are at liberty to directly petition the Emperor, a Government office, or the Diet. In the Diet petitions received from individuals are first examined, and then simply transmitted to the Government, or are transmitted with a memorandum containing the opinion of the Diet, with a request for a report of the Government thereon; but neither House of the Diet has any positive obligation to take petitions into consideration, nor has the Government a positive obligation to grant the prayer set forth in the petition. As to petitions relating to legislative matters, although they need not be taken as direct projects of a law, yet a member may in the usual manner make a motion in the House relating to the opinion set forth in the petition.

51. By 'the rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs' is to be understood all those provisions relating to the election of the President, of the Business Bureau, the establishment of the different sections, the election of committees, the business of the same, rules of debate, the minutes of the same, rules for the disposal of petitions, those for granting leave of absence to members of the Diet, order and discipline, the business of the accountant of the Diet, and the like. These rules are to be established by the respective Houses, within the limits allowed by the Constitution and the law of the Houses.

52. The present article recognises the freedom of speech in the Diet. The management of the internal affairs of the Diet appertains to its autonomy; consequently violation of the rules of morality and personal defamation by an unrestricted license of speech are to be suppressed and dealt with by the Diet itself, according to its own regulations, and judicial authorities are not suffered to interfere in these matters. Moreover, the votes of the Diet become bases for future laws, and debates by the members are the means by which the harmonizing of different conflicting opinions is to be brought about. Accordingly,

members shall be free from criminal or civil liability for expressions used in debate. The purpose of this provision is to insure respect for the rights of the Diet, and to give weight and value to the speeches of the members. When, however, members make public their speeches delivered in the Diet, and thus extend the freedom of speech they enjoyed in the Diet to the outside thereof, they cannot escape legal responsibility for the same, whether the matter made public relate to motions or to refutation of statement.

53. The two Houses of the Diet co-operate in the important affairs of legislation. Accordingly, special privileges are granted to the members during the session, so that they may maintain an independent position and be able to discharge their important functions. As to cases of *flagrante delicto*, and to offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble, no immunity can be claimed through special privilege of the Diet. A session comprises the time intervening between the convoking and closing of the Diet. As to cases of *non flagrante delicto* or to ordinary offences, an offending member may be arrested after communication has been held with the House, and its permission has been obtained so to do. In the case of flagrant delicts and of offences relating to a state of internal commotion or to foreign trouble, an offending member may be arrested at once and the matter reported to the House of which he is a member.

54. To make explanations during debates in the Diet is an important duty of the Ministers of State. The right of the Ministers of State to be present in the House and to speak therein is left to the option of the Government. The Ministers of State therefore may in person take part in debates, and make explanations, or they may instruct delegates of the Government so to do; they may, too, when they think it necessary, decline at pleasure to do either the one or the other, either in person or by delegation.

IV. The Ministers of State.

The Ministers of State are charged with the duty of giving advice to the Emperor; they are to serve as media, through which the Imperial commands are conveyed, and are to execute administrative affairs. The Privy Councillors are to give their opinions on important matters of State in response to the Emperor's call therefor. They and the Ministers of State are the Emperor's most eminent assistants.

55. Every Minister of State shall on the one hand take part in the deliberations of the Cabinet, while on the other he shall have charge of the affairs of some department of State, and shall have to bear his responsibility in the affairs

of State. These shall be despatched through the medium of the Cabinet and of the different departments of State, and through no other medium whatever. . . . In our Constitution the following conclusions have been arrived at: *First*, that the Ministers of State are charged with the duty of giving advice to the Emperor, which is their proper function, and that they are not held responsible on his behalf; *secondly*, that Ministers are directly responsible to the Emperor, and indirectly responsible to the people; *thirdly*, that it is the Sovereign, and not the people, that can decide as to the responsibility of Ministers, because the Sovereign possesses the rights of sovereignty of State; *fourthly*, that the responsibility of Ministers of State is a political one, and has no relation to criminal or civil responsibility, nor can it conflict therewith, neither can the one affect the other. Save that all criminal and civil cases must be brought before the ordinary courts of law, and that suits arising out of administrative matters must be brought before a court of administrative litigation, the cases of political responsibility are left to be dealt with by the Sovereign as disciplinary measures.

The Minister President of State is to make representations to the Emperor on matters of State, and to indicate, according to his pleasure, the general course of policy of the State, every branch of the Administration being under the control of the said Minister. As to the other Ministers of State, they are severally held responsible for the matters within their respective competency: there is no joint responsibility among them in regard to such matters. For the Minister President and the other Ministers of State being alike personally appointed by the Emperor, the proceedings of each one of them are, in every respect, controlled by the will of the Emperor, and the Minister President himself has no power of control over the posts occupied by other Ministers, while the latter ought not to be dependent upon the former. . . . But with regard to important internal and external matters of State, the whole Government is concerned, and no single department can, therefore, be exclusively charged with the conduct of them. As to the expediency of such matters, and as to the mode of carrying them out, all the Ministers of State shall take united counsel, and none of them is allowed to leave his share of the business a burden upon his colleagues. In such matters it would, of course, be proper for the Cabinet to assume joint responsibility.

The counter-signature of a Minister or of Ministers of State has the following two effects: *First*, laws, Imperial ordinances, and Imperial rescripts that relate to the affairs of the State can be put into force only by virtue of the counter-signature of a Minister or of Ministers of State. Without it they can take no effect, and when issued through any other than a Ministerial

channel, none can be carried out by the functionaries charged with its execution. *Secondly*, the counter-signature of a Minister or of Ministers of State attests the right of the said Minister or Ministers to carry out the law, Imperial ordinance, or Imperial rescript, in question, and also his or their responsibility for the same. The Ministers of State are the channels through which the Sovereign's orders are to flow, both at home and abroad. This is made clear by their counter-signatures. But the political responsibility of Ministers cannot be regarded only from a legal point of view: moral considerations must also enter into the question, for the limits defined by law are not the only ones within which Ministers must move; consequently, when a mistake has been committed by the Government, responsibilities should not be confined to the counter-signing Minister or Ministers, but also those Ministers who, though not counter-signers, have been consulted about the matter, ought to be held responsible for the mistake. If, therefore, the fact of counter-signing be taken as the mark by which the limits of responsibility are to be distinguished, it will lead to an undue reliance upon mere form and to the disregarding of real facts. To conclude, though counter-signature indicates the responsibility of the counter-signing Minister, yet responsibility does not arise from the fact of counter-signing.

56. The Emperor on the one hand maintains the supreme control of administrative affairs through the medium of the Cabinet, while on the other he has established the Privy Council, so that in his wisdom he may have at command its assistance, and that the information he obtain may be thorough and impartial. In performing their Heaven-sent mission, Sovereigns must first take advice before they arrive at a decision. Hence the establishment of the Privy Council is just as necessary as that of the Cabinet, to serve as the highest body of the Emperor's constitutional advisers.

Moreover, when an emergency ordinance is to be issued, or a state of siege is to be declared, or when some extraordinary financial measure is deemed necessary to be taken, the opinion of the Privy Council is to be sought before the measure is carried out, thereby giving weight to the measures of the administrative in the matter. In this way the Privy Council is the palladium of the Constitution and of the law. Such being the importance attached to the functions of the Privy Council, it is the established rule that every Imperial ordinance on which the advice of the Privy Council is asked shall contain a statement of that fact in the preamble to it. The Privy Council is to hold deliberations only when its opinion has been asked for by the Emperor; and it is entirely for him to accept or reject any opinion given. The duty of the Privy Council is to be perfectly loyal and

straightforward in furnishing advice to the Emperor. As to a matter about which the opinion of that body has been furnished to the Emperor, no publicity can be given to it, however trifling it may be, without his special permission.

V. The Judicature.

The Judicature is the authority which, in accordance with the provisions of law and in conformity with reason and justice, redresses injured rights of subjects and metes out punishments. The judiciary and administrative departments have each different organizations, and neither of them suffers any encroachment upon its sphere of business by the other.

57. The distinction between the administrative and the judiciary may be briefly described as follows: The functions of the administrative are to carry out laws and to take such measures as may be found expedient for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the happiness of the people; while the duty of the judiciary is to pronounce judgment upon infringements of rights, according to the provisions of the law. In the judiciary law is everything, and the question of convenience is left out of consideration. In the administrative, however, measures are taken to meet the ever-changing requirements demanded for the convenience and necessities of society; the law simply shows the limits beyond which they are not permitted to obtrude. Therefore trials must be conducted according to law. But the Sovereign is the fountain of justice, and his judicial authority is nothing more than a form of the manifestation of the sovereign power. Therefore judgments shall be pronounced in the name of the Emperor, the judicial authority in this respect representing him in his sovereign power. The organization of the courts of law shall be settled by law, in contradistinction with the organization of the administrative. Officers of justice possess independent positions founded upon law. Though it is in the power of the Sovereign to appoint Judges, and though the courts of law have to pronounce judgment in the name of the Sovereign, yet the Sovereign does not take it upon himself to conduct trials, but causes independent courts to do so, in accordance with the law and regardless of the influence of the administrative. Such is what is meant by the independence of the judicature.

58. The function of Judges is to uphold the law and to administer justice to the people in an impartial manner. Special experience and knowledge are, accordingly, the required qualifications of Judges; hence it is provided in the first clause of the present article that certain qualifications for

judgeship are to be settled by law. They shall be entitled to hold office for life, unless dismissed from the service by a criminal sentence or by the effect of a disciplinary trial. Disciplinary rules applicable to judicial functionaries are fixed by law, and carried out by decision of a court of law. No interference of any chief of an administrative office is allowed. All details as to suspension from office, to *hishoku* (temporary retirement from public service on one-third pay), to the transfer of appointment and to retirement on account of age, shall be mentioned in the law.

59. That trials are publicly conducted and that the parties are orally examined in public are most effective guarantees for the rights of the people. There are two stages in every criminal proceeding: preliminary examination and trial. The word 'trial' used in the present article does not include, in its meaning, preliminary examination. The cases in which public trial may be 'prejudicial to peace and order' are, for instance, those relating to offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble, or those relating to the assembling of mobs or to instigation of crime, thereby agitating and exciting people's minds. The cases in which public trial may be 'prejudicial to maintenance of public morality' are such, for instance, as relate to private matters causing scandal and shocking public morality when exposed to the knowledge of the community. From the expression '. . . may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality,' is to be inferred that whether a certain act is calculated to disturb peace and order or to be detrimental to public morality is to be decided by the opinion of the court, 'according to law'—that is, according to the expressed provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Code of Civil Procedure. 'By the decision of the court'—that is, where there is no express provision of law, the decision of the court will suffice to suspend public trial. From the expression 'the public trial may be suspended' it is to be inferred that judgment and pronunciation of sentence are always to be in public.

60. Those matters appertaining to men in the military or naval service that are taken cognizance of by the courts-martial belong to the category of matters that fall within the competency of a special court other than the ordinary courts of justice. Further, should it become necessary to establish in future special tribunals of commerce for merchants and manufacturers, commercial and industrial matters to be taken cognizance of by the said tribunals will also belong to the category of matters that shall fall under the jurisdiction of a special court other than the ordinary civil courts. Provision for these

tribunals shall be established by law. No ordinance can establish legal exceptional cases. The Constitution does not suffer the establishment of exceptional courts placed beyond the control of law, encroaching upon the Judicature through the influence of the administrative authority, and wresting from the people the proper courts where justice can be obtained.

61. By the 'Court of Administrative Litigation' is to be understood a tribunal where cases instituted against administrative measures are adjudicated. The law provides certain limits upon rights of subjects in order to insure the safety of the same. And no party of the body politic can claim any exemption from the duty of observing these legal limits. The proper function of judicial courts is to adjudicate in civil cases, and they have no power to annul measures ordered to be carried out by administrative authorities, who have been charged with their duties by the Constitution and the law. For the independence of the administration of the Judicature is just as necessary as that of the Judicature itself. Administrative authorities carry out measures by virtue of their official functions, and for these measures they lie under constitutional responsibility, and it follows that they ought to possess power to remove obstacles in the path of these measures and to decide upon suits springing from the carrying out of them. For should the administrative be denied this power, its executive efficacy would be entirely paralyzed, and it would no longer be able to discharge the responsibilities put upon it by the Constitution. This is the first reason why it is necessary to establish a Court of Administrative Litigation in addition to judicial courts. As the object of an administrative measure is to maintain public interests, it will become necessary under certain circumstances to sacrifice the individuals for the sake of public benefit. But the question of administrative expediency is just what judicial authorities are ordinarily apt to be not conversant with. It would therefore be rather dangerous to confide to them the power of deciding such questions. Administrative cases ought, accordingly, to be left to the decision of men well versed in administrative affairs. This is the second and final reason why the establishment of a Court of Administrative Litigation is necessary, in addition to judicial courts. But its organization, like that of the latter, must be established by law. By the expression 'illegal measures of the administrative authorities' it must be understood that no suit can be brought against those measures that have been carried out in conformity with law or with the functionary power of the office in question. The expression 'rights alleged to have been infringed' points to the evident conclusion that mere damage to one's interests,

though it can become the ground of a petition, begets no right of administrative litigation.

VI. Finance.

Finance forms an important part of the Administration, as it relates to the management of the annual expenditures and revenue of the State, and has a close and intimate bearing upon the resources of the people. Accordingly, great importance is attached to it by the Constitution, which clearly defines the extent of the rights of the Imperial Diet as to consent and control in regard thereto.

62. It is one of the most beautiful features of constitutional government, and a direct safeguard to the happiness of the subjects, that the consent of the Diet is required for the imposition of a new tax, and that such matters are not left to the arbitrary action of the Government. When a new tax is imposed over and above already existing ones, or when the rate of taxation is to be modified, it must be left to the option of the Diet what would be a proper degree of taxation. 'Administrative fees or other revenue having the nature of compensation,' as mentioned in the second clause of the present article, are such as are collected from private individuals for undertakings engaged in, or for transactions conducted, by the Government for them at their request or for their benefit. They are in their nature different from taxes, which are imposed as a common duty to be discharged by all. For instance, railway-fares, warehouse charges, school fees, and the like, may be fixed by administrative ordinance, and need not be settled by law. But, as they are called 'administrative fees,' a distinction must be observed between them and 'judicial fees.' As to the provision of the third clause of the present article, a national loan involves the incurring of liabilities by the national Treasury to be met in the future. To a new loan, therefore, the consent of the Diet must always be obtained. The effect of a Budget extends only over a single fiscal year, so for giving subsidies or guarantees or making engagements that involve liability of the national Treasury the consent of the Diet is needed, as in the case of a national loan.

63. In the preceding article it has been assured that the imposition of new taxes must be determined by law. In the present one it is provided that the taxes now in existence shall in future be collected in the method and according to the rate heretofore extant, except in so far as changes shall hereafter be effected by new enactments. In order to meet necessary expenses, a State must possess some fixed revenue. Hence, not only has the Constitution not introduced any change

in the national revenue produced by existing taxes, but has, on the contrary, confirmed the same by express provisions.

64. In the Budget are estimated the expenditure and revenue of each fiscal year, to show the limits which the Administration ought to observe. The preparation of an estimate of the expenditures of the State is the first step in the proper management of finance. And it is an important result of constitutional principles of government that the submission of the Budget to the vote of the Diet is required for its consent thereto, and, further, that after expenses have been defrayed as set forth in the Budget, the subsequent approval of the Diet to any expenditures overpassing the estimated appropriation, or to any expenditures not provided for in the Budget, shall be asked for, as control of such matters lies with it. In 1886, the 19th year of Meiji, the Budget was promulgated by Imperial ordinance. This was the first time that a Budget had been promulgated according to a fixed form. The present article goes a step further, and provides that the Budget shall be laid before the Diet. A Budget is simply a sort of gauge to be observed by the administrative officials for a current year. Thus, the Budget requires the consent of the Diet on account of its special character, and is not, properly speaking, a law. Therefore law has precedence over a Budget, which has no power to change a law. It is true that a law must be passed by the Diet; still, it is not correct to say that everything that has been passed by the Diet ought to be called a law. For those rules which, though they may have been passed by the Diet, relate to particular matters have no general binding force, and are different in their nature from law. When, as provided in the second clause, the appropriations set forth in the titles and paragraphs of the Budget have been exceeded, or when expenditures that are not provided for in the same have been incurred, the subsequent approval of the Diet is to be obtained, for even in regard to an indispensable measure the Government has still to submit to the control of the Diet. It is to be borne in mind that a deficit rather than a surplus is, in fact, to be expected from a Budget that has been accurately prepared. If the Ministers of State are not required, merely because they have been settled in the Budget, to make outlays that are unnecessary, neither are they forbidden by the Constitution to make outlays exceeding the estimated appropriations or not provided for in the Budget, that may be necessary on account of unavoidable circumstances. For the functions of Ministers of State are not determined by consent of the Diet to the Budget: they are fixed by the Constitution and the law. Consequently, unavoidable expenses overpassing the estimated appropriations, or unprovided for in the Budget, are all legal. But if they are

legal, why ask the subsequent approval of the Diet to them? Because it is thereby intended to keep harmony and close connection between the administrative necessities and the control of the legislative. When the Diet discovers that any extravagant expenses have been illegally incurred, and does not recognise the necessity of such expenses, it may take the matter up as a political question, though it cannot make it a subject of legal contention. But the action of the Diet in such cases cannot affect the consequences of the expenditures already incurred by the Government, or of the obligations thereby devolving upon the Government. 'Expenditures overpassing the appropriations set forth in the titles and paragraphs of the Budget' are those expenditures that exceed the amounts voted by the Diet. 'Expenditures that are not provided for in the Budget' refers to those expenditures that are incurred, apart from the titles and paragraphs mentioned in the Budget, on account of unforeseen circumstances.

65. It is provided in the present article that, as regards the Budget, the right of priority shall be given to the House of Representatives. In discussing the Budget, the object sought for is to arrive at a clear conception of the resources of the people as compared with the financial condition of the Government, so that a just mean may be secured. This is the most important duty to be discharged by representatives elected by the people.

66. In Article 64 it is provided that the consent of the Imperial Diet shall be required to the Budget. But in the present article an exceptional case is mentioned. The expenditures of the Imperial House are those that are indispensable for maintaining the dignity of the Emperor, and to meet them is the first duty of the Treasury. The employment of the funds is an affair of the Court, and not one for interference by the Diet; consequently, neither consent to these expenditures nor verification of them is required by the Diet. The amount of the expenditures of the Imperial House is, however, stated in the Budget, and also in the statement of the final accounts. But this is merely for the purpose of completing the sum total of public expenditures, and not for the purpose of submission to the deliberation of the Diet. The reason the consent of the Diet is required when it has become necessary to increase the amount of expenditures under review is that the affair in question has a close relation to the taxes contributed by the subjects, and that therefore it is to be submitted to the deliberations of their representatives.

67. 'Already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor' include all the expenditures which are based upon the sovereign powers of the

Emperor, as set forth in Chapter I. of the Constitution—to wit, ordinary expenditures required by the organization of the different branches of the Administration, and by that of the army and navy, the salaries of all civil and military officers, and expenditures that may be required in consequence of treaties concluded with foreign countries. Such expenditures, whether their origin be prior to the coming into force of the present Constitution or subsequent to it, shall be regarded as permanent expenditure already fixed at the time of the bringing of the Budget into the Diet. 'Such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law' include the expenses of the Houses of the Diet, annual allowances and other miscellaneous allowances to the members, pensions, annuities, expenses and salaries required by the organization of offices determined by law, and other expenses of a like nature. 'Expenses that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government' include the interest of the national debt, redemption of the same, subsidies or guarantees to companies, expenses necessary to the civil obligation of the Government, compensations of all kinds, and the like.

The Constitution and the law are the highest guides for the conduct of administrative and financial affairs, and the State, in order to accomplish the object of its existence, must accord the supremacy to the Constitution and the law, and subject administrative and financial affairs to the control of the two. Therefore, in taking the Budget into consideration, the Diet, faithful to the Constitution and the law, must make it the rule to provide the supplies that may be required by the national institutions established by the Constitution and by law. Also all existing contracts and all civil and all other obligations equally beget legal necessity for supplies. Were the Diet, in voting the Budget, to reject entirely or to reduce in amount any of the expenditures based by the Constitution upon the sovereign powers of the Emperor, or any expenditure necessitated by an effect of law for the fulfilment of legal obligations, such proceeding should be regarded as subversive of the existence of the State and contrary to the fundamental principles of the Constitution. From the wording 'already fixed expenditures' it is to be understood that, in regard to new expenditures or to the increase of existing ones, though based upon the sovereign powers of the Emperor, the Diet may have the power to freely deliberate upon them. Even those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the sovereign power of the Emperor, and those that have arisen either by effect of law or from the necessity of fulfilment of legal obligations, may with the consent of the Government be rejected or reduced in amount, or otherwise modified.

68. The expenditures of the State are ordinarily to be

voted yearly, for the affairs of the State are in a condition of constant activity and motion, and cannot be managed according to a fixed standard. Consequently, the same amount of national expenditures cannot be continued from one year to another. But in the present article exceptional provisions are made for special cases of necessity. In virtue of such provisions, a certain portion of the military and naval expenditures, and expenditures for engineering works, manufactures, and the like, that require several years for completion, may, with the consent of the Diet, be fixed for a period comprising several years.

69. In the present article provision is made for a reserve fund out of which to supply deficiencies in the Budget and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same. Article 69 sets forth that expenditures overpassing the appropriations in the Budget, or that are not provided for therein at all, shall require the subsequent approval of the Diet; but in that article no provision is made as to the source whence such outlays are to be met. Hence the necessity of providing a reserve fund by the present article.

70. The interpretation of the present article is amply furnished by the remarks made under Article 8. The point of difference between the present article and Article 8 is that in the case mentioned in the latter, when the Diet is not sitting, no extraordinary session of it need be called, while in the case of the present one an extraordinary session is required; but even in this case necessary measures may be taken without the consent of the Diet, when the convening of an extraordinary session is impossible on account of some circumstances of a domestic or foreign nature. More precaution is taken in the case of the present article, as it relates to financial administration. By 'the necessary financial measures' mentioned in this article is to be understood those measures which, though by their nature they require the consent of the legislative assembly, are taken without it in case of urgency. The withholding of the approbation of the Diet refers only to the continued efficacy of the measures in question, and shall not possess the retrospective effect of annulling past proceedings, as has been fully explained under Article 8. Therefore the Diet cannot cancel the obligations of the Government that have arisen by effect of an Imperial ordinance. The necessity of resorting to the measures in question would occur only in time of great national calamity. So by the present article a formal recognition has been given of the measures that may have been imperatively demanded for the protection of the national existence, while at the same time due importance has been allowed to the rights of the Diet.

71. When the Diet has closed before it has acted upon the Budget, it will then be said that 'it has not voted on the Budget.' When in one of the Houses the Budget has been rejected, it will be considered 'not to have been brought into actual existence.' Further, when the Diet has been either prorogued or when the House of Representatives has been dissolved, before a final vote has been taken upon it, the Budget will have no existence until the next opening of the Diet. When the Diet has not voted upon the Budget or the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the result will be, in extreme cases, the destruction of the national existence, and in ordinary ones the paralyzation of the machinery of the Administration.

72. The Budget is the first piece of work of the yearly financial business, while final accounts are the concluding piece of the same. There are two ways in which the Diet can exercise control over financial operations: one is a preceding, the other a subsequent control. By preceding control is to be understood the power of giving or of withholding consent to the Budget for the coming fiscal year, while by subsequent control is meant the power of verifying the statement of accounts of the past fiscal year. For submission to subsequent control the Government has the duty of laying before the Diet the final accounts that have already undergone verification by the Board of Audit, together with the report thereon of the said Board. The functions of the Board of Audit consist—*first*, in verifying the vouchers of the accountants of the different branches of the Administration, and in discharging them from responsibility; *secondly*, in control over the measures of the authorities possessing the power of issuing warrants on the Treasury, and in examination as to whether or not there has been any disbursement exceeding the estimated appropriation, any expenditures not provided for in the Budget, or any operation in violation of provisions of the Budget or of any law or Imperial ordinance; *thirdly*, in verifications of the general accounts of the national Treasury and of the reports on final accounts of the various departments of State, in comparing the above with the amounts disbursed in the different branches of the Administration, as reported to the said Board by the different accountants, and in thus confirming the general final accounts as well as the reports on final accounts of the different departments of the State. The administrative verification made by the Board of Audit prepares the ground for the legislative one by the Diet. In the Diet the report of the Board of Audit and the final accounts of the Government will be received at the same time, and the latter will be approved and confirmed when they are considered to be correct. For the

examination of the financial business of the Government, the Board of Audit must possess an independent character. Accordingly, its organizations and functions, like those of Judges, shall be determined by law, and placed beyond the reach of the administrative ordinances. However, rules by which verification is to be conducted shall be determined by Imperial ordinance.

VII. Supplementary Rules.

73. The Constitution has been personally determined by His Majesty the Emperor in conformity with the instructions transmitted to him by his ancestors, and he desires to bequeath it to posterity as an immutable code of laws, whose provisions his present subjects and their descendants shall obey for ever. Therefore the essential character of the Constitution shall undergo no alteration. But law is advantageous only when it is in harmony with the actual necessities of society. Thus, although the fundamental character of the national policy is to continue unaltered for all ages to come, yet it may become necessary at some time in the future to make more or less great modification in the important parts of the political institutions, so as to keep them in touch with the changing phases of society. The present article does not prohibit the amendment of the provisions of this Constitution at some future time, but establishes certain special conditions for the operation. The draft of a proposed amendment of the Constitution is submitted to the Diet by an Imperial order, though the projects of ordinary laws have to be laid before the Diet by the Government, or initiated by the Diet itself, because the right of making amendments to the Constitution must belong to the Emperor himself, as he is the sole author of it. Although the power of amendment is vested in the Emperor, it is submitted to the Diet for the reason that the Emperor's great desire is that a great law, when once established, shall be obeyed by the Imperial Family, as well as by his subjects, and it shall not be changed by the arbitrary will of the Imperial Family. The ordinary way of arriving at a decision by a majority of votes of the members present is not practised in this matter; the presence and a majority of at least two-thirds of the entire number of all the members is required for so doing (in each House), for the reason that the greatest caution is to be exercised in regard to matters relating to the Constitution. From the express provisions of the present article, it is to be inferred that, when a project for the amendment of the provisions of the Constitution has been submitted to the deliberations of the Diet, the latter cannot take a vote

on any matter other than what is contained in the project submitted to it. It is further to be inferred that the Diet is not allowed to evade the restriction of the present article by voting a law that may directly or indirectly affect any of the principles of the present Constitution.

74. While the vote of the Diet is necessary for any amendment of the Constitution, a modification of the Imperial House Law alone needs no submission to it, for the Imperial House Law is one that has been settled by the Imperial Family concerning their own affairs, and bears no relation to the reciprocal rights and duties of the Emperor or of his subjects towards each other. A rule by which a modification of the Imperial House Law is required to be submitted to the Imperial Family Council, and also to the Privy Council, ought to be mentioned in the Imperial House Law itself, but need have no mention in the Constitution. Such provision is accordingly omitted in the present article. But should modification of the Imperial House Law be suffered to either directly or indirectly bring about any alteration of the present Constitution, the foundations of the latter would not be free from exposure to destruction. Accordingly, in the present article care has been taken to establish a special safeguard for the Constitution.

75. The institution of a Regency is an extraordinary measure, and not an ordinary matter. Thus, although a Regent is entitled to exercise the right of reigning over and of governing the country just as if he were Emperor indeed, yet he is not allowed to exercise any power of decision concerning a modification either of the Constitution or of the Imperial House Law. For the fundamental laws of State and of the Imperial House being of far greater importance than the office of Regent, which is in its nature provisional, no personage other than the Emperor has the power of effectuating the great work of making an amendment to any of them.

76. It is provided in the present article, not only that existing laws, ordinances, and regulations, shall possess binding force, but also that such enactments as are required by the Constitution to be promulgated in the form of laws shall possess the same force as laws. When it becomes necessary in the future to make amendments of such enactments, the amendments are to be carried out as laws, notwithstanding that the original enactment in question had been promulgated in the form of ordinance or of notification.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF JAPAN

BY MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

I WAS one of the first Japanese to visit foreign lands, and was only able to do so by stealth, escaping to Shanghai in 1863. The country was only just opened to foreign intercourse, and Japanese subjects were not yet allowed to leave the country.

I have always been very much in favour of the adoption of the principles of Western civilization by Japan, and I have been enabled to use my services in the direction of assisting the present progress and transformation in Japan's estate. In the thirty-four years during which I have held office I have always tried to help, and sometimes even to force on to the antagonistic spirits, measures necessary for the growth of modern Japan. From the beginning we realized fully how necessary it was that the Japanese people should not only adopt Western methods, but should also speedily become competent to do without the aid of foreign instruction and supervision. In the early days we brought many foreigners to Japan to help to introduce modern methods, but we always did it in such a way as to enable the Japanese students to take their rightful place in the nation after they had been educated. I must say that sometimes the foreigners, and even the foreign nations themselves, endeavoured to take advantage of the Japanese inexperience by passing men off as experts when they really knew next to nothing of the subjects for which they were engaged. We were, however, able to secure the services of many excellent men whose names are still honoured in Japan, although they themselves have long since left her shores.

On the occasion of my second visit to London as one of the Ambassadors of our country, it was suggested to me that it would be most beneficial to establish a special Engineering College in Japan, where every branch of engineering should be taught. Such a college would be quite unique, no other nation having one. The idea seemed a very good one, and on my return to Japan I took the necessary steps, and with the

assistance of foreign professors we founded an Engineering College, now incorporated in the Tokyo University. From this institution have come the majority of engineers who are now working the resources and industries of Japan. I consider the establishment of this college as one of the most important factors in the development of Japan of to-day.

It was most necessary that Japan should not only be educated, but also provided with suitable codes of laws, before there could be any question of a revision of the treaties with foreign nations, and for a considerable time all our efforts were turned in this direction.

There are two events in Japanese history that have been all-important. The first was the change of régime of government of the country and the promulgation of the Constitution, and the other was the Chino-Japanese War. I spent much time away from Japan studying the Constitutions of various countries, the Emperor having ordered me to undertake the arduous task of framing a draft of the new Japanese Constitution. The work was very difficult and necessitated much thought. Never before had there been a Constitution, in the modern sense of the word, in Japan, to help me to know what were the most vital points to be provided for in the new code. The country had been so essentially a non-constitutional and feudal one that it was difficult to sit down on the débris of its past history and prepare off-hand a Constitution for it; and even when I had decided as to what was most necessary, it required very great care to insure the proper working and execution of the various provisions. I had always to remember that my work was intended as a permanent measure, and therefore I had to examine all the possible effects likely to arise from it in the distant future. Above all, there was the pre-eminent importance to be attached to the necessity of safeguarding the sacred and traditional rights of the Sovereign. With the assistance of my secretaries and collaborators—all of them as devoted to the work as myself—I accomplished my task as well as I could, and it is not without some satisfaction that I see that it has not been found necessary to amend the Constitution since its promulgation.

The old election law, however, having been found unsatisfactory, we have introduced an improved one, one of the principal changes in which is that the voting is by secret ballot, instead of by signed ballot, as at present; another important change being the insertion of provisions for more ample representation of commercial and industrial elements of the country, and the business tax. According to the new law, if any candidate should resort to corrupt means to secure his election, the proceedings would become, owing to the secrecy of the ballot,

much more uncertain and much more costly than at present. This new law was experimented with at the election of 1902.

I have always recognised the vital importance of a supremely efficient navy and army. The former is made the more important by our insular position. Our programme of naval expansion laid down after the Chinese War in 1895 is practically completed, and Japan possesses now a homogeneous and powerful modern fleet. In its numbers are included several of the largest and best-armed battleships and cruisers, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that the Japanese sailors and officers are fully as efficient in every respect as the ships they man. Our navy is largely of British construction, and we have made that country our model in this department, although, following the principles that have enabled us to make our progress in the past, we are always anxious and ready to take advantage of improvements from any source.

Although it has been necessary first of all to develop our fleet, the army, too, has not been neglected. It has been more than doubled of late, and has now a war footing of over 500,000 men. The bold experiment of conscription, tried at the beginning of the New Era, has proved itself on many occasions—notably, the Satsuma Rebellion, the Chinese War, and the Boxer outbreak. On the last occasion the Japanese army was enabled to play a very great part in the relief of Peking, and showed to the other allies a striking illustration of organization, morale, personnel, and equipment; and this efficiency and thoroughness are to be found through and through our army system. First based on French, and later on German models, with foreign instructors, the Japanese army has since developed a model of its own, and has proved its capability of training and further developing itself.

Although so much has already been done in respect to the army, I believe we shall not remain idle, and even if no great increase in numbers should be made in the near future, great efforts will continue towards the further improvement of the training and efficiency of the soldiers. In Japan we have the advantage that, although the soldiers are raised by conscription, every conscript is animated by the highest sense of patriotism and pride in his country.

In commercial and industrial matters Japan is becoming well established, and is making secure her hold upon the markets of the Far East. The resources of the country are very good, the coal-supply especially being abundant. Although many of the beds are not of first-class quality, still, the fact that there is an abundance of coal is a very important factor in the national economy and strength. Besides coal, there are considerable oil deposits in the northern provinces of Japan, and these are now

beginning to be systematically worked in connection with the Standard Oil Trust. The iron deposits are also considerable, but largely undeveloped as yet, Japan relying on foreign countries for the greater portion of her present supply of iron ore. Copper, a metal of which the importance becomes yearly greater, is found and worked in very considerable quantities.

Japan's financial position is by no means so bad as often depicted, thanks to the growing material prosperity of the empire. When the effects of the economic depression of 1900-01 shall have passed away, Japan will advance still more rapidly than at present.

But whatever causes may have helped Japan in her progress, and however much we may have been instrumental in the achievements of the past years, they become insignificant when compared to what the country owes to His Majesty the Emperor. The Imperial will has ever been the guiding star of the nation. Whatever may have been the work done by those who, like myself, tried to assist him in his enlightened government, it could not have achieved such wonderful results had it not been for the great, progressive, and wise influence of His Majesty the Emperor, ever behind each new measure or reform. From the Emperor, Japan has learned that lesson which has made her what she is at present. In connection with the growth of Japan I cannot do better than quote some extracts from a speech which I made in 1899, just before the coming into force of the revised treaties.

It is true that the readjustment of the State finance and the completion of the military preparations are very important questions of the day; but there is another question scarcely less important than those above referred to, namely, the enforcement of the revised treaties, for the concluding of which both the Government and the people have made steady efforts in every way since the Restoration, and which have at last been crowned with brilliant success. Now, the time of the enforcement of the revised treaties coming near, what we have to consider is how the revised treaties can be effectively put into force. Is there any country in the Orient, except Japan, which preserves the full right of an independent State? A country cannot be said to have preserved the full right of independence unless it is able to exercise its own jurisdiction freely, and conduct its own administration without restriction in the interior. Then, what is the case with Japan? Preserving the full right of independence, she has now brought all the foreigners residing within her empire under her own jurisdiction and administration, and is protecting them like the subjects of the empire. Such being the case, it is not exaggeration to say that Japan far surpasses all the rest of the Orient. To enforce the revised

treaties freely and smoothly is to prove the fact that Japan is the most civilized country in the Far East, and, consequently, not only the Government, but also the local authorities, municipal corporations, courts of justice, police-stations, as well as the general public, must be very careful in the enforcement of the treaties in question; otherwise various affairs, which may be made international questions and cause much trouble to the State, will take place one after another.

As for the State finance, I firmly believe that the Government has proper schemes for administering the State affairs and undertaking various public enterprises in a most satisfactory manner with the present resources of the country, and that the readjustment of the finance will be perfectly effected in future by means of the increase or reduction of tax, according to circumstances. Another important question of the day is that of our military armaments. It is very easy to speak of the completion of armaments, but when we undertake this great task practically, we shall meet with many difficulties on account of the fact that it extends over a number of years. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the completion of armaments will be promptly effected to our entire satisfaction.

Besides the complete victory in the war with China and the success of treaty revision, Japan may be proud of the speediness of her material progress, because she has made a progress seldom paralleled in the modern history of the world. For instance, the system of conscription having been introduced into our country shortly after the abolition of a long-rooted feudal system, it seemed to foreigners improbable that it would be successfully carried out; but it was introduced easily and perfectly, and may serve as a demonstration of how Japan surpasses her neighbouring countries, China and Corea.

Next we come to the marked development of the national resources. According to the statistics of our foreign trade for 1872 and 1873, the total amount of our annual exports and imports stood then at about 30,000,000 yen only, while it rose to over 440,000,000 yen in 1898, the rapid increase being unexampled anywhere else in the world. And, furthermore, our commerce and industry have suddenly made a marked progress since the year 1885 or thereabouts. Last year, when I was still holding the office of Premier, I made a full investigation of the general features of our commercial and industrial progress, and found that the total amount of capital invested in various enterprises of the country stood then at about 900,000,000 yen. Of course, this figure represents the aggregate sum of the authorized capital, and I cannot now tell you the exact amount of the capital actually paid up, but I think the latter may be safely estimated at about 500,000,000 yen. It is true that there

are included in this figure those funds needed for the undertaking of Government works, such as the construction of railways, the extension of telegraphic service, etc. But, at any rate, it is certain that such a large amount of capital has been invested in various enterprises of the country. Thus, commercial and industrial enterprises of various kinds have sprung up in Japan in recent years with such rapid strides as is seldom seen in the newly-developed countries of the world; and in this respect she does not stand behind the European States, with the exception of rich countries such as Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Then we may fairly say that our national resources have made a marvellously rapid development in recent years.

The population of Japan has increased over 10,000,000 since the Restoration. In this connection I made full investigation of old official records concerning the population, and found, strange to say, that the increase of our population was very slow in the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate. According to the official estimates made in the Genroku era, our total population numbered only 26,000,000 or 27,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that it made an unprecedented increase in the said era, while its numbers have increased by over 10,000,000 during the past thirty years only. It is evident that such an increase of population would not be made unless it was accompanied by a corresponding increase of the national wealth, for a man can find employment only when there is a place to use his labour, and thereby secure a means of livelihood. Then, the great increase of population may be taken as another good evidence of the marked development of our national wealth.

However, if we wish to compete successfully with the nations of the world, we must co-operate with the Government to devise a scheme for the gradual progress of the country. It must be remembered that the greater the progress is of a country, the greater is the increase of its national wealth and prestige, though at the same time its people are compelled to take a greater responsibility upon themselves. For should the national wealth be greatly increased, and the country be regarded by other Powers as one of the powerful States of the world, those Powers would certainly watch every action of the country. Our earnest desire is to make the country continue in its progress permanently, without a stop of a single moment, but it is not an easy task to do so. In some cases we may be exposed to such a danger as to injure our national prestige, should we undertake the proceedings on that occasion. It is therefore very necessary for us always to act with great caution; particularly must we refrain from the abuse of military power, for if we abuse military power, and suffer a complete defeat, not only our

national prestige is greatly injured, but the ruin of the country is not unlikely.

The future of China is a question of the world, not of the Far East only. Then, the following questions may be asked: What will be the future state of affairs in China? What position will Japan hold in China in future, who has a much greater interest there than anyone on account of her being situated in such close neighbourhood? In answer, I can but say that it is at present too difficult to express any definite opinion. Since the war with Japan, China has been exposed to an increasing danger day by day, and almost all the powers of the world have had close relations with China from various causes. This state of things makes me think that it is very necessary for China to maintain her own independence at this juncture, and to take steps to place her country on a firm foundation; while, on the other hand, this line of action on the part of Japan lays her open to the thought held by some, that Japan has a great interest indirectly in the independence of China. This was the reason of my making a tour of China, and having interviews with notable Chinese statesmen, who, having the great respect and esteem of the people, are holding the administrative power of the State, and expressing to them my views on the most important subjects which ought to have their careful consideration. On my inspection of the actual condition of China, I found that, although she is now running a danger day by day which might plead for prompt action, it would be difficult to reform at once the prevailing customs and usages, as well as the present system of administration, which has been handed down from ancient times, and thereby improve the state of things in the country. It must be admitted that many favourable opportunities to carry out these reforms have already been missed. Thus, in the interviews which I often had during my stay there, with the notable Chinese statesmen, I expressed my views above referred to, and they all agreed in theory, but unanimously said that it would be very hard to carry out such reforms as I suggested.

China possesses a vast dominion of many times the total area of Japan, and her population is not less than ten times that of the latter. She is abundant in products, with facilities for inland navigation; her people are generally very diligent, and the condition of their life very low. If, therefore, the proper method of improving her commerce and industry were adopted in China, she would be able to produce abundant commodities to supply almost all the markets of the world. Unfortunately, however, she could not adopt such a wise policy in the past on account of her adherence to old usages, and even the adoption of it in the future seems doubtful,

as it seems to be improbable that she will exert herself to promote her domestic commerce and industry to a great extent. Such being the case, several Powers of the world are competing with one another to develop the abundant resources of China with their own funds by means of the construction of railways, the setting up of various industries, the undertaking of mining operations, etc. If the resources of China, whose population numbers over 400,000,000, are greatly developed by foreigners, our trade with China is sure to make marked progress, and we shall be able to supply that neighbouring country with large quantities of commodities before it becomes fully developed.

The foreign trade of Japan has made considerable progress since the Restoration of 1868, with the United States of America as her best customer. But we must not rest contented with this, but try to make China a great market for our products. It is evident that our trade has to make progress under the rule of demand and supply, for if there is no demand for our products we cannot promote our trade, however much we may have to supply. Then, it is very necessary for us to extend gradually the market for our products while promoting the production of the country. In my opinion, China is a country to demand our products to a much greater extent, and to become our best customer in the future, so that it behoves us to always pay a keen attention to the state of affairs in that country.

It will be seen from the above statements that, merely from the point of view of our trade relations with China, it is a very important question which requires our careful consideration. Besides, we have a great interest in the changes of the political state of affairs in China, so that in some cases our country might stand in such a position as not to be able to look upon them with passive inactivity. Under these circumstances, it is very necessary for our country to complete its military preparations and to put the state of finance upon a sound basis as soon as possible. I think the Government should be bending their efforts toward making various necessary preparations, but the people must also bear the above facts in their minds and take steps to provide for contingencies.

CHAPTER V

THE DUTIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES*

BY MARQUIS HIROBUMI ITO

(Especially selected from his public speeches)

TEN years' experience in constitutional government has not been unattended by some noteworthy results, but much still remains to be done in the way of so guiding and educating public opinion as to render it a help and assistance to the conduct of the affairs of the State. To speak frankly, it has for some years been a source of profound regret to me to observe a tendency on the part of the existing political parties to be betrayed into words and deeds which are at variance with the principles laid down in the Constitution, which indicate a proneness to sacrifice national for private interests, and which, moreover, are antagonistic to the fundamental national policy decided upon by His Imperial Majesty at the time of the glorious Restoration in unison with the requirements of the progress achieved. The lamentable consequence is, that the conduct of these parties leaves much to be desired in regard to the maintenance of the honour and good name of the empire abroad and to the acquirement of the confidence and trust of the people at home. Being now called upon to gather together men of similar views with myself, and to submit to the candid consideration of the public a general statement of the lines of policy which I intend to pursue in common with my friends, I avail myself of the present opportunity of briefly setting forth some of the principles which, in my opinion, ought to guide the actions of a political party.

The appointment or dismissal of Cabinet Ministers appertains, under the Constitution, to the prerogatives of the Sovereign, who consequently retains absolute freedom to select his advisers from whatever quarters he deems proper, be it from among political parties or from circles outside those parties. When once Ministers have been appointed and invested with their

* Speech by Marquis Ito on the foundation of the Constitutional Political Association (Rikken Seiyu-Kai) in 1900.

respective official functions, it is not under any circumstances whatever permissible for their fellow party-men or their other political friends to interfere in any manner with the discharge of their duties. Any failure to grasp this fundamental principle would be fatal to the proper and efficient management of the important affairs of State, and might lead to unseemly struggles for political power, thus engendering evils and abuses unspeakable. In inviting my political friends and sympathizers to rally around me, it is my earnest wish that we keep ourselves clear from these evils and abuses.

In view of the duties it owes to the State, a political party ought to make it its primary object to devote its whole energies to the public weal. In order to improve and infuse life and vigour into the administrative machinery of the country, so as to enable it to keep up with the general progress of the nation, it is necessary the administrative officials should be recruited, under a system of definite qualifications, from among capable men of proper attainments and experience, irrespective of whether they belong to a political party or not. It is absolutely necessary that caution should be taken to avoid falling into the fatal mistake of giving official posts to men of doubtful qualifications, simply because they belong to a particular political party. In considering questions affecting the interests of local or other corporate bodies, the decision must always be guided by considerations of the general good of the public, and of the relative importance of those questions. In no case should the support of a political party be given for the promotion of any particular interests, in response to considerations of local connections or under the corrupt influence of interested persons. It is my earnest wish to sweep away, with the help of my friends, all these evil practices.

If a political party aims, as it should aim, at being a guide to the people, it must first commence with maintaining strict discipline and order in its own ranks, and, above all, with shaping its own conduct with an absolute and sincere devotion to the public interests of the country. Convinced of this truth, I venture, unworthy as I feel myself for such an important task, to organize, in concert with my political friends, an association under the name of Rikken Seiyu-Kai (Constitutional Political Association), and offer to use my humble endeavours for the rectification of the standing abuses and evils connected with political parties; my only wish in so doing being to contribute what little is in my power to the future success of constitutional government in this empire, and this discharge I owe to my august Sovereign and to my country.

Having formed this resolution, I now appeal to such of my fellow-countrymen as may do me the honour of sharing my

views and sentiments, and invite attention to the separate memorandum herewith presented, containing a statement of the general principles of the proposed association.

Actuated by a desire to discharge the duties which every loyal subject owes to the Imperial House and the State, I now propose to organize a political association under the name of 'Rikken Seiyu-Kai' (Constitutional Political Association), and hereby announce the general principles by which, in common with the other members of the association, I propose to shape our policy. These principles are as follows:

1. We propose to strictly observe the Constitution of the empire and, in accordance with its provisions, to secure the successful operation of the sovereign power, so that the important affairs of State may be properly conducted; and, further, that the rights and liberties of individual subjects may be sufficiently preserved and safeguarded.

2. We make it our aim to advance the prosperity and position of the country, and to promote its civilization, in strict obedience to and in whole-hearted support and furtherance of that grand imperial policy inaugurated at the time of the Restoration.

3. Desirous as we are to secure the harmonious working of the administrative machinery, and to preserve the equity and justice of its action, we propose to use scrupulous vigilance in the appointment of officials, and to avoid useless formalities in the transaction of official business; to clearly define and rigidly exact the performance of the duties and responsibilities attaching to the various official positions; to maintain strict discipline among public functionaries; and to secure such despatch and precision in the conduct of business as are required by the country.

4. Attaching, as we do, high importance to the foreign intercourse of the empire, we will use our best endeavours to cultivate good relations with the Treaty Powers, and guard the welfare of all foreigners sojourning within the empire, by extending to them the benefits of such enlightened government as is requisite for every well-regulated community.

5. Recognising as we do the necessity of completing the defence of the country in accordance with the march of events at home and abroad, we propose to secure, within limits sanctioned by the national resources, effectual protection for the national rights and interests.

6. Being desirous of placing the strength of the country on a sure and solid basis, we propose to encourage and promote education, and to foster the personal character of the people, so that their moral and intellectual qualities may be so developed as to enable them to fulfil satisfactorily the duties they owe to the State in their private and public capacities.

7. We make it our object to strengthen the economic basis of national life by encouraging agricultural and industrial enterprises, by promoting navigation and commerce, and by completing the various means of communication.

8. We propose to direct our efforts towards the realization of the object of local self-government, so that the communal units may be knit together in such a way as to secure social and economic harmony among them.

9. Keenly aware as we are of the serious responsibilities which a political party owes to the State, we will strive to shape our actions in accordance with the requirements of public interests, and always endeavour, in the spirit of self-admonition, to guard ourselves against falling into the old evils and abuses.

THE CONDUCT OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN.*

In view of the growing sympathy and independence which unite the nations together in peaceful relations; in view of the increasing efforts of each civilized Power to excel its fellows in promoting the arts of peace and the cause of progress; and especially in view of the indisputable fact that the centre of international competition is steadily moving towards the Pacific, where, owing to her geographical position, Japan is destined to play an extremely important part—in view of all these facts, I consider it a matter of great and urgent moment for our statesmen to strive loyally and patriotically for the preservation of the prestige which our common country has won, and for her maintenance in the new position in which, owing to the turn events are now taking, she will soon find herself.

A healthy and judicious development of the body politic being the first requisite of national strength in this competitive march forward, our party must endeavour to secure progress based solidly on the terra-firma of intellectual and material resources.

All seeming progress, all progress which is incompatible with the actual economic means of the people, is sure to end in disease. Our party should therefore pay special attention, firstly, to the principles of economy and efficiency in the management of public affairs, and, secondly, to the augmentation of the material resources of the country. In the same way, the intellectual development of the country is not only in itself a very definite form of progress, but it is also a means wherewith to further the general progress. Our party, therefore, should devote special attention to the question of the education and the moral elevation of the people, and should in con-

* Issued before the General Election of 1902.

sequence make it a point to carefully study all plans of reform which are likely to improve the efficiency of our natural system of education. In short, intellectual civilization and moral strength are the only means by which we can insure the permanent attainment of our object, which is and has always been, 'Peace with honour abroad, progress with honour at home.' For the full meaning of our motto, I need only refer you to an address which I delivered to you at the time of the formation of our party, and to the programme which was issued on the same occasion.

As regards the coming General Election, I think it is hardly necessary for me to point out to you that our party should aim at returning to the Diet as many as possible of the candidates who pin their faith to the principles just alluded to, and who are at the same time of unimpeachable character, and gifted with courage and constancy enough to remain true to their convictions. With regard to the actual method of carrying on the election campaign, I shall shortly issue detailed instructions to our branch offices. Suffice it to say here that, our straightforward conduct, full freedom, and absolute good faith in all matters appertaining to the election being essential for the proper representation of the nation, our party should endeavour to avoid bringing any unlawful pressure or any improper influences to bear upon the electors, and that we should by our example try to prevent others from having recourse to such reprehensible means. A sound electoral body is essential to a sound Chamber of Deputies; and it is the plain duty of our party to take the initiative, and at the same time to set the public a good example in this respect.

I would also recommend the electors belonging to our party to always bear in mind that they have not only a legal right to make their voices heard, but are under a moral obligation to contribute toward bringing to perfection the constitutional life of the State by conscientiously exercising that right. They should, further, try to avoid all unnecessary friction amongst themselves, or in their dealings with others, all such friction being likely to endanger the social fabric of our country. Above all, I exhort you to remember that we must always place the national interests before the transient interests of a political party.

Survey of Progress under the Constitution.*

In promulgating the Constitution, the Emperor decreed:

'Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial ancestors, We doubt

* Speech delivered during the latter part of the year 1902 to the Seiyu-Kai.

not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with Our endeavours, and that, harmoniously co-operating together, they will share with us Our hope of making manifest the glory of Our country both at home and abroad, and of securing for ever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial ancestors.'

Such being the Imperial decree in question, the people of Japan are bound to obey the spirit and the words of this decree. In other words, having been given a voice in the legislation of the country by virtue of the Constitution, they, in making use of this privilege, must always endeavour to be in consonance, and not at variance, with the purposes of the Constitution, which are the wishes of the Emperor.

I regret that, as it appears to me, things are not progressing as they ought to be as regards the economics of the country. This seems to be especially the case when one looks at the condition of the provincial finances. Here it is often evident that the parties concerned are conducting affairs with no calculation as to their resources. I think they often launch out on enterprises on the spur of the moment without stopping to ask whether or not their projects are within the means of the country, or of their prefecture, town or village; and they seem to completely lack any spirit of caution or any desire to increase their expenditure only to the extent of their power of meeting it.

Nobody who takes trouble to study the trend of affairs, both at home and abroad, will dare to say that our navy could remain for ten years as it is at present. There is a limit to the number of years for which all war-vessels retain their full efficiency, and the subsequent deterioration must be made good. Whether you call it replenishment or call it expansion, the fact is the same: it is a necessity. Or look at it from the point of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East: no one can possibly deny the necessity of extension.

I deem agriculture one of the most important factors in the economics of the country. . . . Seeing that various lines of industries and commercial enterprises scattered over the country are making fair progress, we must not neglect our agricultural interests. One may question if the levy on the farmer must never be increased in the future; I would by no means answer in the negative. In case of national need, the farmer should willingly bear his share of the burden. There is no reason in the world why a burden, once lightened, should never again be increased. When a burden is reimposed, it will be done so equally, on the farmer as on the merchant; and the farmer has no right to say that he alone must be exempted. With the privilege of participating in the administration of the country,

no men of any education should ever forget the welfare of the country. On these points, however, my views are often at variance with those in official circles.

I think that the Japanese as a people are inclined to go about their business too recklessly; they squander their money with scarcely a thought as to their wealth. It was in 1880 that the prefectural assemblies were first established. Before putting this new scheme in operation, the Government convened a meeting of prefectural Governors, of which I was chairman. When I look over the course of events between that year and the year of the promulgation of the Constitution, I notice that the prefectural expenditure increased very considerably in that interval. True, many troublesome occurrences happened, and the resolution passed by the assemblies had often to be voted. On the whole, however, in so far as the question of public burdens was considered, instead of the Government having to ask for more, the people seemed to be bent on giving more. This was decidedly unexpected. In any other country the people would demur at being burdened; but in Japan they appeared to think more of the State than of their own pockets, and they never seemed to be chary of giving. This condition of things made me think that the Japanese were not a people to refuse any increase in their burdens, even though they were given to the National Assembly. In this respect my views differed at the time from those of others in the Government. People in official circles were imbued with the idea that the opening of a National Assembly would be the opening act of some awful drama.

Then, subsequent to the inauguration of the Parliamentary régime, the people demanded of the Government the curtailment of administrative expenditures; and I think I remember to have been once or twice harassed on that same question by the representatives of the people. However, when I calmly reviewed the result of all those demands about financial retrenchment, I discovered them to have merely been a pretext for annoying the Government. For the facts that transpired subsequently to the Chino-Japanese War significantly demonstrate the expansion, not only of the expenditures of the central Government, but also prove how the expenditures of the provinces, where the members of the Diet hail from, have been trebled, or even quadrupled. Not that I absolutely approve of an increase of central and local administrative expenses. My position is simply this, namely, that the administrative expenses must be made commensurate with the resources of the country and the provinces.

Let me see how matters stand at present, and in doing so I must review the history of the national finances. When

I was first installed in the chair of Premier, about sixteen years ago, the revenue stood at 76,400,000 yen. The appropriations demanded by the different departments of State had risen to 94,500,000 yen. The Treasury could not, even if it would, satisfy those demands. I myself undertook the task of arranging the Budget, and set myself to strike out all those items that I judged uncalled for, and to amend others that were intended to provide for new works. All those preliminary tasks having been completed, I convoked a Cabinet Council, and it sat till midnight. The result was that the Budget for the year was fixed at 76,400,000 yen, together with a surplus account of 1,000,000 yen. The revenue of that time was 76,400,000 yen, but to-day it stands at 240,000,000 yen. Such an expansion can by no means be considered light. In the matter of national wealth I must admit an enormous increase. I must admit that all the important affairs of State calculated to strengthen the bases of the national existence, such as matters of national defence, communications (both marine and overland), and such-like provisions, have been made to a considerable extent. However, in estimating the wealth of a country, we must consider this question from various standpoints, for according to the mode of computation a considerable difference will arise as to the amount of wealth. However, I will not dwell on this point any further, this being a matter of science and theory. At any rate, I can safely say that the wealth of Japan has markedly increased.

Now, in looking over the economic field of to-day, I do not think either manufacture or trade or agriculture is placed in a prosperous position. The explanation is that all the enterprises in those respective spheres have been launched with no adequate funds to back them. The result is that some of these enterprises have collapsed after having run for a few years. Lack of competent technical knowledge has also brought about the failure, and these two causes—lack of funds and lack of experience—must be regarded as having brought about the present economic failures. There is another point to be taken into consideration in reviewing the present economic inactivity, and that is lack of sincerity and sense of responsibility by all those who have charge of the work. For managers and experts, and even companies themselves, have often acted unfaithfully, and have tried to evade the obligation of paying debts contracted in various quarters. In fact, those managers and experts have not been worthy to take charge of such responsible businesses. All these points must be carefully attended to by all the members of the Diet, on whom rests the grave responsibility of arranging on a sound basis the finance of the State.

For convenience in reviewing the history of the finances of Japan, I should like to divide it into three periods—one covering the period from the beginning of the Meiji era to the 20th year (1887); second, from the 20th year to the 27th year (1894); and, lastly, from the 27th year to the present. I should like, with your permission, to review here at this juncture the history of the finance of the Meiji Government, and I must remind you that what I have to tell you is far from being complete or perfect. With this premise, I may briefly state that the specie that Japan had during the pre-Restoration days amounted to something like 100,000,000 yen, and this volume remained nearly constant, as the country was practically shut out at that time from the rest of the world. Then each local clan issued its own currency, aggregating about 30,000,000 yen, which was converted into consolidated loan bonds when the Restoration had been consummated. With the lapse of time the volume of specie changed more or less, but even about the year 1875 it must have stood at 100,000,000 to 80,000,000 yen. This amount had to disappear from the country; and this exodus occurred rather too suddenly, for in a year or two the majority went out of the country, and whatever amount there remained was found in the vaults of the exchequer, and only paper money was in circulation at that time. Still, the paper stood at par. Meantime the finances of the State, as also the economic market at large, had been placed in an exceedingly embarrassing situation. The Government of the day taxed their brains hard to devise measures for rescuing the country from this trouble. Their deliverance appeared in the shape of an Imperial edict issued in the spring of 1877—an edict proclaiming the reduction of the rate of land tax. The truth is the Government had decided that the only sound remedy consisted in adopting a courageous plan of economy. I well remember what a drastic reform the Government decided to carry out as their remedial measure; for I was then occupying the chair of the Public Works Department. The original estimates of that department were about 3,900,000 yen for the year 1877, and the sum was cut down to 2,000,000. This programme would have ended in success had not the civil war of Satsuma, that broke out in that same year, thrown it out of all order. Economically and financially the war proved disastrous, and at one time paper money stood at 1·80 to 1 yen of gold. The war over, the Government revived the original programme of remedy with redoubled energy; still, the specie remaining in Japan did not exceed 8,000,000 about four or five years after. The Minister of Finance of the day, Count Matsukata, adopted various devices for preventing the outflow of specie and

encouraging its inflow. The result was fairly reassuring, for in 1883 the volume of specie in the country increased to 19,000,000, till at last, coming to 1887, paper money could be restored to par.

About the time of the advent of the constitutional régime, in 1890, both the financial programme of the Government and the economic enterprises began to show an expansion somewhat out of due bounds, and this undue expansion was in danger of engendering a panic. The crisis was, however, tided over, and with the retrenchment programme subsequently adopted, in compliance with the demands of the Diet, the Treasury had at its disposal the sum of about 36,000,000 yen, when the Chino-Japanese War broke out. At the same time the Bank of Japan possessed over 90,000,000 yen as reserves against paper money, for the convertible system had been inaugurated in the meantime.

If I may compare the state of finances subsequent to the civil war of Satsuma to the state of things in a house where there is mourning and weakness, I think I may compare the *post-bellum* affairs of ten years ago to a fête in the same house after a period of mourning is over. The nation throughout made up its mind to practise the utmost economy in the one case, while on the other occasion the nation gave itself up to be lavish in all its doings—and with what result? Not only has the 300,000,000 yen indemnity exacted from China left the country, but the evil consequences which the thoughtless acts of the nation entailed so far upset the balance of trade in favour of imports that the money which has flowed out of the country during the last seven years aggregated as much as 700,000,000 yen. This is the point which has been causing me the greatest anxiety, and it is in view of that consideration that I have to urge upon you the necessity of arranging the State and private enterprises on a sound economic basis, and that I have to ask the question why Japan, in getting the supply of materials for her manifold works, should not reduce the supply she gets from abroad, and should not take steps to utilize home products? It must be admitted that Japan is placed in an exceedingly disadvantageous situation in all the important works she has had to undertake. Look, for instance, how the Powers are managing their own armament business. England, France, Germany, and others, are all providing their own armaments without depending upon others for help. In Japan, however, this is far from being the case, and the more works the Government undertakes the more will money leave the country. I admit that there are many measures that demand speedy attention from the Government, but I must declare at the same time that the relative degree of importance and the relative degree

of urgency of those matters should be carefully weighed, so that if, as the Government maintain, and as I admit, the question of naval expansion does not allow of postponement for ten years, Japan should, on the other hand, cut down her other expenditures which entail money leaving the country. The balance of trade should in that way be kept up as much as possible. It is in pursuance of that policy that I must warn you against being swayed in your acts by local interests, as, for instance, in questions of railway construction. I do not warn you alone; I must warn both the Government and the public at large, for any indiscreet resolution in this connection and on questions of a similar nature would be disastrous in consequences —so disastrous that they might even be beyond the power of able men to remedy. It may sound a truism to you to state how in other countries great pains are taken for safeguarding the interests of the national finance, and how devices are made for preventing the outflow of specie. The amounts of the fund thus kept in reserve by the different countries are not, of course, the same, but the quantity of the amount hoarded is amazingly great. Nor is there any unity among them—as I found by inquiries—in their method of preventing the exodus of specie, but they are all one in so far as their object is concerned. Turning to Japan, what do we find? Do you not find doors ajar everywhere? If there be a man who is well satisfied with this state of things, I should think he is one who could afford to pass twenty-four hours of the day in easy slumber. We must wake up and do all we can in the future to attain the object I have dwelt upon. To do so is not the duty of the Government alone; the high and the low alike must not neglect to consider this matter. I may not refer here to the methods, but it is important that they should aim at the attainment of the object in question.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL POLICY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

BY FIELD-MARSHAL MARQUIS ARIYOSHI YAMAGATA*

IT is a matter of boundless congratulation for the sake of the country, as it is also a great honour and happiness to me, that we are able to-day to meet together in this hall, in virtue of the great and immutable charter established by the benevolent intentions of His Majesty the Emperor. The present is a fitting occasion for me to make a brief allusion to the course of policy followed by the Government in domestic as well as foreign affairs of State. The policy followed by the Government having been already pointed out in the Speech from the Throne at the time of the opening of the Diet, it may seem unnecessary for me to offer any further explanations on the same subject. During the three centuries that followed the adoption of a policy of seclusion by the Shogunate Government, profound tranquillity was preserved throughout the whole country. It is, however, to be regretted that the Government of that time is open to the charge of having run counter to the general tendency of events in the world, and of having thereby retarded the progress of the country during those centuries. At the time of the Restoration, when, considering the altered aspect of things in the world, we changed the course of the national policy, we made it our primary object to redeem, in as short a period of time as possible, this debt of 300 years' standing. The grave responsibility, of which we still feel the weight, has not yet been half discharged. Fortunately the course and outline of the policy to be pursued having been moulded by the profound wisdom of His Majesty the Emperor on the one hand, and by the advice and measures of our distinguished predecessors on the other, we have been enabled to attain the present stage by a gradual and orderly progress. There may be more or less difference of opinion as to the relative urgency of particular measures, and as to

* Speech as Minister President in the First Diet, December 6, 1890.

the mode of carrying them out; but I do not hesitate to say that, so far as concerns the general course of things, we are borne onward by one and the same tide, and that, being equally confined within the limits of its current, we can never stray out of the general channel followed by it. With regard to the Budget, let me mention that we have the responsibility of maintaining the Constitution, the laws, and the Imperial ordinances. The Budget having now been introduced by the Government, I rely upon your thorough and candid consideration and advice. A great portion of the Budget is taken up with expenses connected with the army and navy. I wish here to draw your attention to the opinions held by the Government on this subject. The administrative and judicial institutions have now to be completed and put in an active condition, while the resources of the country have to be nourished by encouraging and promoting agricultural, industrial, and commercial undertakings. While thus internal administration cannot be neglected even for a day, it is our common object to maintain the independence and to extend the prestige of the country. The attainment of this object should not only never be lost sight of by the Government, but also all the subjects of the empire should, whatever changes may hereafter take place in the political world, work in harmony, and, uniting their different paths of progress, should advance along one and the same route, to the end that they may not fail to attain eventually their common object. The independence and self-preservation of a country depend, first, upon the defence of its 'cordons of sovereignty,' and, secondly, upon the defence of its 'cordons of interest.' I mean by 'cordons of sovereignty' the territories of the country, and by 'cordons of interest' the sphere which has the closest connection with the safety of the 'cordons of sovereignty.' There is not a country which does not defend its 'cordons of sovereignty,' neither is there a country which does not maintain its 'cordons of interest.' In order to maintain the independence of the country at the present time among the Powers of the world, it is not sufficient to defend the 'cordons of sovereignty' alone; it is also necessary to defend the 'cordons of interest.' Now, if we wish, as we do, to maintain the integrity of the independence of the country by defending, not only the 'cordons of sovereignty,' but also the 'cordons of interest,' we undertake a task which can be accomplished, not by speculative arguments, but only by constant and persevering efforts within the limits allowed by the resources of the land. Such being the case, it is unavoidable that large sums of money should be required for the army and the navy. I have not the least doubt that, with reference to the important points thus far stated, you will upon the whole co-operate and agree with the

Government. These points all refer to the grave responsibility which we, in common with you, have to discharge in the shortest possible length of time. For the purpose of fulfilling this common obligation, we hope that it may not be difficult to obtain harmony of views and unanimity of purpose, provided that we all sacrifice our personal interest in deference to public opinion, and, further, that we confer together in an open and unreserved manner.

CHAPTER VII

THE IMPERIAL DIET*

PREPARED BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

I.—The Election Law for Members of the House of Representatives.

The original Election Law was promulgated on the 11th of February of the 22nd year of Meiji (1889), eleven days after the promulgation of the Constitution. Since then Japan has developed so much, and circumstances have changed to such an extent, that a revision of this original law was found necessary. There is no need to dwell here upon the importance of a law which determines so vital a national task as the election of the members of the Lower House, the representatives of the people. Any change in this law amounts, therefore, almost to a change of the Constitution itself. In European countries there are many instances where the regulations and general provisions relating to these elections are set forth in the Constitution. In our country, however, these provisions are to be found in the form of an ordinary law. This is because it was considered wise to allow for the changing of the Election Law according as the development of the conditions of national life may demand it, while the Constitution should be based upon a much more stable and sound foundation, showing, as it does, the fundamental law of the State for all time, in which alteration can only be made with difficulty.

There are two kinds of electoral districts possible, the large and the small. In the former the size is determined according to the principle that two or more members shall be elected to each district, while in the latter only one member can be elected for the district. In the earlier Election Law the principle of small electoral districts was adopted. Six general elections showed so many defects resulting from that principle that in the revised law large electoral districts have been constituted. This latter system presents more chances of bad results in the *scrutin des listes* than in a system of small electoral districts.

* The Ordinances of the Imperial Diet are given in Appendix C.

Thus, in the revised law the system of large electoral districts combined with that of the single vote was adopted, and by this means it is hoped that the evils prevalent in France, Italy, and the United States may be avoided.

These combined systems were drafted by an Englishman of the name of Thomas Hair as the most perfect method whereby the opinion of a small number of electors might be represented in the Lower House.

The electoral districts coincide with the administrative districts of *fu* (the city) or *ken* (the prefecture), quite distinct the one from the other. Cities with a population exceeding 30,000 form a separate electoral district, while those with under 30,000 inhabitants form an electoral district together with the suburbs. Those cities which have increased in population to over 30,000 since the promulgation of the revised Law of Election are separated from their suburbs and form separate electoral districts. Provision for this was made in a Bill passed during the sixteenth session of the Imperial Diet. Every city forms now an independent electoral district.

The number of members allotted to each electoral district depends solely on its population. For a population of 130,000 one member is allowed, and for every additional 65,000 persons above 130,000 another member is allotted. For instance, one member can represent a district until its population reaches 194,999; when the population is between 195,000 and 324,999 it must have two members, between 325,000 and 454,999 three members, and so on. Important islands, the Hokkaido and the Okinawa *ken*, have each been made into an independent electoral district. This was rendered necessary because of their distance from the central island (Hon-shu), their customs, habits, and conditions.

The revised law holds good even in the Hokkaido and the Okinawa *ken*. The number of members allotted to them does not, however, depend on the general law, nor is the date on which the revised law comes into force there declared at the same time as the other districts. The three districts in the Hokkaido and the three cities in the island have the law promulgated for themselves. The date of promulgation for other territories is determined by Imperial ordinance.

This redistribution of seats gives the following result:

Name of Electoral District.	Number of Districts.	Number of Members.
Fu or Ken (except Shi)	45	296
Shi (cities)	53	73
Islands	4	4
The Hokkaido { Ku (urban districts)	3	3
The Hokkaido { Gun (district)	3	3
The Okinawa	1	2
Total	109	381

The number of members at the time the new law came into force was 376, a sum less than the above total by five, since the three members for the Hokkaido district and the two members for the Okinawa *ken* are not included, the new law being as yet not in force in these electoral districts (Chapter I.).

The execution of the provisions concerning voting at elections is placed in the hands of the *Shi-cho* (head of a city), the *Cho-cho* (head of a town), or the *Son-cho* (head of a village), of the place where the election is going on (Article IV.). The duties which fall to the official in charge of the voting may be summarized as follows:

1. Publication of the places to be used as polling-stations.
2. Opening and closing the polling-stations.
3. Deciding (*pro tempore*) whether a ballot-paper should be accepted or refused.
4. Keeping the minutes of the voting.
5. Transmission of ballot-boxes, minutes, and electoral lists.
6. The maintenance of order in the polling-stations.

Every city, town, and village is an electoral district, so it is convenient that there should be a place set apart for counting the votes. Since, however, the number of ballot-papers in one district sometimes amounts to 30,000 or 40,000, great confusion would be caused by carrying on the voting and the counting of votes in the same place. Hence a special place is appointed where, in the interval between the voting and the election, the ballot-papers may be opened and counted. All voting-papers from each polling-station are collected and taken to the place appointed, and there the scrutineer in charge opens and examines them. The districts allotted to a scrutineer correspond with *gun* or *shi*, so that the person entrusted with the scrutiny of votes is either the *Gun-cho* (head of a *gun*) or the *Shi-cho* (head of a *shi*).

A scrutineer's duties are, briefly, as follows:

1. Publishing the names of the places to be used for scrutinizing the voting-papers.
2. Opening and closing the place where voting-papers are to be scrutinized.
3. Counting the voting-papers.
4. Confirming and overruling the decisions made *pro tempore* by the supervisor of a polling-station.
5. Examining the voting-papers.
6. Ruling on the effect of a ballot.
7. Keeping minutes of the proceedings at the scrutinizing of voting-papers.
8. Preserving the minutes of these proceedings.

9. Reporting on the result of the ballot.
10. Maintaining order in the station for counting votes.

The business entrusted to the chairman of an election is summarized below:

1. Supervising both voting and counting of votes.
2. Appointing the place of an election meeting.
3. Publishing the place and date of an election meeting.
4. Nominating election witnesses.
5. Opening and closing an election meeting.
6. Examining reports.
7. Ascertaining which candidate has been elected, and making notification thereof.
8. Giving certificates of election.
9. Publishing the name of the elected candidate.
10. The maintenance of order at an election meeting.
11. Holding a new election when no candidate has been elected, or in the case of non-appearance of the elected candidate.
12. Taking action in a case in which the election has been declared null and void by decision in court of law, or in a case in which the candidate has been convicted according to the rules set forth in the Law of Election (Chapter XI.).

The qualifications of voters and candidates for election have been brought under revision. Under the old law payment of 15 yen or more in direct national taxation constituted a voter's qualification, but the new law has lowered that minimum to 10 yen. Besides this change, little alteration has been made in the qualification of voters, but the new law has removed the restrictions of residence and tax payment in respect of candidates. The latter innovation has enabled larger numbers of citizens to be eligible as candidates, and it has provided candidates for membership of the House of Representatives who are more able and better fitted for their duties than were former members.

A 'Japanese subject' (Article VIII.) means any person of Japanese nationality. No foreigner, therefore, has the right to vote at elections. But a foreigner who has become naturalized in Japan in accordance with the law may vote, since, by the foregoing law, he can attain the status of a Japanese subject. It is in connection with the Law of Election that we find the difference between the treatment meted out to the Japanese subject and the person who has become so only from naturalization. A person naturalized in Japan, a person who has acquired the status of a naturalized citizen as the child of a naturalized person, or a person who has become the adopted child of a Japanese, or the husband of a Japanese woman who is the head of his house—all such have

the right to vote in elections, but not to become candidates for election (the Law of Naturalization, Articles V., VII., IX.-XI., XVI.; the Law of Election, Articles VIII. and X.). The Secretary of State for Home Affairs may relax this restriction on foreigners by virtue of Article XVII. of the Naturalization Law. The sanction of the Emperor is required for this relaxation, and it may only be put into force in the case of a naturalized citizen after the lapse of ten years from the date on which he obtained his status as such.

The old law made the qualification of a person eligible for election much more stringent, and the minimum qualification in respect of direct national taxation was 15 yen. No such restriction appears in the new law.

Elections for the House of Representatives are much more important than those for electing members of *Fu*, *Ken*, *Shi*, *Cho*, or *Son* assemblies. The provisions made for punishing contraventions of the general law with regard to election of members of public assemblies appears in the Penal Code, Articles CCXXXIII.-CCXXXVI., but they are too simple to be of use in controlling the elections to the House of Representatives. Hence the new Election Law adds most detailed provisions with respect to the punishments to be awarded for breaking the Election Law. The effect of these provisions is shown by the small numbers* of offenders against the Election Law in the General Election which took place in August of this year (1902).

*The following figures relating to the General Election of the 10th of August, 1902, are marked, not only by the small number of offenders, but also by the lightness of sentence given to those punished under the Act:

Cases into which inquiry was made	2,432
Submitted to preliminary examination	1,286
Submitted to direct public trial	547
Determined as incompetent	491
Inquiries not yet finished	108
Decisions made on preliminary examination	1,002
Discharged on account of insufficient proof	273
Submitted to public trial	729
Decisions arrived at by public trial	1,082
Acquittals	177
Condemned to imprisonment	102
Condemned to fine	803

The above is summarized from the report published by the Department of Justice in November, 1902.

In these punishments imprisonment never exceeded two or three months, or a fine of 10 to 15 yen.

II.—Imperial Ordinance Concerning the House of Peers

Article I.—The House of Peers shall be composed of the following members:

1. The members of the Imperial Family.
2. Princes and Marquises.
3. Counts, Viscounts, and Barons who have been elected thereto by the members of their respective orders.
4. Persons who have been especially nominated by the Emperor on account of meritorious service to the State or of erudition.
5. Persons who have been elected, one member for each Fu (city) and Ken (prefecture), by and from among the taxpayers of the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry therein, or trade therein, and who have afterwards been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

Article II.—The male members of the Imperial Family shall take seats in the House on reaching their majority.

Article III.—The members of the orders of Princes and of Marquises shall become members on reaching the age of full twenty-five years.

Article IV.—The members of the orders of Counts, Viscounts, and Barons, that after reaching the age of full twenty-five years have been elected by the members of their respective orders, shall become members for a turn of seven years. Rules for their election shall be especially determined by Imperial ordinance.

The number of members mentioned in the preceding clause shall not exceed the one-fifth of the entire number of the respective orders of Counts, Viscounts, and Barons.

Article V.—Any man of above the age of full thirty years, who has been nominated by the Emperor for meritorious service to the State or for erudition, shall be a life member.

Article VI.—One member shall be elected in each Fu and Ken from among and by the fifteen male inhabitants thereof of above the age of full thirty years, paying therein the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry, or trade. When the person thus elected receives his nomination from the Emperor, he shall become a member for a term of seven years. Rules for such election shall be specially determined by Imperial ordinance.

Article VII.—The number of members that have been nominated by the Emperor for meritorious services to the State, or for erudition, or from among men paying the highest amount of direct national taxes on land, industry, or trade, in

each Fu or Ken, shall not exceed the number of the members having the title of nobility.

ARTICLE VIII.—The House of Peers shall, when consulted by the Emperor, pass vote upon rules concerning the privileges of the nobility.

ARTICLE IX.—The House of Peers decides upon the qualifications of its members and upon disputes concerning elections thereto. The rules for these decisions shall be resolved upon by the House of Peers, and submitted to the Emperor for his sanction.

ARTICLE X.—When a member has been sentenced to confinement, or to any severer punishment, or has been declared bankrupt, he shall be expelled by Imperial order.

With respect to the expulsion of a member, as a disciplinary punishment in the House of Peers, the President shall report the facts to the Emperor for his decision.

Any member who has been expelled shall be incapable of again becoming a member unless permission so to do has been granted by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XI.—The President and Vice-President shall be nominated by the Emperor from among the members for a term of seven years. If an elected member is nominated President or Vice-President, he shall serve in that capacity for the term of his membership.

ARTICLE XII.—Every matter other than what provision has been made for in the present Imperial ordinance shall be dealt with according to the provisions of the law of the Houses.

ARTICLE XIII.—When in the future any amendment or addition is to be made in the provisions of the present Imperial ordinance, the matter is to be submitted to the vote of the House of Peers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL STATE

BY BARON KENTARO KANEKO,

Ex-Minister of Justice and of Commerce and Agriculture

THE form of a State may be compared to that of a human body. The State as an organization has a skeleton, muscles, and blood like the human machine. As the human body has a skin to protect the inner, more delicate, and vital organs from outside dangers, the State has the army and the navy as protective agencies. The skeleton of a State consists in the Constitution, the foundation of a State, and the laws whereby it is derived, including the criminal, the commercial, and the civil laws and other codes of executive functions and rules. The muscles which cover the skeleton and make it effectual, and the blood which vivifies and preserves the whole, may be called the economic state.

As to the first constituent, the skeleton Japan is already provided with. The Constitution has been issued, and laws and codes have been brought to a certain perfection, and we now possess a complete skeleton of a State. As to the protective covering of that skeleton, we have won the recognition of the world as a first-class Power.

We have, then, at least two things towards the completion of a perfect body—namely, skeleton and flesh. But in the point of muscle and blood, which I term the economic state, it is far from being complete. It does not require much study to find out that, in spite of the satisfactory development of our codes of laws and of our military system, the economic condition of our country is most discouraging. The price of stocks was raised on the day following the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, but within a week or two they again fell. This is a symptom of the suffering of the nation from lack of healthy blood and muscle, for the seat of the organic function of our State is the change in the value of stock. Thus the condition of the State is very much like that of a human

body wanting nourishment, and consequently lacking blood-supply. That our economic world should thus remain undeveloped is due to several causes.

The men who assisted the Emperor in the work of the Restoration, thereby forming the ruling class of Japan, are now the peers of the land. They all belong to the class of so-called Bushi. The Bushi were the descendants of the military class, and were accustomed to rule by the power of their bows and arrows rather than by work. They spent the days walking in the streets with their two swords at their sides, and disdained to talk of the rice market, as unbecoming their vocation. As children we were taught and ordered by our parents not to use the counting instrument, but to study the 'Shisho' and 'Gokyo' (Chinese classics), and to study politics and the art of ruling; and if we had discussed the subject of harvesting we would have been despised by our friends. Though we knew nothing of the way to earn a penny by our labour, to raise a single silk-worm—nothing, in fact, but the Chinese classics and the art of ruling—we kept our spirits high, and felt ourselves proud and above ordinary mortals because of the saying imbued in our people that 'the best of flowers is the sakura, and the best of men are the Bushi.' Even hunger could not break down this aloofness. Such men as these have been holding the reign of the land for thirty years, and do not feel the need for economies. They feel no need for earning money, and they will continue to serve our country only in their capacity of rulers.

From the lowest to the highest Governmental officials, earning money has not been contemplated, but the sole desire has been to serve the country. The ruling officials have thought only of giving laws, or of making treaties on equal terms with foreign Powers, and thereby produced our laws and codes adapted from those of Germany and of France. Japan was thought incomplete without the adoption of laws and treaties. Thus the skeleton was acquired and given a perfect shape, but not economic politics.

The most depressing conditions have continued since the beginning of the Meiji era; and the history of the past thirty years convinces us that this condition of affairs is the result of the Samurai holding the power of government. On the other hand, it will also be noticed that those who had more regard for the economic aspect were the peasants and the merchants. These were the classes that were opposed to the Samurai. They had not been allowed to have a voice in politics, and even if they had been, had no ideas, owing to their uneducated condition. Thus they always stood in a difficult relation to the Samurai. There never was, indeed, a merchant who

dared to think of becoming a Minister of the Treasury; nor a farmer who dared to think of becoming a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture; nor a manufacturer who thought himself fit to become a Minister of Communications. They only thought of the favour of the officials, and wished their descendants to share the profit acquired by the act of subjugating themselves to the Bushi. These were the reasons why Japan developed her laws and military defences without the acquisition of economic politics. This is the record of the past; and now, though the affairs of the world have been brought nearer to us, although treaties have been made and accepted on an equal basis with other great nations, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance accomplished, and Japan included among the great Powers of the earth—though in the point of law or military science we do not fall behind any other Power, I do profoundly regret to say that, in an economical sense, our country falls short in comparison with European and American countries.

In the newspapers and periodicals, and in the development of foreign intercourse, the attention of the world of economy is directed to Asia, and the stage of the commercial play is the Pacific coast, which is becoming the centre of international trade. The small expanse of the Mediterranean, which has been the world's commercial centre for several hundred years, is now gradually being abandoned. With the opening of the Suez Canal the trade centre moved out towards the Indian Ocean, and now it has reached the Pacific. The international trade on the Pacific is the question of the world to-day. Hence there was a good reason for England to throw off her usual policy of isolation and ally herself with Japan. And I believe that England had no other purpose in this act of hers than that based upon her economic policy. Thus the commerce of the Pacific will be carried on by four countries.

Japan, upon entering among the great Powers of the earth, has found a worthy ally in England, and now I think we are nearly prepared to face the really difficult problem. I mean no other than this, that our laws and military preparations are all made, and yet we cannot stand on an equal footing with other countries in the matter of economical condition. The question of how to create an economic Japan is one that demands solution, for I am convinced that without the solving of this question we cannot elevate our position.

What quality, then, does Japan possess which will enable her to compete with these four countries? We are far behind in point of agricultural products as compared with Russia and the United States, and in point of manufactures and commerce we are surpassed by England and the United States. Standing

in such a disadvantageous position as we do, we have no great economists, and our economical policy is yet far from being satisfactorily shaped.

I grieve profoundly for the future of our country, and I urgently hope, therefore, that the Japanese will consider this point of view, and spend their energy in pursuance of an industrial and economical policy for the sake of our country. For it is the only way that we of to-day can serve our country. The making of laws has already been done by our predecessors; the perfection of the military defences has been worked out by our military men; and the only thing left to us is to improve Japan economically.

How best to establish this economic policy of our country must be considered. Russia is not an industrial, but an agricultural, country. Her industry and commerce are as yet in their infancy. She has devoted her energy exclusively to her military defences, and, as a result, she is not looked upon as a competitor by the economic countries of Europe. Japan, on the contrary, occupies a small amount of land and has a large population, with but little material out of which to manufacture, hence has to rely upon the material imported from other countries. We have coal, but not sufficient iron, and almost no gold. Hence, in my opinion, Japan must stand as an industrial country. An agricultural policy is not bad. It was satisfactory in the feudal period—that is, for so long as we were not pressed by the approach of the Russians, English, and the Americans from all sides. But the conditions are otherwise to-day. The Pacific is becoming the centre of the struggle, in which we are called to compete with much stronger foes. Japan as an agricultural country cannot stand against Russia, Australia, Canada, or America. Hence we must try other means for the struggle—that is, we must obtain raw materials from them and manufacture them for the Asiatic markets.

As I have said before, our politicians, our soldiers, and our officials in the great work of the Restoration some thirty years ago have theorized much; but those who read closely the history of the Meiji era will see that our statesmen have largely ignored the economical side of our country. We lack the practical view. Our study was the statesmanship of the Gyoshium period, and our heads were filled with the doctrines of the Chinese classics. But to-day we have to struggle in Asia against superior economic foes like England and America, and even such countries as Germany, Italy, and France, with all their theories, are not lacking in practical and economic spirit; and we find a great gulf existing between the ideas of these countries and those of Japan, which are grounded upon the

teachings of the Chinese classics, and we cannot at present compete with them.

While I was studying in America, Mr. Holmes, now Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, told me a story which, I think, aptly demonstrates the difference in the economic point of view between the Western countries and Japan. His story ran as follows: 'Several hundred years ago there arose in Europe a movement called the Crusades. In these many Sovereigns of Europe took part, or sent their Princes to hold the positions in their place. These crusades were the outcome of a joint resolution of Christendom to preserve Christ's tomb at Jerusalem from the Mohammedans. They accomplished their purpose. But the matter was not yet settled, as a discussion arose among the Sovereigns of Christendom as to the further protection of the place against the return of the Mohammedans, and also about the repairing of the sacred tomb. The English representatives having by this time returned home, the other Sovereigns of the European continent demanded that the English should help them to settle the difficulty, to which England replied: "You are welcome to Jerusalem; I want the money I can get out of it," and began to trade with the natives. So England did not shed as much blood in the fight for Jerusalem as the other nations did, but followed up the results of the Crusade by opening commercial transactions. This was the economic spirit of the Englishmen, from whom the Americans have sprung.'

The more I study the politics of the English and the American Governments, the more deeply I am impressed with the truth underlying this story, though the point of view is foreign to Japan. If Japan were a Christian country, and had fought for the cause, they would have—if only for the maintenance of their dignity—to strive to permanently keep the land from its foes. Such is not the case with England. They would bring out their manufactured articles, and return with heavy pockets. However mean this line of action may appear to us, it has proved beneficial, and the English Government is encouraging it by the issue of laws for its foreign and commercial departments.

In regard to the economic policy of Japan, I presume there are many different views, and I also believe that all views should be disclosed for the interests of the country. We will, of course, recognise the views of statesmanship as such; still, all views coming from outside of Governmental offices, whether they come from the politician or the scholar, should be regarded with due consideration, for there can be no politics developed without the practice of politics, and no economics outside of practice.

7

When I was in the Cabinet I attempted two reforms—executive and economic; but, unfortunately, before their accomplishment our Ministry had withdrawn from their position.

As the result of the Chino-Japanese War, our Government resources expanded tremendously, so that now we see an increase of from 80,000,000 to 280,000,000 yen. But this fact adds nothing to the muscle and the blood of the country, it gives nothing to the economic development of Japan. In other words, our national resources have not developed correspondingly with our Governmental resources. This condition of affairs cannot be left alone. We must reorganize it, and, therefore, the Government must give its attention to it. The first step to check this overdevelopment of Governmental resources by means of executive reorganization is the practice of economic policy in general.

The second step pursued in economic policy is to gain an accurate knowledge of any existing defects as they actually are, and which require careful attention. I refer here more especially to the matter of the supplementary Budgets submitted by the Cabinet to the Diet. It has become almost habitual for our Cabinets to propose a supplementary Budget as soon as the general estimates pass the Diet. Thus, when I was in the Diet, this supplementary Budget occurred several times in one session of the Diet. This, I think, ought to be stopped, as it tends to disorganize our financial system. I might here call to mind the similar condition which existed in the English Government. My mission was to investigate the affairs of government conducted by these nations, with a view to prepare for the opening of our Diet, and I took the Japanese Constitution to show to and receive comments from the statesmen of Western countries. I had the pleasure of discussing it with several distinguished men of the British Empire, among them being Mr. James Bryce, who is renowned as a scholar of constitutional law and for his work in the Cabinet. His view was somewhat as follows: 'The Japanese Constitution does not allow the Diet to cut off the amount of the estimate of the Cabinet without the consent of the latter. I believe it is a fine provision. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that there is another point to be guarded against. That is, the question of allowing a member to bring in a Bill to increase the amount of expenditure of the Government. This is provided against in the English Constitution by a rule in the House of Commons, but I fear that the same evil will develop in Japan that arose in England; and although I think this constitution of your country is a splendid one, I predict that in ten years of its practice your Cabinet and your Parlia-

mental members will stand in a difficult position in regard to the question of increasing the expenditure of government by the Diet. This is one point to be guarded against in the adoption of a constitutional Government.'

We have completed many sessions of the Diet, and in consideration of its record in these past years I fear we have been realizing the evil predicted, and the attention of the proper officials should be called to this evil, in view of adopting an economic policy for our country. Also the members of both Houses should make a firm stand in regard to Bills proposed by the officials of a financial nature, so long as there is not caused an obstinate opposition to the Cabinet. For the carrying out of any economic policy these points should be kept constantly in view by the Cabinet and financial officials.

For the third step in the pursuance of an economic policy I would advise a 'Supply Department' within the Government, to furnish articles needed by the Government. Though this may not appear to be of great importance, it cannot be said to be trivial in view of the fact that our Government housekeeping is conducted on a basis of something like 280,000,000 yen, and the goods consumed therein amount to an enormous figure. Under the present system there is a Treasury official in each department. At the end of each annual clearing, whatever is not used in purchasing is returned to the department of the Treasury. The officials of each of these departments seem to prefer to dispose of the money to returning it to the Treasury department. Hence has arisen the habit of buying unnecessary articles with the surplus, and laying them in store till age spoils them. The most direct way to prevent this waste is to provide a 'Supply Department' in, say, the department of the Treasury, and to obtain from there all the necessities of the Government. And here, I think, economic policy may be practised. The Supply Department would buy all the goods and distribute them among the other departments. We could thus estimate the amount of goods consumed by each department, and make a record of them for reference. By this means it would be easily discovered why one department called for more goods than another, and the reason. On looking into the treasurer's accounts of the army we found the affairs better conducted. Overseers of the treasury are appointed here, and independent accounts from each office are no longer given. But other departments are not like this, and economy is not at all considered.

In some European countries there is provided a Supply Department to provide its own Governmental goods. The head of the department has constantly in his mind the number of the officials and employés, and the amount of their u

articles in each department; and if there be an unusual demand that is considered unreasonable immediate attention is called to it, and if less demand be made than is usual the department is praised because of its economy. A comparison between the articles used by the European and American countries and those used by Japan shows a decided superiority in those used by the former. They use stationery of surprisingly excellent quality. There is no Government that uses such low-priced paper as the Japanese Government does. I would propose, therefore, an immediate establishment of a Supply Department. We might not be able to have a perfect beginning, but it would enable us to practise financial economy, and the department would get its supplies from within our own country.

The fourth step in the economic policy is that the Government supply should be obtained from our own industry so far as possible. This step needs to be strongly urged. I observed several years ago that almost all the Government offices were using imported paper. We can find an almost equally excellent paper in Senji, Oji, Osaka, and elsewhere in Japan as the imported paper, and I wonder why the high-priced foreign manufactured paper is used instead of that of our own country. If we establish the Government Supply Department, and fix the rate for our paper manufactures, we can get the native paper cheaper and better made, and so, in the end, I think, check the importation of foreign papers. It is the economic policy of European countries to use paper of their own manufacture; our Government, on the contrary, relies mostly upon foreign material, and until this step is altered, we cannot hope to improve our economic condition and to properly develop our industries. Here, I think, the effort of our Government is required in encouraging our manufactures. It should try to check importation from abroad by restricting its supply to those of our own country. This might be objected to on the ground that one yen's worth of the imported article is equal to 1·20 yen in the home article—that is to say, that the foreign-made article is cheaper than ours by 0·20 yen, or, in other words, our people's taxes are accordingly affected. Hence checking foreign importation is false economy. This may be true for the present; but suppose if, in the course of a few years, we were able to produce articles precisely the same, in every point of excellence, as the foreign, then the argument would lose force, for the imported articles would have to be insured during their long voyage, and pay for freight and other incidental fees, thus giving a much higher price than could possibly be attached to our own manufacture. The following example will illustrate my view: About four

years ago I was shown a specimen of flannel manufactured by a flannel factory at Osaka. It was white flannel, such as is used for our military and naval uniforms. The flannel for these uniforms was imported from England, and is also used for other forms of clothing. The manufacturer who showed me the sample had a strong desire to improve the quality of the flannel until it would be possible to replace the English make. He repeatedly proposed to our Government to encourage his industry, but the Government would not consider it because the English flannel was both cheaper and better. At length the Government, sorely beset by the earnestness of the man, arranged to purchase the flannel from him, provided the price was made lower and the quality improved. In the course of a few years this was realized, and to-day the Osaka flannel is produced in such excellent and low-priced goods that the English make cannot surpass it. This end could not have been accomplished without the help of the Government—an obvious result of the economic policy.

We often hear that the safety of the country cannot be insured so long as we are not able to manufacture our own military equipment—rifles, cannons, gunpowder, etc.—and yet we take no measures to meet this situation, but rely upon the imported material for the clothing of our soldiers. When we hear similar utterances in Europe and America it means less than it does to us. It means that such things as military instruments, clothing, shoes, and other things are, of course, made by themselves. We can never be independent from a military point of view so long as we are relying upon foreign countries for our army's clothing and even for rations. And for this reason I advocate the independent supply of military goods as well as of military instruments.

It cannot be expected that this proposal of mine should be followed immediately. It may, nevertheless, be adopted by calling to it the attention of the proper officials. When I say the Government supply should be confined to the products of our own country, I must warn the Government against the improper arrangement of terms. In arranging, for instance, with the flannel manufacturers, we should make a contract for a fixed period—say four years—and a promise should be required of the manufacturers that, after the expiration of a fixed period, they should provide their factories with such necessary machinery, materials, and men as would insure the production of goods of prescribed quality, and that if the goods fell short of the required quality they should be refused. This would inevitably lead to the improvement desired in the course of four or five years.

I might give here another illustration of the merit

proposal. By an invitation of Admiral Rogers, of the U.S. Navy, I was received aboard an American vessel, and after a cruise along the coasts, anchored at the port of Kobe. Two German war-ships were also in port. I was surprised to see the American sailors going freely ashore while the German sailors all remained on their ships, and I asked the Admiral the reason. The explanation was as follows:

The German Government is making an effort to prevent the landing of its sailors as much as possible. As a rule, its sailors are not paid for a week before entering or during a stay in a foreign port; their pay days are always calculated to occur in mid-ocean. In a German vessel there is always provided a cigar store and saloons, so that the men can purchase their own cigars and liquors on board instead of the money being spent on the shores of a foreign country. This regard to detail in the German economic policy is interesting. The Americans, on the other hand, do not pay much attention to the sailors' accounts, and do not object to their swelling the coffers of another country. But in larger questions, such as the coal-supply for instance, despite the coal abundantly obtainable in Japan, the United States does not rely upon us for its supply. There are established coal-supply stations at Yokohama, at Kobe, and at Nagasaki by the United States Government, and American coal is transported a long distance and stored there for use by her vessels. And, further, all the shoes, clothing, etc., worn by the sailors are made in America. Japan, on the contrary, as has been shown, has, until recently, been using all foreign goods for her army and navy, and I repeat here, that in such a manner we can never hope to improve our economic condition nor encourage industries.

It may be admitted that militarism is unproductive, and that, therefore, it adds nothing to the economy of the country. In Europe and America the unproductiveness of the military is, nevertheless, turned into productiveness by the well-applied economic policy of spending the money which might go abroad, as in the case of Japan, in their own countries. It is indisputable that supporting an army and a navy requires an enormous amount of money, and that this amount has to go somewhere. In Japan there is annually spent several millions for military defence, and what I would propose is to turn this amount into the encouragement of industries as a step towards economic policy.

[redacted] other point necessary to be brought under consideration [redacted] t of the appointment of Consuls to foreign countries. [redacted] fore these appointments, as is seen in the records of [redacted] intercourse between various countries, have been made

by the Department of Foreign Affairs. But now it becomes evident that the importance of commercial affairs in a country has begun to be perceived by the Governments of many countries; the attention of statesmen is being paid as much to commerce as to the military defence, and I hear that the selection of these officials is made with a view to the promotion of commerce, and that some of the wideawake nations of the West have placed these officials under the direct instruction of the Department of Commerce of the Treasury instead of under the Department of Foreign Affairs. If we wish to expand our country, economically within and commercially without, we must be acquainted with the affairs of other countries. Our foreign diplomats should be required to report on the progress of commercial and economic affairs, especially to such as are related directly with Japan, of the countries to which they are sent, and not expected merely to perform the function of representative. It is desirable, therefore, that the selection and appointment of Consuls should be made by the Department of Commerce and Agriculture, and that these officials should receive their instructions, if not entirely, at least largely, from that Department. I desire also that those who go abroad for the purpose of observation, whether in an official function or in a private capacity, should study in more detail the aspect of our trade as related to foreign countries. At present our foreign traders are firing in the dark; they only send their goods out, without knowing for what market they are intended. A Japanese manufacturer sends his goods to Yokohama, and knows nothing of its further destination.

Such is never the case in European or American factories. Each load of their intending export has its definitely marked destination, the destination, apparently, being determined by the class of goods. The manufacturers of the West, moreover, seem clearly and constantly acquainted with the conditions of production in the competitive field, so that they can instantly perceive what is required of their goods in order that those goods may not be rejected at their destination. If there is an impending war endangering a foreign market, they at once regulate the production of their factories accordingly, and thereby avoid overproduction and waste. They do not wait for warnings from the Governments, but take care of themselves. Their Chambers of Commerce are always provided with records and information necessary for their prompt and decisive action.

In conclusion I should like to recapitulate what I have already said. Japan is fully developed as far as laws and militarism are concerned. She is fully established as a military Power; but an economic Japan is not yet created, and towards

the creation of this the combined effort of our Government and of our people is to be directed. Our territory extends in a narrow band from Kamchatka, in the frozen north, to tropical Formosa. This gives us a varied production. Our land, surrounded on all sides by the sea, gives us great facilities of navigation. We have many of the best ports in the world, and are favoured with a temperate climate. Our race is remarkably intelligent, and we fully appreciate its industrious spirit, which is also being recognised by the outside world. We are serious in our search for education, and as for the patriotism and loyalty of the people towards the Emperor, we are not equalled by any other nation.

We possess, then, every qualification necessary for the development of our country into a great nation—namely, the commercial supremacy of the Pacific and of the Asiatic continent. This problem the European nations are most earnestly studying, but among all the competing countries Japan is most advantageously situated. We are so near the region of the impending struggle—the Asiatic continent—that we can reach it in less than twenty-four hours. We do not lack the means to accomplish our purpose, and the attainment of the end depends only upon our diligence and effort.

CHAPTER IX

THE ARMY

I.—The Growth of the Army.

BY FIELD-MARSHAL MARQUIS ARIYOSHI YAMAGATA.

In 1871 the system of conscription may be said to have first been introduced into Japan. Anterior to that date the organization of the Imperial army had been for many centuries based upon the principles of the feudal system. Some thousand years ago, however, feudalism was unknown in the history of the empire, which was divided into *ken* (prefecture) and *gun* (counties), and there was no class distinction of *shi* (feudal vassals) and *no* (farmers). They were all equally liable to military service. By recalling this old system of administration, and at the same time introducing the advanced principles of conscription as adopted in Europe, a new army system closely resembling conscription was organized. In the feudal times the Imperial army consisted of 400,000 families of shizoku, or the followers of the feudal lords (daimyos), who each kept as many retainers as his finances would permit. A large number of non-combatants, such as surgeons and treasurers, were included. Such was the standing army of those times. If, however, we allow for two or three male members—such, perhaps, as brothers—in the families, feudal Japan would possibly have 800,000 to 1,200,000 shi.

The new system—that of quasi-conscription—was first experimentally put into force in the five provinces of Tamashiro, Yamato, Kawachu, Izumi, and Settsu; and it was only in 1873 that the law of conscription, in its proper sense, was promulgated and had its full force throughout the empire.

The Imperial scheme was at first to organize a standing army of 400,000 men, which would constitute twelve shidan (divisions) or six army corps; but in practice it was only found possible to create a small army of 40,000 on a peace footing and 75,000 on a war footing. In this year (1873) the military academy was established, and several French officers were invited and entrusted with the care of the military education.

A plan for manufacturing arms and ammunition was also laid down. In this work it was, of course, necessary to specially instruct workmen. The art of medicine could not be neglected, as it had been under the feudal system, and a school for surgeons was established. Thus, regular courses in the branches of infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineering, transport, and surgery were carefully initiated and received with enthusiasm. For the instruction of under-officers, educational institutions were founded in the various corps.

In 1883 the army was reconstructed and increased to 200,000 men, which were to make six shidan of national forces and one shidan of the Imperial bodyguard. Even after this reorganization the strength of the standing army was still far short of what was first intended in 1873—400,000 men. This was owing to the fact that the national funds had to be distributed among various urgent requirements. The construction of forts for coast defence, the extension of military education, the establishment of arsenals—one in Tokyo and another in Osaka—and also of powder factories, claimed considerable sums of the money available.

In 1896 the Imperial army again underwent a change after the Chino-Japanese War. At last, by this reorganization, the military strength, as at first projected in 1871, was realized, after a long and patience-trying period. The standing army now numbers 500,000 men, who are formed into twelve shidan (divisions) of mixed command and one division of the Imperial Bodyguard.

Returning to the time when the system of conscription was first introduced, it must be remembered that it was one of the vital portions of the works undertaken after the Restoration. It meant that the 400,000 families of the shizoku had to abandon their hereditary rights and duties as soldiers, together with their hereditary fees, given in rice. Certain sums were allotted to them from the national finances in proportion to the amount of fees which they used to receive. All the daimyos, or feudal lords, had also to give up their dominions; their castles and fortifications were placed under the care of the War Department. It was the abolition of the long-existing feudalism in Japan—a great revolution. The most influential class of the people under this system were the shizoku, and the people who suffered most in honour and in interest under the new régime were the shizoku.

As a consequence of this, in 1874 the shizoku of Hizen broke forth in rebellion—known as the Saga affair—and in 1876 Maibara, an ex-retainer of the daimyo Mori, revolted against the Government with many followers. In the same year many of the shizoku of Chikuzen also rose in insurrection. Fortu-

nately, however, all these rebellions were suppressed before they assumed important dimensions. In 1877, however, there broke forth a war of rebellion in Satsuma. It was the last of its kind and the greatest in magnitude. It was of a most serious nature. Many of the rebels were the veteran soldiers of the Restoration. Nevertheless, the Imperial army proved victorious after many severe engagements.

All these rebellions were vindications of the efficacy of the conscript army, and the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95 was a crowning triumph for the system. After the war the army of 200,000 was at once increased to some 500,000, although such a sudden augmentation was generally considered to be impossible. Possible or impossible, however, it had to be accomplished. The international relations in the Far East were not ominous, but presented gloomy prospects. The apprehension over some unforeseen events happening was growing more intense. Japan has ever to contribute to the cause of peace in the Far East, and to accomplish this object it was an absolute necessity for her to maintain an efficient army and navy. These it has been her task to obtain, in spite of every difficulty, amongst which must be mentioned the finding of a sufficient supply of highly-trained commissioned as well as non-commissioned officers. Gradually, however, the empire is growing out of all these difficulties.

I must also call to mind the difficulty of keeping pace with the rapid developments in modern weapons. No sooner do the troops learn to use a new and complicated weapon than a still newer and more difficult one has to be adopted.

Before the war with China I had closely examined the military organization of that country, and had discovered that there were some 50,000 men under Li-Hung Chang who were reported to be very well equipped and trained by German officers. Besides this organized army there were supposed to be between 900,000 and 1,000,000 troops in China. Of these, however, only those in the northern provinces were available for action against our armies, about 300,000 men. I therefore ever contemplated that, in case of any emergency leading to war with China, it should be so arranged that 50,000 men of the Japanese army should be devoted to meet the army of Li-Hung Chang, while the other 150,000 could deal with the 300,000 untrained troops available in Pe-Chili and the other northern provinces.

I discovered also a great weakness in the army of Li-Hung Chang, and one which I could appreciate from its resemblance to a weakness which had been encountered at the time of the Restoration in the Imperial army of Japan, which consisted of the feudal retainers under different feudal lords. This weak-

ness was that Li-Hung Chang, besides drawing a considerable portion of his soldiers from his own native place, also obtained his officers there. Thus, when anything happened to an officer in his army, he could not be replaced from amongst the troops under the command of the other generals. Thus it was necessary to send to Li-Hung Chang's native province for all new officers.

I also learnt of another Chinese custom which was universal throughout the whole army, and which made a great difference between the reported strength and the actual strength in the field. The Chinese army was divided into yees, or battalions, which were supposed to consist of 500 men. In reality, however, they rarely ever consisted of more than 300 or 350 men. The commander of the yee, or camp, was in this way enabled to pocket the pay of 200 or 150 of his soldiers from the Government grants. Even as late as the Boxer disturbances, when the Allied Forces were in North China, this state of corruption in the Chinese army did not seem to be known clearly to the world, although it was vital as creating an important difference between the paper and actual strength of the Chinese forces. It was owing to the accurate knowledge which I had obtained as to the condition of affairs in North China that it was possible so to lay the plans of the campaign as to surely and safely bring about the complete victory of our forces.

The future of China may well have an importance to Japan, and I think that what is necessary for the regeneration of China is the coming to power of a strong Emperor, who will take the reins of government into his own hands. In the history of China there were two such rulers of the present dynasty who ruled their people directly with a firm and capable hand. One of the first steps that such an Emperor must take would be to do away with the idea that he is a celestial being, and high above all other monarchs, and enter the commonwealth of nations on an equality. The Emperor alone, I should think, is capable of such a deviation from the constitutional custom in China. Until recently I may say that it was the practice of the Chinese Emperor to abstain from signing the credentials of his envoys to foreign countries, because he considered himself too high to condescend thus much to other monarchs.

Granted a strong Emperor, it would be more easy to change China than it was to change Japan. In Japan the great changes were in establishing the uniformity of the laws, the currency, the army, and the taxation, which were different in the dominions of the different daimyos. In China the system of laws is similar all over the country, and both the civil and criminal laws were codified in Peking. The Emperor is

supreme, and has direct authority over everything in his empire theoretically, although in practice the various viceroys represent him largely. The currency is also centralized to a greater or less degree; the military system lends itself to conscription, and is centralized, as are also the taxes. Thus, theoretically, everything is rather along the line of the described changes, and a strong Emperor could take advantage of the state of things and lead China upwards. I think that under such circumstances the Chinese could be trained to become excellent soldiers, and with China's almost infinite resources of men and treasure, a strong Emperor could have at his command a most powerful army. If this were to be accomplished China might become a very serious menace to all the neighbouring nations; but there seems little danger of these ideas being realized in the immediate future. A strong Emperor is essential for their fulfilment, and there is no sign that such a one is to be expected to arise.

II.—The Army To-day.

BY FIELD-MARSHAL MARQUIS OYAMA,

The Chief of the General Staff.

The Emperor, being the Generalissimo of the Army and Navy, has the supreme command of the whole force. The Emperor appoints the Minister for War, the Chief of the General Staff, and the Director-General of Military Education, as the members of the Military Council, to be consulted upon special military affairs.

The Minister for War administers all military transactions, has authority over the officers and men and military employés, and controls the undermentioned offices:

The Ordnance Council; the Military Engineers Council; the Military Sanitary Council; the Military Sanitary Council for Horses; the Army Horse Depot; the Armament Department; the Arsenal; the Ordnance Depot; the Fortification Department; the Formosa Supply Park; the Central Granary Depot; the Military Clothing Department; the 'Senju' Woollen Cloth Factory; the Army Medical Materials Depot; the Army Medical School; the Military Commissariat School; the Military Veterinary School.

The Chief of the General Staff prepares the scheme for the defence of the country and the commands for the movements of the army, and after receiving the Emperor's approval, sanctions the same, and transfers them to the Minister for War. The Chief of the General Staff commands all the Staff

officers, and has the direct control over the Staff College and Land-Surveying Department.

The Director-General of Military Education commands the Inspectors-General for the Cavalry, the Field Artillery, the Garrison Artillery, the Engineers, and the Army Service Corps respectively, and arranges for the uniformity and improvement of the whole military education.

The Inspectors-General are responsible for the education in their own branches.

The Director-General of Military Education has charge over the following schools:

The Artillery and Engineers School; the 'Toyama' School (including the Army Music School); the Military School; the Central Cadet School; the Local Cadet School; the Military Riding School; the Field Artillery School for Shooting; the Garrison Artillery Shooting School.

The whole country of Japan is divided into three Army Corps Presidencies, and each Presidency is divided into four Divisional Districts, and each Divisional District is divided into four to eight Regimental Districts, making twelve Divisional Districts and fifty-two Regimental Districts in all.

Some of the Divisional Districts have Special Military Districts, which are called 'Kei-bi-Taiku,' to the number of one to five, besides the Regimental Districts. The whole of the Special Military Districts in Japan number seven.

Until before the Chino-Japanese War the army was composed as follows:

1 division of Guards; 6 divisions of the Line; 2 regiments of Garrison Artillery.

After the war they were increased by the following additions:

6 divisions of the Line; 2 brigades of Cavalry; 2 brigades of Field Artillery; 3 regiments and 4 battalions of Garrison Artillery; 1 Railway Battalion; Gendarmes, etc.

Consequently, the present establishment of the army is as follows:

Guards, 1 division; Line, 12 divisions; Cavalry, 2 brigades; Field Artillery, 2 brigades; Garrison Artillery, 5 regiments and 4 battalions; Railway Battalion, 1; Infantry (Special Military District), 1 battalion; Formosan Garrisons, 3 brigades (combined); Gendarmes, 15 districts.

The peace establishment of one division consists of:

Infantry, 2 brigades; Cavalry, 1 regiment; Field Artillery, 1 regiment; Engineers, 1 battalion; Army Service Corps, 1 battalion.

Infantry, Garrison Artillery, and Engineers carry the 6 millimetre infantry rifle of the '30th year' pattern, which superseded the Murata rifle, and the Cavalry and Army Service Corps bear

carbine rifles of the same pattern; the Army Service Corps also carry sabres.

Field Artillery use both field and mountain batteries of quick-firing guns and carry bayonets.

The Emperor, in time of war, mobilizes a part, or whole, of the army, and draws up the order of battle of the forces.

Generally, the forces composing an army are as follows:

Several Infantry divisions; Cavalry brigades; Field Artillery brigades; Field Telegraph; several troops of Landwehr; the Army Staff.

If necessary the following forces are added:

Foot Artillery; Railway Corps.

The war establishment of a division is usually formed with:

Infantry, 2 brigades; Cavalry, 1 regiment; Field Artillery, 1 regiment; Engineers, 1 battalion; Bridging (or Pontoon), 1 column; Ammunition, 1 battalion; Army Service Corps, 1 battalion; Field Army Medical Corps.

The transport of men and horses and their supplies, whether by railways or steamers, is performed entirely under military management, furnishing effective organs for its execution; only special services, such as arranging the movements of trains or steamers, being done by the railway officials and the inspecting officer (navy) in the troopships, and also by sailors.

The regimental transport (horses) attached to troops are divided into two parts:

(1) First section for fighting { Personal reserve horses. / Ammunition. / Medical materials.

(2) Second section for camp { Baggage. / Supply.

Besides the above, there are divisional supply columns constituted as follows:

Ammunition Battalion; Army Service Corps; Bearer Corps; Field Hospital; Pontoon Column.

The supplies for the men and horses of the field force are divided as follows:

For the fighting troops and the Bearer Corps, 7 days—that is:

Emergency rations for men, 2 days; the second section of supply, 1 day; divisional supply column, 4 days.

The men of the divisional supply column have three days' rations—that is:

Emergency rations, 2 days; the second section of supply, 1 day.

All Japanese subjects from seventeen to forty years of age are liable to military or naval service, which is divided into two terms of service:

Standing army (active and reserve); Landwehr; Depot; Landsturm.

The Active and Depot forces are conscripted yearly to the required numbers by lot.

Active service soldiers are drawn from the men who have attained the age of twenty; a man can also be conscripted, if he wishes, from the age of seventeen.

The conscription affairs are managed by the Headquarters Staff of the regimental district, and the Commanding Officer of the Headquarters Staff is under the General Officer commanding the Division in that district.

The length of service is changed according to the kind of duty.

Colours, 3 years; Reserve, 4 years and 4 months; Landwehr, 5 years; Depot, 1 year and 4 months; Landsturm, of age seventeen to forty (excluding those for the above), 7 years 4 months.

The pay for soldiers is in the following three grades:

1st class, 18 yen per year; 2nd class, 14 yen 40 sen per year; 3rd class, 10 yen 80 sen per year.

The pensions for soldiers are of five kinds:

(*a*) Discharged after passing 11 years' service.

(*b*) Discharged by receiving wound in battle or while performing duty.

(*c*) If receiving wound of serious nature while in battle or in performing duty, one can have an additional pension besides the one above described, of the amount of 9 yen 32 sen yearly.

(*d*) By receiving slight wound in the performance of duty, being discharged from the actual service, one receives a pension for the time being of the amount of 14 yen to 140 yen.

(*e*) In the case of men who are killed in battle, or while on duty, their wives and orphans receive a pension of 15 yen to 30 yen yearly.

The expense for one soldier for a year on an average is 106 yen.

There is no special plan for the future of the army.

The operations by Japanese troops among the Allied Army during the North China expeditions have already been commented upon publicly, and so it is not necessary for me to deal with them here.

The Administration of the Army.

At the time of the foundation of the Japanese Empire the political institutions of the country were so simple that civil and military affairs were one. All adult males in the realm

were liable to be called upon for service in the army, with the Emperor as Commander-in-Chief. Early in the Middle Ages, however, we begin to find traces of a line of demarcation between civil and military affairs, and soon this line becomes distinct, the army having regular generals and captains serving under the direction of a central office. This office next established the 'Left and Right Horse' Departments, which had the custody of horses contributed as tribute from the various provinces. For each province was organized a military corps, in which was enrolled every third male adult of the district, all of whom were liable to be called upon for service.

Still later, when the military power passed into the hands of the Genji and the Heike clans, a class of professional soldiers made its appearance. The leaders and their retainers both trained their sons in their own profession, which thereby became hereditary, thus evolving the feudal system, which retained its strength until modern times.

Powerful barons, entrenched in strongholds throughout the various districts of the country, gradually encroached upon the territory round about them, until at last they had brought these districts under their arbitrary sway, detaching them from direct control of the Imperial Court. The professional soldiers enjoyed hereditary pensions, were bound to their masters by the relationship of liege lords and retainers, and were largely instrumental in bringing the system of feudalism to the high state of organization which it attained during the Tokugawa Regency.

With the Restoration and the reinstatement of the Imperial régime the system ceased to exist, being superseded by modern local administrative institutions, which swept away the evils engendered by the old and arbitrary rule of feudalism. The hereditary pensions of the professional warrior class were commuted by recourse to public loans, and the warriors were left to find other occupations. The ranks of the army thus left vacant were filled by male adults of every class, drawn by conscription.

The most noticeable feature of this splendid revolutionary achievement lay in the fact that it was accomplished without heavy cost in bloodshed, or in the other national disasters usually incidental to such sweeping changes, and reflects great credit upon the patriotism of the whole people as well as upon the tremendous influence and statesmanlike qualities of the Imperial Court.

At the beginning of the new era administrative affairs were divided into seven departments, one of which took entire charge of military and naval affairs. This division was later designated the National Defence Office, to be superseded in

turn by a system of military and naval Commissioners, who took charge of the Military and Naval Office, Fortification Office, Warship Office, Arms and Weapon Office, and Home Office. The Military College and Military Hospital were also attached to this Board of Commissioners. In the second year of the Restoration the post of Commissioner was abolished and the Military and Naval Department established, with jurisdiction over military and naval education, finance and discipline. An arsenal was attached to this department one year later, and during the following year two military garrisons were organized, as was also the Army Medical Corps. During this fourth year the department was subjected to thorough readjustment, and the line of demarcation between military and naval administration distinctly drawn. According to this arrangement the department was subdivided into the Army and Navy sections, the former to include the Education Office, Army Medical Office, Courts-Martial, Arsenal and Magazine, Staff Offices, 'Three Services' headquarters, and the three garrisons of Tokyo, Osaka, and Chinsei. This principle of the separation of the two branches of the service was completed in the following year, when the War and the Navy offices were formally separated and the former divided into the offices of Personnel, Education and Surgeon, Arsenal and Magazine, Imperial Household Guards, and Courts-Martial. The Non-commissioned School established that year was attached to the Education Office. In the sixth year the number of garrisons was increased to six—those of Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto. In the seventh year the Remount Section and the Staff Board were created, while in the following year the offices of Arsenal and Magazines were superseded by the Central Arsenal and the Branch Arsenal, the latter located in Osaka. In the ninth year the Ordnance Council was organized, and in the eleventh year the Staff Board was superseded by the Central Staff Board and the Inspection Headquarters.

These changes and progressions of organization are given in detail to show the exceptional spirit of elasticity which prevailed, making it possible to adopt from year to year such reforms, however drastic, as seemed called for by the logic of events, without the interference of bureaucratic red-tape or prejudice against change.

During the next twenty years the Tokyo Gendarmerie was created, the Staff College was established, the Colonial Board was attached to the War Office, which had succeeded the Board, the Engineering Council was formed, the various schools enlarged and their scope increased, and the Military Paymasters' School and the Military Supply Office brought into

being. In the twenty-eighth year of the Restoration (1895), under the Governor-General of Formosa, several military offices, as well as a Telegraph Construction Office and Light-house Office, were adopted for that country, as was also the Wei-hai-wei Office of Occupation. In 1898 the Supreme Council of War to the Emperor was established, and in the following year the Non-commissioned School ceased to exist.

Appointment of Officers.

At the beginning of the present era the complement of officers and non-combatants of equivalent rank was made up largely from those who had held corresponding posts in the feudal régime.

At present officers of the various corps are selected as follows:

1. Those who have graduated from the Central Military Preparatory School.

2. Those who have graduated from the Government or ordinary public schools, or from schools recognised by the Minister of Education as institutions of equal standing, or those whose scholarship is considered equal to that of those graduates and who have passed the entrance examination.

Paymasters are appointed from among those Lieutenants or Sub-lieutenants on active service who, having been admitted on examination to the Paymasters' School, have gone through the regular course there, or those who come under any of the following heads, and who, in addition, have gone through the required training at the Paymasters' School:

1. Students of the College of Laws, of the Imperial Universities, or of the higher commercial schools, and who have been selected as paymaster-clerks on their own application.

2. Graduates of the foregoing institutions or graduates of foreign institutions of equal standing who have applied for paymasterships.

Surgeons for military purposes are selected from among the ollowing classes:

1. Students of the Colleges of Medicine of the Imperial Universities, or of a special school of medicine, or of a legal medical school regarded by the Minister of Education as of equal standing to the ordinary middle schools, and who have graduated from these institutions.

2. Graduates of foreign institutions possessing equal scholarship with the foregoing.

3. Graduates of the Military Surgeons School.

4. One-year volunteers possessing either the license of medicine or of pharmacy.

In all cases, of course, the appointee must have made voluntary application for the post.

The Military Veterinary Surgeons Corps is supplemented from among those coming under the following heads:

1. Students of veterinary surgery in the College of Agriculture, or of the practical veterinary course at the said college, who have gone through the prescribed course at such a college.

2. Graduates of the above-mentioned institutions, or of foreign schools regarded as of the same standing, who have applied for admission to the service.

3. One-year volunteers possessing veterinary surgeons' licenses who apply for admission to this branch of the service.

Bandmasters are appointed from among the assistant bandmasters who have served with distinction for not less than three years of active duty.

Gendarme non-commissioned officers are appointed from among the lance-corporals of the corps who have been with the colours for not less than two years, or from non-commissioned officers of Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineering, and Commissariat corps who have been with the colours for not less than six years, and who have passed the recruiting examination.

Other non-commissioned officers are chosen from those belonging to the long-term services who are not on the active or reserve service of the army or navy, and who have passed the admission examination, or from among the privates who have applied for promotion and who have received suitable education. The non-commissioned officers of the shorter-term service are appointed from among lance-corporals who have been with the colours for not less than two years from the date of enrolment, and who are qualified to undertake the duties.

Foremen of Gunnery Workshops are appointed from among those not on active service or on the reserves of the army or navy, and who have graduated from the Gunnery School, or from among the various privates who, having been selected on examination during the first year of their service, have also graduated from the same institution.

Foremen of Farriery are taken from those not on the active or reserve force of the army or navy who have graduated from the farriery course at the Veterinary Surgery School, or from among the farriers of the Cavalry, Artillery, or Commissariat who, on applying for admission, have been judged equal to non-commissioned officers who have passed the required course at the Veterinary Surgery School.

Foremen of Tailoring and Shoe Shops are appointed from among tailor and shoemaker privates attached to the different corps.

Medical Assistants are recruited from among male nurses not on active or reserve service of the army or navy who, having been selected on examination, have received the necessary education.

Paymaster Clerks are appointed from among the non-commissioned officers who have served with the colours for at least three years, and who have received the necessary education at the Paymasters' School.

Recruiting.

All Japanese males between the ages of seventeen and forty years are liable to military service.

The service is divided into Active, Landwehr, Depot, and Landsturm services.

The Active service is divided into service with the colours and service with the first reserve. The former is obligatory for all who have reached full twenty years, and continues for a period of three years. The latter is obligatory for all who have finished service with the former, and continues for a period of four years and four months.

The Landwehr reserve is made up of those who have finished the first reserve term, and continues for five years.

The Depot service is divided into the first and second sections, the former lasting seven years and four months, and the latter one year and four months. The first is made up of those who have not been enlisted for active service, while the second consists of those who have not been enlisted for first Depot service.

The Landsturm is in two divisions, the first for those who have completed the term of Landwehr service and the first Depot service, and the second for all who are not on the other services.

In 1901 the males liable to conscription service throughout the empire numbered 539,282, distributed as follows:

Levied for service	...	187,907	...	34·84 per cent.
Levy postponed	...	108,016	...	20·03 ,,
Levy exempted	...	194,003	...	35·98 ,,
Service exempted	...	34,278	...	6·36 ,,
Others ...	...	15,076	...	2·79 ,,
Total	...	539,280	...	100·00 ,,

Education.

In the army, as in every other branch of occupation throughout Japan, the matter of education is considered of paramount importance, and no effort has been spared to provide the most

practical and most modern methods which could be found, either at home or in foreign countries. To this end no less than fourteen colleges and schools, or departments of colleges, have been established.

The Staff College is provided to enable young officers of distinguished ability to study the higher branches of military science, and such other branches of knowledge as are deemed essential to those wishing to conduct investigations relating to military affairs.

The Artillery and Engineering School answers the same purpose for Sub-lieutenants of Artillery and Engineering.

The Officers' School is attended by cadets of various corps for preparation for the duties of subordinate officers. The term of study is one year. The annual attendance is about 450.

The Military Training School is devoted principally to students sent from the Infantry Corps for training in tactics, shooting, fencing, and gymnastics. The term of attendance is from two to seven months, the number of pupils irregular, and determined from year to year according to the demands of the time.

The Central Military Preparatory School is attended by graduates of the Local Military Preparatory Schools, and gives a general education as well as the preliminary instruction necessary for military cadets. The term is for two years, with an average enrolment of about 300 students.

The Local Military Preparatory Schools provide a general education and military primary work to youths wishing to become officers. They are six in number, and are regularly connected with the central institution of the same name. Each admits about fifty students each year for a term of three years.

The Military Riding School collects from the different Cavalry corps such students as wish to take a course in riding and tactics. The term extends over about eleven months, with an attendance which has not been definitely fixed.

The Military Field Artillery Shooting School is maintained for the benefit of students from the Field Artillery Corps, the term being from two to three months, with an attendance to be decided from time to time as circumstances direct.

The Military Paymasters' School trains men for the post of paymaster, the applicants being admitted from among Lieutenants and Sub-lieutenants who have passed the examination, and also from the colleges of law of the Imperial Universities and from the higher commercial schools. The courses are divided into one of two years and one of six months, with an attendance varying from year to year as the authorities deem expedient.

The Military Surgery School includes surgeons of the Army Medical Corps, and licensed medical practitioners and pharmacists who wish to become military surgeons on active service. First-class students are taught for four months, second class for one year.

The Military Veterinary Surgeon School includes veterinary surgeons of the Military Veterinary Surgeons Corps who require training, and also the farrier foremen of the various corps, the latter being instructed in the science of farriery. The course extends from three to nine months.

The Military Gunnery and Mechanics' Work School trains those who wish to become foreman smiths, foreman saddlers, foreman gunsmiths, foreman wood mechanics, and foreman of casting work. The course may be one or two years.

The Military Band School takes prospective bandsmen through a course of training lasting about one year.

Courts-martial have considerable powers, dealing both with combatants and non-combatants as long as they remain in any way connected with their respective services, and enforcing the Military Criminal Code and the ordinary criminal provisions. These courts are divided into two branches, the higher and the divisional bodies, one of the latter being established in each military division, where it has jurisdiction over criminal matters within the limits of its own particular division. The higher court, established at Tokyo, deals with matters affecting the conduct of officers of the rank of General, and also with appeals from the decisions of divisional courts.

The judgment of a court-martial must have the approval of the Emperor or of the supervising chief, according to rank, before being carried into effect.

Military or garrison gaols are located in centres possessing garrisons and divisional courts-martial, and come under jurisdiction of the garrison commander.

Each military garrison is provided with a military hospital, to which are taken all cases of illness among the troops, and which keep supplies of medical stores and surgical instruments. All expense of treatment is supplied gratis to the army, except for one-year volunteers and for those of or above the rank of special sergeants. Special provision is made for the effective isolation of contagious or infectious cases and for patients requiring change of air.

The 'Sick Horse Stable,' as it was called, has been abolished, all matters pertaining to the care of this department being now vested in the Cavalry Office of the War Department. Great attention, however, is given to the subject of equine hygiene.

For some years colts were purchased from stock-farmers, and

after having been declared fit for service by the army veterinary surgeons, were distributed where required. Not finding this satisfactory, the Horse Supply Office was established, under control of the Minister of War. This department attends to the purchase and rearing of colts, their distribution, and their accumulation for military uses. For this purpose there is a general office at Tokyo, with seven scattered branch offices, and supplied with nearly 150,000 acres of pasture and farm land for grazing and for growing and collecting stores.

The arsenals, two in number, situated at Tokyo and Osaka, come under control of the Military Arms and Ammunition Office, and undertake to repair and manufacture arms and ammunition. Powder factories are maintained at Meguro, Itabash, and Iwahana.

Since 1891 the Tokyo arsenal employed 2,160,805 people, of whom 96,325 were women, while the Osaka arsenal, during the same period, employed 1,499,557 people, of whom 37,641 were women.

During 1902 the woollen works at Senju, conducted for the manufacture of army supplies and controlled by the Minister of War, gave employment to 318,126 hands, of whom 173,745 were women.

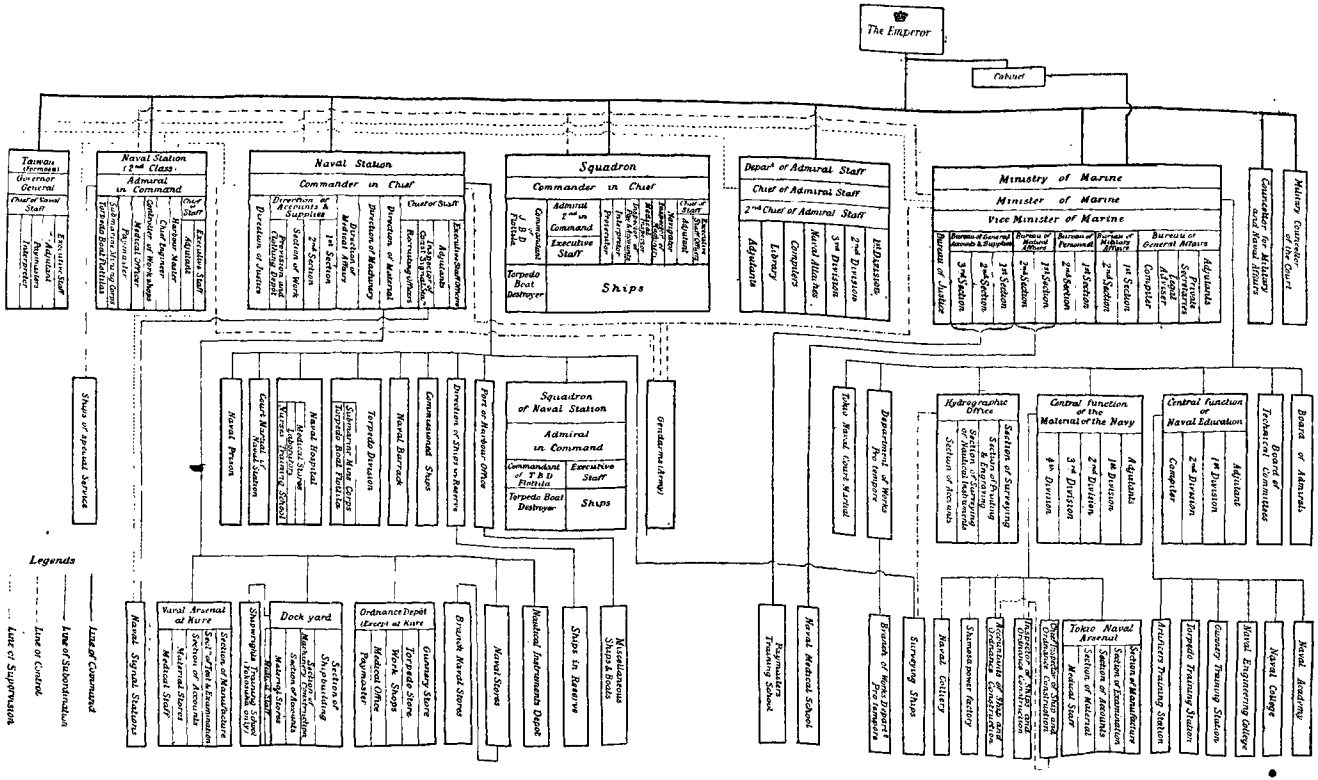


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATION OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT TO THEMSELVES AND TO THE CONTROLLING BODIES.

[*To face p.* 121.

CHAPTER X

THE NAVY

BY REAR-ADMIRAL SAITO, VICE-MINISTER OF THE NAVY

BEFORE describing the present state of the Japanese navy, it may be perhaps worth while to recall how warships of Western style have been introduced into Japan.

In 1635 the Tokugawa Administration forbade the building of any vessels large enough to cross the ocean, and no vessel having more than one mast was allowed. In 1838, however, the Mito clan, picking up some necessary information from a Dutchman—the Dutch were the only foreign traders who were allowed to come to Nagasaki until after the commercial treaty was made with the United States of America—built the first ship on foreign model ever constructed in Japan. Although this ship was completed and named *Hachimanmaru*, it was never allowed to be used.

After the visit of the American men-of-war in 1853, the Tokugawa Administration permitted the building of large ships, and at the same time ordered from Holland, through their trading agents, one steam corvette, one sailing corvette, with auxiliary steamers, and steamers of different sizes; but these vessels did not arrive in Japan, owing to the troubles existing in Europe at that time.

In 1854 a two-masted ship, the *Howomaru* (length 132 feet, beam 30 feet), was built at Uraga, on an English model; and at about the same time two more were built, one at Tokyo, the other at Satsuma, both of which were planned on European models.

At the time of the Crimean War a Russian sloop was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and permission was given that Japanese workmen might be employed in the repairing of the vessel; this gave an opportunity to the Japanese to learn some practical working and knowledge of naval architecture of Western style.

In 1855 His Majesty the King of Holland presented a steam corvette to the Tokugawa Shogun, which was named the *Kanko Kan*. At this time the Japanese ensign 'Hinomaru' (the sun or a red ball on a white ground) was introduced, and has been used as the national flag ever since.

Subsequently the naval school was established at Nagasaki by the Tokugawa Shogun Administration, and instruction in naval matters was given there by Dutch naval officers. The students for admission to this school were appointed by the Tokugawa Administration, and also selected by different clans. Another naval training school was organized at Tokyo (Yedo), with the *Kankomaru* as a training-ship, and employing both Dutch and English officers as instructors. Some new ships were built at Nagasaki and two ships were bought abroad, one of which, named the *Kanrinmaru*, afterwards (1860) made a cruise to San Francisco, manned by Japanese officers and crew under Captain Katsu (the late Count Katsu).

In 1857 Her Majesty Queen Victoria presented a steam yacht to the Tokugawa Shogun, and it was named the *Hanrio Kan*.

In this way the navy of the Tokugawa Administration was slowly gathered together and organized, and the list of ships in 1867, just before the Restoration, was as follows:

GOVERNMENT SHIPS OF WAR.

Name.	Type.	Guns.	Indicated H.P.	Length.	Beam.	Depth.	Tonnage.
				Ken.*	Ken.	Ken.	
Kanko	P.w.s.	6	150	29	5	4	—
Kanrin	S.p.s.	12	100	27	4	—	—
Hanryu	S.p.s.	4	60	23⅓	3½	2⅓	—
Choyo	S.p.s.	12	100	27	4	—	1,000
Fuji	S.p.s.	12	350	31	5½	—	710
Kaiten	P.w.s.	11	400	38	5½	5⅚	—
Kaiyo	S.p.s.	2	40	40	6½	—	530
Kaganokami (formerly)	S.p.s.	6	280	30	5	2⅓	700
Stone-Wall ,,	S.p.s. (iron protected)	4	500	32⅔	5⅓	2⅔	

GOVERNMENT AUXILIARY SHIPS BUILT IN JAPAN.

Name.	Type and Rig.	Length.	Beam.	Depth.	Indicated H.P.	Tonnage.
		Ken.	Ken.	Ken.		
Howomaru	Bark	—	—	—	—	—
Shoheimaru	,,	15	4	3	—	—
Hozuimaru	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Taigenmaru	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Asahimaru	,,	23⅓	5⅓	4	—	—
Kimizawagata	Schooner	—	—	—	—	—
Nagasakigata	Cutter	12	3	—	—	—
Hakodatemaru	Schooner	18	4	—	—	—
Kamedamaru	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Sentomaru	S.p.s	—	—	—	—	—
Chyiodagata	,,	17⅓	2½	—	60	—

* 1 ken = 6 shaku = 5·965 ee_t.

GOVERNMENT AUXILIARY SHIPS BUILT ABROAD.

Name.	Type and Rig.	Material.	Length.	Beam.	Depth.	Indicated H.P.	Tonnage.
			Ken.	Ken.	Ken.		
Hoshomaru	Bark	Wood	20	4⅛	—	—	340
Senshumaru	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	363
Kenjunmaru	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	378
Chitosemaru	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	358
Jundomaru	P.w.s.	Iron	40	4½	2⅔	360	405
Shokomaru	S.p.s.	,,	—	—	—	50	81
Nagasakimaru (No. 1)	P.w.s.	,,	—	—	—	60	94
Kyorinmaru	,,	Wood	—	—	—	90	361
Nagasakimaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	60	138
Shinsokumaru ...	S.p.s.	,,	21⅔	2⅔	—	90	250
Kokuryumaru ...	,,	,,	28½	4⅓	3	100	—
Taikomaru	,,	,,	27	4⅓	3	120	—
Mikahomaru	Bark	,,	29	5½	4½	—	800
Kakkomaru	,,	,,	19⅔	4½	2⅔	—	358
Ryushomaru	S.p.s.	Iron	15⅓	2½	1	35	66
Chogeimaru	P.w.s.	,,	41⅔	6	3⅔	300	996
Kishomaru	S.p.s.	,,	36⅔	5	2½	150	517
Taiheimaru	P.w.s.	,,	46	—	—	355	370
Nagasakimaru (No. 2)	S.p.s.	,,	31⅙	4⅓	2½	120	341
Shokakumaru ...	P.w.s.	Wood	33	4	—	350	350
Kosokumaru	,,	,,	27	4½	0⅚	250	—
Chitosemaru	Bark	,,	23	4⅙	2⅓	—	323
Hyryumaru	S.p.s.	,,	26½	5	—	90	—

SHIPS BELONGING TO THE DIFFERENT CLANS.

Name.	Type and Rig.	Material.	Length.	Beam.	Depth.	Indicated H.P.	Tonnage.
			Ken.	Ken.	Ken.		Koku.
Bishu:							
Shinrikimaru ...	Schooner	Wood	—	—	—	—	175
Meikomaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	42	6	3½	150	887
Kishu:							
—	,,	,,	40⅔	5	—	200	541
Chyyenmaru ...	—	Wood	22½	4½	3⅚	—	—
Kokuryumaru ...	S.p.s.	,,	28½	4⅓	4	100	—
Echizen:							
Fuyumaru ...	Schooner	,,	21½	4⅓	1½	—	207
	Brig	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Bark	Wood	26⅔	5	4	—	383
Yakumomaru (No. 1)	S.p.s.	Iron	30	4½	2½	80	337
Izumo:							
Yakumomaru (No. 2)	,,	Wood	25	4½	1½	60	167
Shakkaimaru ...	,,	Iron	27	4	—	75	241
Rihyakuri... ...	,,	,,	34	5	—	110	541
Kaga:							
Keimeimaru ...	Schooner	Wood	18	4	—	—	—
Shunmeimaru ...	,,	,,	18⅓	3⅚	2⅓	—	158
Tenyumaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	100	746
Yeiheimaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	300	447

SHIPS BELONGING TO THE DIFFERENT CLANS.—*Continued.*

Name.	Type and Rig.	Material.	Length.	Beam.	Depth	Indicated H.P.	Tonnage.
Kaga:			Ken.	Ken.	Ken.		Koku.
Hakuhomaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	120	532
Ankomaru ...	,,	,,	30	3	—	45	160
Heiunmaru ...	,,	,,	35 5/6	5 1/3	—	150	750
Kochomaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	23 5/6	4 1/3	2	—	146 or 274
Shohomsru ...	S.p.s.	,,	—	—	—	—	461
—	,,	,,	—	—	—	90	492
Satsuma:							
Kenkomaru ...	,,	Wood	—	—	—	—	164
Hozuimaru ...	,,	Iron	34	4	—	150	—
Tatsutamaru ...	Bark	Wood	17 1/2	3	—	—	383
Kaibunmaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	—	684
Mannenmaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	270
Sangokumaru ...	,,	,,	29 1/2	3 3/8	1 1/6	110	410
Sakurashimamaru	,,	,,	25	3	1 5/6	170	205
Taikyokumaru ...	Schooner	Wood	—	—	—	—	—
Kasugamaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	41	4 5/6	2	300	1,015
Sendai:							
Kaiseimaru ...	Schooner	,,	18 1/3	4 1/6	—	—	—
Yukomaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	—	—
Higo:							
Banrimaru ...	,,	Wood	40	5	2 1/2	120	600
Ryounmaru ...	,,	Iron	30	5	3	160	350
Funjinmaru ...	,,	,,	16 5/6	2 1/6	1 1/2	20	50
Taiunmaru ...	Bark	Wood	23 1/3	4 1/6	—	—	487
Shimpumaru ...	,,	,,	25	4	—	—	365·1
Chikuzen:							
Hinishitamaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	448
Taihomaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	32 1/6	4 5/6	3 1/6	280	777
Kenyeimaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	36 1/2	4 1/3	2 1/3	120	554
Sojunmaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	32 1/6	4 1/3	1 5/6	90	205·2
Shintenmaru ..	S.p.s.	,,	25	3 1/2	1 1/2	80	181
Takkanmaru ...	Bark	Wood	18 1/3	5	2	—	—
Aki:							
Mannenmaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	270	270
Hoanmaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	30 3/8	4 1/6	1 1/3	126	473
Awa:							
Kenkomaru ...	S.p.s.	Wood	—	—	—	90	1,500
Tusaimaru ...	Schooner	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Hizen:							
Denryumaru ...	S.p.s.	,,	27	4 1/2	4	100	—
Shimpumaru ...	Cutter	,,	12	3	2	—	50
Kinoenemaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	28 3/8	—	—	240	500
Kisaragimaru ...	,,	,,	28 1/2	4 1/2	—	80	370
Ryohomaru ...	P.w.s.	Wood	—	—	—	10	—
Moshunmaru ...	S.p.s.	,,	22	4	1 2/3	140	259
Kojiro: Okimaru ...	Bark	,,	21	4 1/2	—	—	396
Tosa:							
Nankaimaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	31	5	—	100	412
Kochomaru ...	P.w.s.	,,	23 5/6	4 1/3	2	150	146
Yugao	S.p.s.	,,	36	4 1/2	2 2/3	150	659
Oteki	Schooner	Wood	19 1/3	4 2/3	2	—	265
Hagoromo ...	,,	,,	19	3 1/3	2 1/2	—	186
Nankaisen ...	S.p.s.	,,	14	3 1/3	1 1/2	25	140
Otome	Bark	,,	21 2/3	4 2/3	2	—	386
Kagero	S.p.s.	Iron	—	—	—	—	—

SHIPS BELONGING TO THE DIFFERENT CLANS.—*Continued.*

Name.	Type and Rig.	Material.	Length.	Beam.	Depth.	Indicated H.P.	Tonnage.
Kurume:			Ken.	Ken.	Ken.		Koku.
Yuhimaru	S.p.s.	Iron	25	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	60	250
Genchomaru ...	Schooner	Wood	$13\frac{1}{6}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	107
Shimpomaru ...	S.p.s.	,,	$18\frac{5}{6}$	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$2\frac{1}{3}$	100	100
Shofumaru	Schooner	,,	$16\frac{1}{6}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	—	—	140
Ryokakumaru ...	,,	,,	14	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	190
Shinjakumaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{6}$	1	8	—
Tsu:							
Shimpumaru ...	Schooner	Wood	18	5	$3\frac{2}{3}$	—	—
—	S.p.s.	Iron	26	$3\frac{5}{6}$	—	80	250
Nagato:							
Koshinmaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Jinjutsumaru ...	,,	,,	—	—	—	300	448
Kigaimaru	Brig	Wood	—	—	—	—	283
Heiinmaru	S.p.s.	Iron	$20\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	30	94
Teibomaru	,,	—	—	—	—	—	—
Otsuchumaru ...	,,	Wood	$25\frac{1}{3}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{5}{6}$	70	300
Akita: Fukukaimaru ...	Schooner	,,	—	—	—	—	—
Nambu: Kounmaru ...	Bark	,,	21	$3\frac{2}{3}$	—	—	236
Matsuyama:							
Kosaimaru	,,	,,	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	3	—	—
Kofuyomaru ...	S.p.s.	Iron	$31\frac{2}{3}$	$4\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	80	434
Kokora: Hiryumaru ...	,,	Wood	$26\frac{1}{2}$	5	—	90	—
Himeji:							
Hayatorimaru ...	Schooner	,,	15	—	—	—	450
Kinkamaru	,,	,,	8	$1\frac{2}{3}$	—	—	100
Shingomaru ...	,,	,,	18	4	—	—	1,200
Shonai: Ryujinmaru ...	,,	,,	$16\frac{2}{3}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	—	—
Tsugaru: Ansaimaru ...	Bark	,,	$21\frac{2}{3}$	$5\frac{1}{3}$	—	—	660
Tukuyama: Jumpumaru	Schooner	,,	$18\frac{5}{6}$	$4\frac{1}{6}$	4	—	800
Uwajima:							
Temporoku	S.p.s.	Iron	22	$3\frac{5}{6}$	3	60	243
Kaisanmaru	Schooner	Wood	15	$3\frac{5}{6}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	131
Shozuimaru	S.p.s.	Iron	14	3	—	25	67
Matsuyama: Kaifumaru	Schooner	Wood	17	$3\frac{1}{3}$	—	—	180
Ono (Doi): Onomaro ...	,,	,,	18	4	3	—	—
Osie (Kato): Irohamaru	S.p.s.	Iron	30	3	2	45	160

EXPLANATION.

P.w.s., paddle-wheel steamer.
S.p.s., screw-propelled steamer.
Ken, nearly 6 feet.
Koku, nearly 10 cubic feet.

Then came the war of the Restoration, and most of the ships of the Tokugawa Administration, except the ironclad *Kotetsu* (old Stonewall Jackson), led by Admiral Yenomoto (the Rebel Chief), fled to Yezo Island (Hokkaido) and fought a battle at Hakodate (before the Battle of Hakodate the rebels lost some of their best ships in storms, etc.), which resulted in the total destruction of the rebel fleet.

After the war of the Restoration the clans in possession of warships presented them to His Majesty's new Government, and the Imperial navy was formed and organized in 1869-

1870. In 1872 the list of ships of the Imperial navy was as follows:

LIST OF THE WAR VESSELS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF MEIJI, 1872.

Name.	Presented or Bought from.	Where and when Built.	Description.	Displacement.	Indicated H.P.	Complement.
				Tons.		
Azuma or Kotetsu	Bought from America	France, 1864	Ram, iron-clad	1,800	500	130
Ryujo ...	Presented by Kumamoto	England, 1869	Corvette, iron-belted	1,459	280	275
Tsukuba ..	Bought from Englishmen	1851	Corvette, wood	1,033·9	200	275
Fujiyama ...	Presented by Shogun	U.S.A., 1864	Sloop, wood	1,000	180	134
Nisshin ...	Presented by Saga	Holland, 1868	,,	784	470	145
Kasuga ...	Presented by Kagoshima	England, 1863	,,	1,015	300	137
Store Ship (No. 1)	Bought from Abroad	—	Gunboat, wood	358·9	300	87
Kanko ...	Presented by Kagoshima	England, 1859	Do.	523	115	93
Unyo ...	Presented by Yamaguchi	England, 1870	Do.	245	106	65
Teibo (No. 1)	Do.	England, 1867	Do.	236	60	65
,, (No. 2)	Do.	England, 1867	Do.	236	60	65
Hosho ...	Do.	England, 1861	Do.	173	110	65
Moshun ...	Presented by Saga	England, 1867	Do.	305	100	65
Chiyodagata .	Captured at Hakodate	Tokyo, 1863	Do.	158	60	39
Shumpumaru	Bought from Englishmen	U.S.A.	Sailing transport, wood	650	—	30
Soryumaru ...	—	Yokosuka, 1872	Imperial flagship, wood	152	52	—
Tokiomaru ...	Bought from Englishmen	U.S.A., 1854	Composite, wood	1,400	—	—
Osakamaru ...	—	England, 1866	Transport, iron	440·39	110	65
Kaifumaru ...	—	—	Sailing transport, wood	171	—	—
Tonegawa-maru (No. 1)	—	Yokosuka, 1872	Wood	170	75	15

The Imperial Japanese navy had experienced, before the war with China, several minor engagements in which single ships were employed, or small expeditions such as the following:

The Formosan Expedition of 1874.

The Bombardment and capture of Yeisojo in Corea by H.I.M.S. *Unyo* in 1875.

The Satsuma Rebellion in 1877.

In 1894-1895 the Imperial navy saw active service in the Chino-Japanese War, the most noted engagements of which were:

The opening engagement off Asan, Corea; the Battle of the Yalu; the torpedo-boat attack at Wei-hai-wei; the occupation of the Pescadores, Takao, and Amoin.

The list given below shows the strength of the Japanese navy at the time of the war with China.

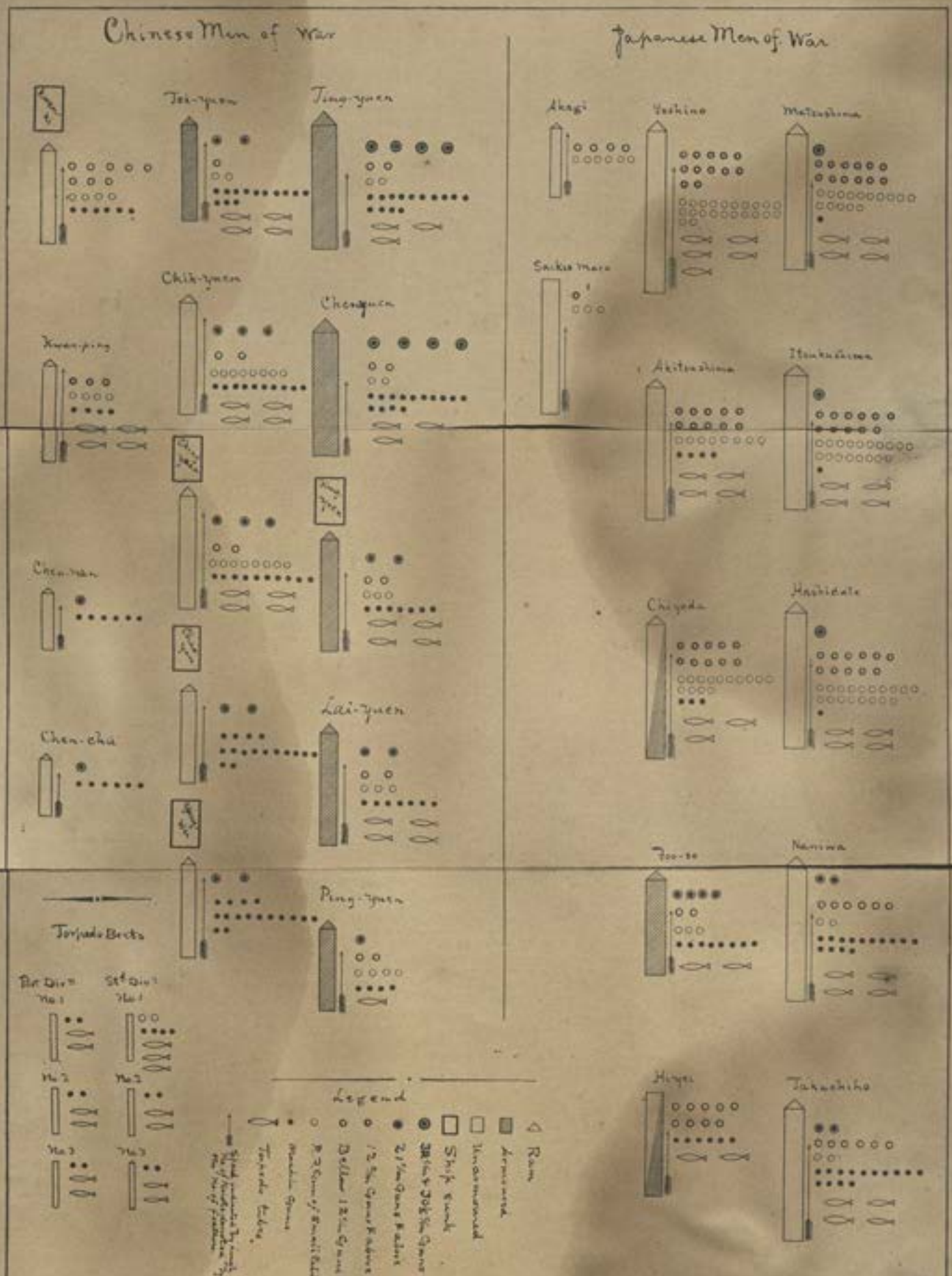
WAR VESSELS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY AT THE END OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF MEIJI, 1893.

Name.	Where Built.	Launched.	Description.	Displacement.	Indicated H.P.	Guns.	Complement.
				Tons.			
Itsukushima...	France	1889	Protected cruiser	4,278	5,400	30	355
Matsushima...	France	1890	Do.	4,278	5,400	28	355
Hashidate ...	Yokosuka	1891	Do.	4,278	5,400	30	355
Yoshino ...	England	1892	Do.	4,216	15,968	34	385
Fuso	England	1877	Ironclad	3,777	3,650	10	345
Naniwa ...	England	1885	Protected cruiser	3,709	7,604	10	352
Takachiho ...	England	1885	Do.	3,709	7,604	10	352
Akitsushima...	Yokosuka	1892	Do.	3,150	8,516	18	314
Chiyoda ...	England	1890	Belted cruiser	2,439	5,678	24	306
Kongo ...	England	1877	Composite	2,284	2,535	9	285
Hiyei ...	England	1877	,,	2,284	2,535	11	285
Tsukuba ...	—	1851	Corvette	1,978	2,526	8	273
Takao ...	Yokosuka	1888	Gun-vessel	1,778	2,332	6	223
Yayeyama ...	Yokosuka	1889	Despatch-boat	1,609	5,400	11	215
Tenryu ...	Yokosuka	1883	Corvette	1,547	1,267	6	213
Katsuragi ...	Yokosuka	1885	,,	1,502	1,622	7	230
Yamato ...	Kobe	1885	,,	1,502	1,662	7	230
Musashi ...	Yokosuka	1886	,,	1,502	1,622	7	230
Tsukushi ...	England	1880	Gun-vessel	1,372	2,433	8	177
Kaimon ...	Yokosuka	1882	Corvette	1,367	1,267	7	210
Amaki ...	Yokosuka	1877	Gun-vessel	926	720	10	159
Banjo... ...	Yokosuka	1878	Gunboat	667	659	4	112
Oshima ...	Kobe	1891	,,	640	1,217	9	130
Maya ...	Kobe	1886	,,	622	923	4	105
Atago... ...	Yokosuka	1887	,,	622	963	2	105
Chokai ...	Tokyo	1887	,,	622	963	2	105
Akagi... ...	Kobe	1888	,,	622	963	10	127
Hosho ...	England	1868	,,	321	217	5	96
Kasuga ...	England	1863	Despatch-boat	1,289	1,217	5	138
Manju ...	Kobe	1887	Sailing-ship	877	—	4	102
Kanju ...	Kobe	1887	,,	877	—	4	102
Tateyama ...	Kobe	1880	,,	543	—	2	51
Total ...	—	—	—	61,187	96,263	341	7,022

The following list shows the present strength of the Imperial Japanese navy:

LIST OF WARSHIPS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY, DECEMBER, 1901.

Name.	Class.	Material.	Length.	Breadth.	Draught (Mean).	Displacement.	Indicated Horse-power.	Speed.	Number of Guns.	Signal Letters.
			Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Tons.		Knots.		
Fuji	battleship	steel	113·994	22·307	8·077	12,687	13,687	18¼	38	GQJF
Yashima ..	,,	,,	113·385	22·467	8·000	12,517	13,687	18¼	38	GQJH
Chinyen ..	,,	,,	91·600	18·000	6·100	7,335	6,000	14½	18	GQHF
Fuso	,,	iron	67·055	14·630	5·486	3,777	3,650	13	20	GQBW
Itsukushima ..	cruiser	steel	91·800	15·592	6·050	4,278	5,400	16	31	GQFB
Matsushima ..	,,	,,	91·800	15·592	6·050	4,278	5,400	16	28	GQFC
Hashidate ..	,,	,,	91·800	15·592	6·050	4,278	5,400	16	30	GQFD
Yoshino ..	,,	,,	109·727	14·173	5·182	4,225	15,967	22½	36	GQFR
Takasago ..	,,	,,	109·727	14·173	5·182	4,227	15,967	22½	30	GQJL
Naniwa	,,	,,	91·439	14·071	5·667	3,709	7,604	18	20	GQCR
Takachiho ..	,,	,,	91·439	14·071	5·667	3,709	7,604	18	20	GQCS
Akitsushima ..	,,	,,	91·700	13·144	5·324	3,172	8,516	19	20	GQFJ
Chiyoda ..	,,	,,	94·487	12·980	4·267	2,439	5,678	19	25	GQFH
Idzumi	,,	,,	82·295	12·800	5·639	2,967	5,576	17	16	GQHB
Suma	,,	,,	93·500	12·245	4·600	2,700	8,500	20	20	GQHC
Saiyen	coast service vessel	,,	72·000	10·680	4·675	2,481	2,839	15	10	GQHJ
Takao	,,	composite	70·450	10·530	4·016	1,778	2,332	15	7	GQDK
Kongo	,,	,,	71·120	12·420	5·333	2,284	2,535	13½	11	GQBV
Hiyei	,,	,,	71·120	12·420	5·333	2,284	2,535	13½	11	GQCH
Tsukuba ..	,,	,,	58·725	10·592	5·486	1,978	526	8	11	GQBF
Katsuragi ..	,,	,,	61·264	10·670	4·648	1,502	1,622	13	11	GQCW
Yamato ..	,,	,,	61·264	10·670	4·648	1,502	1,622	13	18	GQCV
Musashi ..	,,	,,	61·264	10·670	4·648	1,502	1,622	13	8	GQDB
Kaimon ..	,,	,,	64·260	9·900	5·000	1,367	1,267	12	8	GQCN
Tenriu	,,	,,	64·680	10·820	5·172	1,547	1,267	12	7	GQCM
Tsukushi ..	gun vessel	steel	64·007	9·780	4·420	1,372	2,433	16	9	GQCP
Heiyen	,,	,,	60·000	12·400	4·150	2,185	1,200	10½	8	GQHK
Amagi	,,	,,	62·170	9·300	4·035	926	720	11	10	GQBP
Oshima	,,	,,	53·500	8·000	2·750	640	1,217	13	9	GQFK
Atago	,,	composite	47·000	8·200	2·950	622	963	10¼	2	GQDC
Maya	,,	iron	47·000	8·200	2·950	622	963	10¼	4	GQDF



COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE JAPANESE AND CHINESE FLEETS ENGAGED AT THE BATTLE OF THE YALU.

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LIST OF WARSHIPS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY, DECEMBER, 1901.—*Continued.*

Name.	Class.	Material.	Length.	Breadth.	Draught (Mean).	Displacement.	Indicated Horse-power.	Speed.	Number of Guns.	Signal Letters.
			Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Tons.		Knots.		
Chokai	gun vessel	iron	47·000	8·200	2·950	622	963	10¼	2	GQDJ
Akagi	,,	steel	47·000	8·200	2·950	622	963	10¼	10	GQDH
Banjo	,,	wood	46·900	7·880	3·900	667	659	10	4	GQCL
Soko	,,	,,	47·760	8·610	3·146	610	300	9	3	GQFW
Chinto	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	3	GQHM
Chinsei	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	2	GQHN
Chinnan ..	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	2	GQHP
Chinhoku ..	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	3	GQHR
Chinchiu ..	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	3	GQHS
Chinpen	,,	,,	38·280	8·839	2·819	447	420	10	3	GQHT
Yayeyama ..	despatch	steel	96·900	10·500	4·060	1,609	5,400	20	11	GQDW
Tatsuta	,,	,,	73·151	8·402	2·896	864	5,069	21	6	GQFS
Toyohashi ..	torpedo depot ship	,,	104·850	12·252	5·053	4,120	1,870	12½	8	GQJM
Akashi	cruiser	,,	90·000	12·700	4·800	2,800	8,000	19½	20	GQJN
Miyako	despatch	,,	96·000	10·500	4·000	1,800	6,130	20	12	GQJP
Shikishima ..	battleship	,,	121·918	23·012	8·306	15,088	14,700	18	50	GQKM
Asahi	,,	,,	121·919	22 860	8·306	15,443	15,207	18	50	GQKN
Hatsuse ..	,,	,,	121·919	23·380	8·230	15,240	14,700	18	50	GQKP
Yakumo ..	cruiser	,,	124·200	19·600	8·306	9,800	15,500	20	36	GQKR
Adzuma ..	,,	,,	135·900	18·140	7·212	9,456	16,600	20	36	GQKS
Asama	,,	,,	124·357	20·444	7·423	9,855	18,248	21½	38	GQJR
Tokiwa	,,	,,	124·357	20·444	7·423	9,855	18,248	21½	38	GQJS
Idzumo	,,	,,	121·919	20·879	7·391	9,906	14,700	20¾	38	GQKT
Kasagi	,,	,,	114·147	14·910	5·410	4,978	17,235	22½	30	GQJT
Chitose	,,	,,	114·731	14·986	5·372	4,836	15,714	22½	30	GQJV
Chihaya ..	despatch	,,	83·800	9·619	2·990	1,250	6,000	21	6	GQKV
Mikasa	battleship	,,	121·919	23·196	8·280	15,362	15,207	18	50	GQLF
Iwate	cruiser	,,	121·919	20·879	7·391	9,906	14,700	20¾	38	GQLH
	third-class cruisers	,,	102·000	13·400	4·900	3,420	9,400	20	20	
		,,	102·000	13·400	4·900	3,420	9,400	20	20	

LIST OF THE TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYERS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY.

Name.	Length.	Breadth.	Depth.	Draught.	Displacement.	Indicated H.P.	Speed	Armour	Torpedo-tubes.
	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Tons.		Knots.	Cm.	
Ikazuchi ...	67·131	6·243	3·962	1·524	311	6,000	31	6	2
Inazuma ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Akebono ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Sazanami ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Oboro ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Shinonome ...	62·915	5·943	4·115	1·727	279	5,475	30	,,	,,
Murakumo ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Yugiri ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Shiranui ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Kagero ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Usugumo ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Akatsuki ...	67·131	6·248	4·031	1·628	330	6,000	31	,,	,,
Kasumi ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Shirakumo ...	66·065	6·325	4·191	1·791	338	7,000	,,	,,	,,
Asashio ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

LIST OF THE TORPEDO-BOATS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY.

Name or No.	Length.	Breadth.	Depth.	Draught.	Displacement.	Indicated H.P.	Speed.	Armour.	Torpedo-tubes.
	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Tons.		Knots.	Cm.	
Kotaka ...	50·290	5·791	2·286	1·702	203	1,217	19	4	4
No. 5 ...	53·000	3·350	2·500	2·000	53·954	525	20	1	2
6 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
8 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
9 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
10 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
11 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
12 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
13 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
14 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
15 ...	34·000	3·500	2·000	2·140	52·82	657	20	4	4
17 ...	35·000	3·350	2·500	2·000	53·954	525	,,	,,	,,
18 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
19 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
20 ...	34·000	3·500	2·000	2·140	52·82	657	,,	,,	,,
21 ...	36·000	4·000	2·650	2·600	79·548	1,121·150	20¾	,,	3
24 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
25 ...	39·000	4·800	2·000	1·875	85	990	22½	2	,,
26 ...	33·720	4·140	2·090	2·083	66·300	338·055	13·77	1	,,
27 ...	33·630	4·280	2·115	1·700	73·500	442·501	15·54	2	,,
28 ...	19·180	2·700	1·560	1·220	16	90·75	10·57	,,	,,
Fukuryu ...	42·750	5·016	2·850	2·551	115	1,015 7	20·33	,,	4
Hayabusa ...	45·000	4·900	2·900	1·450	152·390	4,200	29	3	3

LIST OF THE TORPEDO-BOATS OF THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY.—*Continued.*

Name or No.	Length.	Breadth.	Depth.	Draught.	Displacement.	Indicated H.P.	Speed.	Armour.	Torpedo-tubes.
	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Metres.	Tons.		Knots.	Cm.	
Shirataka ...	46·500	5·100	2·230	1·265	126·698	2,600	28	3	3
Kasasagi ...	45·000	4·900	2·900	1·450	152·390	4,200	29	,,	,,
Manazuru ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Chidori ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
No. 29 ...	37·000	4·130	2·470	1·220	87·88	2,000	26	1	,,
30 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
31 ...	39·000	4·800	2·000	1·061	83·038	1,200	24	,,	,,
32 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
33 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
34 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
35 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
36 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
37 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
38 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
39 ...	46·483	4·660	2·800	1·575	109·728	2,000	27	,,	,,
40 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
41 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
42 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
43 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
44 ...	39·000	4·800	2·000	1·061	83·038	1,200	24	,,	,,
45 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
46 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
47 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
48 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
49 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
50 ...	34·000	3·500	2·000	9·900	52·830	657	20	,,	2
51 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
52 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
53 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	54·271	660	,,	,,	,,
54 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
55 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
56 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	52·830	657	,,	,,	,,
57 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	54·271	660	,,	,,	,,
58 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
59 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
60 ...	39·000	4·800	2·000	1·061	83·038	1,200	24	,,	,,
61 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
62 ...	46·483	4·660	2·800	1·575	109·728	2,000	27	,,	,,
63 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
64 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
65 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
66 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
67 ...	40·100	4·940	2·050	1·030	89	1,200	23·5	2	3
68 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
69 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
70 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
71 ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Kari	45·000	4·900	2·900	1·450	152·038	4,200	29	3	,,
Aotaka ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Hato ..	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Tsubame ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Hibari ...	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
Kiji	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

Early Educational Measures.

The first important step taken with regard to the Japanese Imperial navy was the establishment of a Naval College in Tokyo; and in 1873 the Japanese Government, with the consent of the British Government, employed British naval officers and men as instructors in the college.

The list of instructors was as follows:

Commander (now Admiral) A. L. Douglas, R.N.
Commander C. W. Jones, R.N.
Lieutenant C. W. Baillie, R.N.
Chief Engineer F. W. Sutton, R.N.
Engineer T. S. Gissing, R.N.
Assistant Engineer W. J. Harding, R.N.
Five warrant officers.
Six petty officers.
Sixteen seamen.

These instructors were engaged for a term of three years, some returning at the end of the first term, others remaining for another three years.

In 1876 Commander L. P. Willan, R.N., Lieutenant T. H. James, R.N., Engineer W. Jad, R.N., and some warrant and petty officers were engaged as instructors for the training-ships cruising abroad. Their services were ended in 1879-1882. The number of cadets in the Naval College during the same period was from 250 to 300, including the engineer cadets. A class of from 20 to 45 cadets was sent out to cruise every year.

The system of education was thorough and substantial, and has formed the backbone of the present navy. Naval education in other branches was carried on also during these years, surgeons, paymasters, etc., having their own schools and foreign instructors.

The Naval Administration.

At first, after the Restoration, the Imperial army and navy were controlled by one department; but in 1872, in the process of reorganization, they were made separate and independent departments of the Government.

The management and control of the Imperial navy is carried out under the direction of the Minister of Marine, who is appointed from the flag officers of the active list. The Minister of the Marine, being a member of the Cabinet, is directly responsible to the Emperor for all actions of the Ministry of Marine. He acts in all naval matters concerning the move-

ments of ships, schemes of mobilization, etc., in consultation with the chief of the Admiralty Staff Department.

The Admiralty Staff Department is independent of the Ministry of Marine, its chief being under the direct control of H.I.M. the Emperor.

To avoid a long explanation a table is here inserted which shows the organization and the relative positions of all the officers of the Imperial navy.

Naval Stations and Dockyards.

The coast of the empire is divided into five naval districts, and the headquarters of each district is placed at the chief naval port of that district, and is called *Chinjufu* (naval station). Headquarters of the 1st naval district are at Yokohama; of the 2nd, Kure; of the 3rd, Sasebo; of the 4th, Maizuru; of the 5th, Muroran.

The above naval stations, with the exception of Muroran, have dockyards and ordnance depots supplied with all necessary stores. There are also the following secondary naval stations where small repairs of ships and ordnance can be undertaken:

Takeshiki naval station (Tsushima Islands).
Bake naval station (Pescadores Islands).
Ominate torpedo division (Bay of Awemori).

Yokosuka dockyard being the only dockyard which was established at the time of the Tokugawa Administration in 1864, all others having been constructed since 1885, a description of it is of interest.

Yokosuka dockyard covers upwards of seventy acres of ground with its docks, ships, factories, workshops, and storehouses. For the construction of the different parts of ships, engines, etc., there are drawing rooms, pattern shops, iron and brass foundries, shops with machinery for bending, shaping, and piercing steel plates, machine, boiler and copper shops, smithies and forging shops—the largest steam-hammer installed being of twenty tons; also several carpenter shops and boat-making houses with storehouses for shipbuilding material.

There are four docks, two of which are capable of taking first-class battleships, and the number of workmen varies from 4,000 to 6,000, according to the amount of work being carried on.

The Yokosuka ordnance depot and stores are in the adjoining bays, and cover some sixty acres of ground exclusive of magazines, etc.

The naval arsenal at Kure, being the largest and most important one, gives a good idea of the ordnance works now existing. The foundation was laid in 1894, at the time of the

war with China, and the arsenal covers upwards of a hundred acres of ground. It manufactures naval guns and projectiles of all sizes up to 12 inches, as well as gun-mountings. The principal shops of the arsenal are pattern and carpenter shops, steel and brass foundries, forging shops—the largest hydraulic press being of 4,000 tons—boring, turning, and finishing shops, tempering and shrinking pits, gun-mounting shops, machine shops, projectile and cartridge-case shops, torpedo and submarine mine shops, laboratories, stores, proving butts, etc. A plant for making armour plate is now being erected, comprising several open-hearth furnaces, gas-producers, forges containing a 10,000-ton hydraulic press and rollers, etc., machine shops, cementation house, drawing rooms, stores, etc.

Personnel.

For the fiscal year ending 1902 the numbers of officers and men voted for the Imperial Japanese navy were as follows:

Officers, 2,294; warrant officers, 1,057; petty officers and seamen, etc., 39,821.

Officers and men in the reserve in 1902 numbered:

Officers of the naval reserve, 170; warrant officers, 108; petty officers and men, 6,343.

The officers of the Imperial navy are divided into two classes—the executive naval officers and the officers, the latter ranking the same as executive naval officers.

The executive naval officers are Admirals, Captains, Commanders, Lieutenants, Sub-lieutenants, midshipmen, naval cadets, gunners, and boatswains.

The officers holding the relative ranks are engineers, medical officers, paymasters, ordnance engineers, naval constructors, hydrographical engineers, carpenters, and bandmasters.

Marine infantry and artillery were also organized at first, but have been abolished since 1876.

Executive Officers.

In the Imperial Japanese navy the naval cadets are appointed by competitive examination, which is open to the sons of all Japanese subjects. The entrance examination is held, at present, in nineteen of the principal towns of the country, under the supervision of the superintendent of the Naval College. The number of cadetships available for the year having been previously gazetted by the Minister of the Marine, applications are made to the superintendent of the Naval College through the local authorities within the specified limit of time. A candidate must not be under sixteen or over twenty years of

age. A candidate who has passed the course of the Middle School is examined in mathematics, Japanese composition, English and Chinese; but a candidate who has not passed through the Middle School is examined in the following subjects: Japanese composition, mathematics, English, Chinese, geography, history, physics, chemistry, and drawing; also, if the candidate desires, in French, German, or Russian.

Successful candidates become naval cadets and join the Naval College at Yetajima, on the Inland Sea near the Kure naval station. The travelling money to the college is paid, and at the college everything is provided by the Government.

The cadets remain in the Naval College three years, and are instructed in seamanship, navigation, higher mathematics, English, physics, chemistry, gunnery, and torpedoes, steam engineering, etc. After having passed the final examination successfully they are appointed to the sea-going training-ships as midshipmen. At the end of eight months' cruising the midshipmen are examined in what they have learnt on board, and then transferred to a commissioned ship, generally appointed among the ships of the squadron, and after four months, if favourably recommended by the Captain of the ship, are commissioned as Sub-lieutenants.

Promotion of naval officers is entirely by selection, and the list of candidates deserving that honour is decided upon by the Board of Admirals, which meets once a year. This Board is composed of eight or nine members, but when sitting to decide the list of promotions, all the Commanders-in-Chief of naval stations and the squadrons, with the senior officers of the different branches, such as engineers and medical corps, etc., are summoned, and the Minister of Marine takes the chair. Officers of the following rank who have been on duty for the specified number of years are eligible for nomination:

Sub-lieutenants, 1 year; Lieutenants, junior grade, 2 years; Lieutenants, 5 years; Commanders, 2 years; Captains, junior grade, 2 years; Captains, 2 years; Rear-Admirals, 3 years.

Naval officers are placed on the reserved list on account of age, ill-health, or disability. The age-limit of the several ranks is as follows:

Admirals at the age of 68; Vice-Admirals at the age of 63; Rear-Admirals at the age of 58; Captains at the age of 53; Captains, junior grade, at the age of 48; Commanders at the age of 45; Lieutenants at the age of 43; Lieutenants, junior grade, at the age of 38; Sub-lieutenants at the age of 38; chief gunners and boatswains at the age of 51; gunners and boatswains at the age of 48.

All officers are retired five years after being placed on the reserve list.

Engineer Officers.

The appointment of engineer students is effected in the same manner as the appointment of naval cadets, but the age of candidates must not be under sixteen years of age or over twenty-one. The student joining the Naval College of Engineering remains three years and four months, going through a course of advanced mathematics, physics, chemistry, theory of the steam-engine, etc. They also receive practical training in the engineering workshops of the Yokosuka Dockyard, receiving instruction in iron shipbuilding, the working of marine engines and boilers, the practical use of the various instruments used in the engine-room, as well as in the construction and working of electric light, torpedo and gun machinery. The student successfully passing the final examination becomes a probationary Assistant Engineer of the navy, and is appointed to a sea-going training-ship, where he receives the practical training necessary for a man-of-war.

After eight months' training on board, the students are examined and commissioned as Assistant Engineers, gaining the succeeding steps of promotion, as in the case of executive officers. The order of promotion is as follows: Engineer, Chief and Fleet Engineer, Inspector of Machinery, and lastly, Inspector-General of Machinery.

Medical Officers,

Candidates for the medical branch of the navy are required to pass a medical examination before being allowed to go up for the competitive examinations. The latter include medicine, surgery, science, and modern languages. Successful candidates become probationary Assistant Surgeons of the navy, and have to join the Navy Medical College for instruction. They remain there not less than one year, and if they pass the examination at the college successfully, are appointed to the hospitals of the different naval stations. After a certain period of time, if recommended favourably by the Superintendent of Hospitals, they are commissioned as Assistant Surgeons, gaining succeeding steps of promotion by selection. The successive grades of rank are Assistant-Surgeon, Surgeon, Staff and Fleet Surgeon, Surgeon-Inspector, and Surgeon-General.

Surgeons are also appointed from among the graduates of the Imperial Universities without the examination of science.

Paymasters.

Probationary assistant paymasters are selected by competitive examination after having successfully passed the required medical examination. Candidates must not be under twenty or

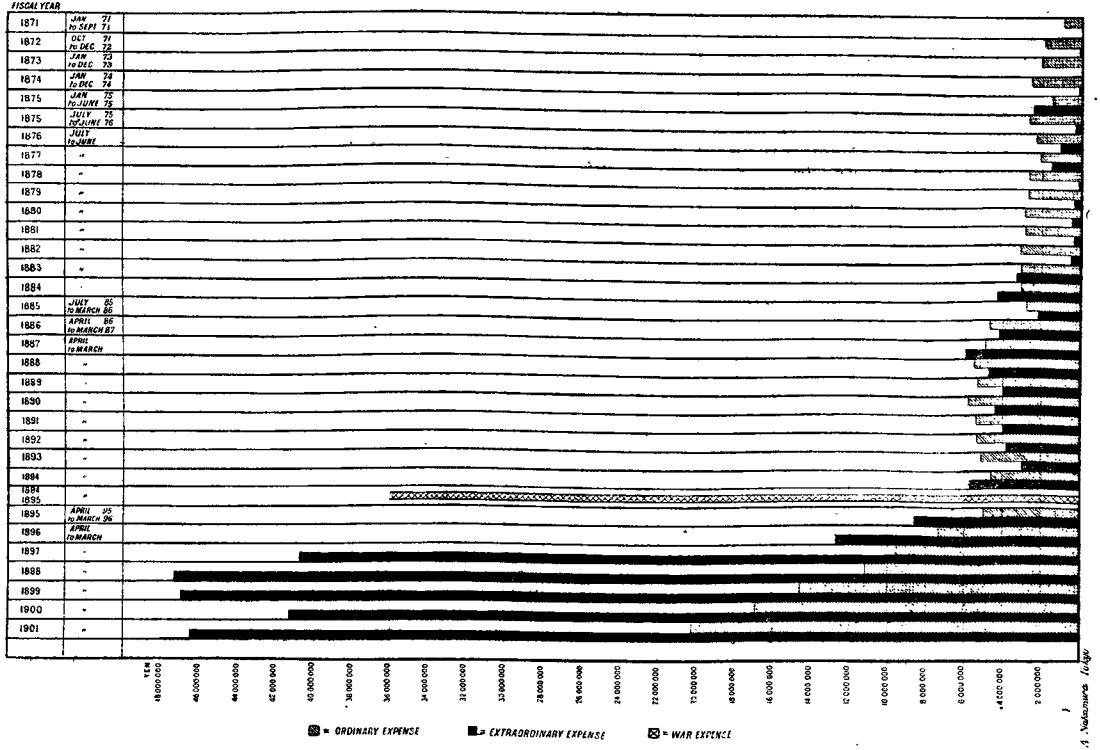

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE NAVAL EXPENDITURE OF JAPAN FROM 1871 TO 1901.

[*To face p.* 137.

over twenty-eight years of age. Successful candidates are appointed probationary assistant paymasters, and sent to the Paymaster Training School to receive a course of instruction there for eight months. At the end of that time they are, after examination, appointed to different commissioned ships to receive practical experience, and after four months of that training, if favourably recommended, become Assistant Paymasters, gaining succeeding steps of promotion by selection. Ranking is as follows: Assistant Paymasters, Paymasters, Chief, Staff, and Fleet Paymasters, Paymaster-Inspectors, and Paymaster-Generals.

Naval Constructors.

Every year a certain number of the naval architecture students from the Imperial University can make application to become students of the Navy. The expenses of the successful candidates are paid by the Navy, and on being graduated they are appointed Assistant Naval Constructors. The succeeding steps of promotion to Naval Constructor, Chief Inspector, and Inspector-General of Naval Construction, are gained by selection.

Ordnance Engineers.

Ordnance Engineers are appointed in the same manner as Naval Constructors. Naval officers and engineers can also enter this branch by special appointment if desired.

Hydrographical Engineers.

Students in this branch are taught in the Hydrographical Office the theory, as well as the practice, of surveys, etc., and, passing a successful examination, are appointed assistants. Assistants can acquire rank as high as that of Captain, junior grade. As this branch of the service can be performed by naval officers, the continuation of this department in the future is doubtful.

Warrant Officers.

The executive warrant officers are gunners and boatswains, gunners and torpedo-gunners having to have their qualification of gunnery or torpedo instructors before promotion. The non-executive branches holding relative ranks are engine-room artificers, bandmasters, carpenters, writers, and nurses. They are all selected from the petty officers of their respective bodies, having served at least two years at sea. A warrant officer of more than ordinary ability can, after six years of service, be promoted to be chief warrant officer, which ranks with Sub-lieutenant, and a chief warrant officer of long and meritorious

service receives the rank of Lieutenant when placed on the reserve list.

Petty Officers and Men.

The petty officers and the men of the navy are divided in the same method as the warrant officers. Petty officers, with the exception of the writers, are all appointed from the men. There are three ranks in every branch—viz., the chief, or first, second, and third class petty officers. The men are enlisted in two classes, the volunteers and the conscripts; the first serve for eight years, the second for four. Both classes are allowed to renew their enlistment for terms of three years until the petty officers reach the age of forty-five, and the men that of forty years of age. Men appointed to be petty officers must serve six years from the date of appointment. The age of enlistment for volunteers is as follows:

Seamen and stokers	17 to 21 years.
Carpenter's crew, nurses, blacksmiths, etc.	17 to 26 ,,
Bandsmen	16 to 19 ,,

The age of conscripts must be over twenty.

Examinations for the promotion of petty officers and men are held twice every year, and they are eligible for the examination if they have served at sea as follows:

Petty Officers.

First-Class or Chief Petty Officer, one and a half years as second-class petty officer.

Second class, one year as third class petty officer.

Third class, one year as leading seaman.

Men.

Petty officers, leading seamen or first class men, able seamen or second-class men, and ordinary or third-class men, are examined in April and October.

Boys are examined in May and November.

Boys are trained for four months in the naval barracks at each naval station, and then sent to the sea-going training-ships for two months at least before being distributed among the ships of the squadron, etc.

From among able seamen and upwards to first-class petty officers inclusive a certain number of men are selected and examined to become seamen gunners and torpedo men, and the successful candidates are trained respectively at the gunnery and torpedo training stations at Yokosuka.

There are three different courses of instruction for seamen gunners, torpedo men, torpedo instructors, etc.:

(1) A course for seamen gunners; (2) a course for gunnery instructors; (3) recapitulatory, or short course.

Stokers, carpenters' crews, and blacksmiths are given the same instruction as seamen, and are trained in the artificers' training station according to their standing as seamen.

Further details of the instruction of other branches of petty officers and men are unnecessary, it being similar in principle to that given the seamen class.

The Naval Academy.

Advanced instruction for naval officers and engineers is given at the Naval Academy situated at Tokyo. It is conducted by a Rear-Admiral superintendent and several instructors and officers of different ranks, as well as a staff of professors.

The courses of instruction for officer students are divided as follows:

(1) Officers' long course, two years; (2) officers' short course, one year; (3) optional course, one year (nearly); (4) engineers' long course, two years; (5) engineers' short course, one year.

Officer students are nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of naval stations and squadrons, and by officers having similar authority, according to a notice given once a year by the Minister of Marine. A candidate for a long course must have had experience of sea duty for three years, be in good health, possess good judgment and a fair knowledge of his profession, and have a good record. Officer students for the optional course are not nominated, but make application, stating the subjects to be studied, and permission is granted them by the Minister of Marine if he sees no objection. Officer students of this class include Captains, Commanders, and Lieutenants.

The principal subjects taught at the academy for officers are: 1. Strategy. 2. Naval Tactics. 3. Military Tactics. 4. History of War. 5. Ordnance and Machinery, including Gunnery, Torpedoes, Naval Architecture, Steam-engines, Hydraulic and Electric Machinery. 6. Navigation, Meteorology, Coast Survey, etc. 7. Fortification. 8. Land Survey. 9. Navy and Military Administration. 10. International Law.

Preparatory Subjects.—Advanced Mathematics. Dynamics. Physics. Applied Dynamics.

Optional Subjects.—Criminal Law of the Navy. Modern Languages. Photography.

The subjects for engineer officers are:

First Part.—1. Steam-engines. 2. Practical Engineering.

3. Designing of Engines and Machinery. 4. Naval Architecture. 5. Construction of Ordnance.

Second Part.—1. Theory of Steam Engineering. 2. Kinematics of Machinery. 3. Strength of Material. 4. Resistance and Propulsion. 5. Hydrodynamics and Hydraulic Machinery. 6. Electricity and Electric Machinery and Apparatus.

Preparatory Subjects.—Mathematics. Dynamics. Physics. Chemistry. Metallurgy.

Optional Subjects.—Criminal Law of the Navy. Modern Languages. Photography.

Officers choosing the optional course may select any of the subjects enumerated above, but the selection thereof must be made at the time of application.

Naval Expenditure.*

The expenditure for the Japanese Imperial navy is divided into two classes: ordinary expenditure and extraordinary expenditure. The ordinary expenditure is for the maintenance of the navy, and the extraordinary expenditure for construction and new establishments.

Besides the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, the navy has special funds for the shipbuilding and ordnance materials, which are divided among the dockyards and arsenals as follows:

Shipbuilding Material Fund.—Yokosuka, 1,060,000 yen; Kure, 860,000 yen; Sasebo, 860,000 yen. It is intended to increase this fund to 6,500,000 yen in aggregate.

Ordnance Fund.—Kure, 805,000 yen; Tokyo, 240,000 yen; Yokosuka, 142,000 yen; Sasebo, 135,000 yen; Shimose powder factory, 45,000 yen. This sum is to be increased to 3,000,000 yen in aggregate.

* The following table gives a comparison between Japan and other countries of the proportion of naval expenditure to the mercantile marine per ton, and to the total trade per cent.:

	Naval Expenditure on Sea-going Vessels.	Per Ton of Mercantile Marine.	Per Cent. of Oversea Total Trade.
	£	£	
British Empire	33,988,280	3·12	2·5
Russia	9,944,751	15·7	12·6
Germany	9,624,000	4·95	1·8
France	13,356,102	12·0	4·2
Spain	1,437,688	1·9	2·4
Italy	4,666,098	4·67	5·9
Austria	1,812,117	7·0	7·0
United States	16,012,433	18·0	3·3
Japan	3,711,526	4·3	6·2

CONCLUSION.

The strength of the Imperial Japanese navy will be maintained in the following manner: In 1899 an Act was passed supplying 30,000,000 yen as a fund for the reconstruction of ships and torpedo-boats. This sum of money was placed in deposit at the Treasury, and increases by compound interest. This interest (saving always the 30,000,000 original) can, at the discretion of the Minister of Marine, and making it clear in the Budget, be expended on reconstruction works. In addition to this, from 1904 on, the fund is added to per annum according to the following proportions:

For protected ships, 3·9 per cent.; for unprotected ships, 5·4 per cent.; for torpedo-boats, 6·15 per cent. of the value (first cost) of a warship or torpedo-boat.

Ships and torpedo-boats which have been constructed for the following periods are removed from the list, and no funds are raised for them: Protected ships, twenty-five years; unprotected ships, eighteen years; torpedo-boats, fifteen years.*

* Tables showing pay and wages in the Imperial Japanese Navy are given in Appendix D.

CHAPTER XI

DIPLOMACY

BY NAGAO ARIGA

Japanese Legal Delegate at the Hague Conference

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of foreign affairs in Japan in the early part of the New Era is so intricately bound up with the political events of the period that a brief statement of the latter is indispensable for the clear understanding of the former.

The Tokugawa Government had already entered into diplomatic relations with the United States in 1854, and promised to open the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate. The same arrangement had already been made with England and Russia during the same year, with Holland in 1855, and with France in 1858. But the diplomatic documents then signed by the officers of the Shogun, and not subject to ratification, were all of a temporary nature, because he dared not enter into formal engagements so long as there existed much opposition in the Imperial Court in Kyoto, and even among the Daimyos or feudal lords directly subject to the Shogun.

The arms of England and France having been attended with success in the South of China, in 1857 Mr. Townsend Harris, United States Consul General, obtained audience of the Shogun after great difficulties, and explained to him the advisability of entering into formal treaty relations with the United States first, so that the latter might act as mediator, in case England and France should make exorbitant demands, elated by the newly obtained victory. This was listened to, and on the 29th of July, 1858, a treaty of amity and commerce, consisting of fourteen articles, was signed, promising to open the ports of Kanagawa and Nagasaki in 1859, Niigata in 1860, Hyogo in 1863, and to fix concession grounds in Yedo (1st of January, 1862) and Osaka (1st of January, 1863). The document was to be ratified by the Shogun on or before the 4th of July, 1859, but before doing so he had to obtain the permission of the Emperor in Kyoto. The permission, how-

ever, was not given, and the date of ratification had to be postponed.

In June, 1860, two American men-of-war entered Shimoda, followed by a Russian man-of-war, and announced that the English and French would also be on the scene before long. The Shogun Government was hard-pressed, and ratified the treaty with the United States *without the Imperial permission* on the 20th of June, 1860. Similar treaties with England, France, Holland, Prussia, and Russia, were also signed not long after. This exasperated the anti-foreign party, and years of bitter contest followed between it and the Shogun party. In 1861 the Shogun had to send a mission to the treaty Powers asking the postponement of the opening of the ports for five years after the 1st of January, 1863. At last some of the nobles in the Imperial Court formed an alliance with the most powerful Daimyos, like those of Mito, Satsuma, Nagato (Choshiu), Echizen, Tosa, and Hijen, and obtained a decree from the Emperor, ordering the Shogun to cancel the treaties and drive away the foreigners. As it was impossible to carry out this order, the Shogun, Keiki Tokugawa, petitioned the Emperor on the 14th of October, 1867, to hand back the governing power entrusted to his family already for 250 years. This was granted, and after much study and discussion amongst the makers of the New Era—like the Lords Sanjo and Iwakura—and the Daimyos on the Imperial side, with their prominent retainers like Saigo, Okubo, Kido, and many others, the direct government of the Emperor (Tenno) was announced on the 9th of December of the same year.

But the events that followed soon showed that the opposition against foreign intercourse was only a pretext for compelling the Shogun to resign, and that even the most inveterate of the decriers of the new treaties were persuaded of the necessity for opening up the country. Already on the 18th of December Lord Iwakura informed the members of the new Government that, though since 1853 the policy of the Imperial Court was that of seclusion and driving away of foreigners, and though the Western nations were regarded as barbarous, yet the fact is undeniable that the opening of Hyogo (and other ports) was finally granted to the late Tokugawa Government, and the policy of peaceful intercourse with foreign Powers adopted, so that the Imperial Government will henceforth place the States of Europe and America on the same footing as China. It is said that many of the Imperialist statesmen were 'astonished' at this proclamation, as they well might have been.

Meanwhile the formation of the new Imperial Government

in Kyoto exclusively out of the late anti-foreign and anti-Shogun party, and their decision that the late Shogun should at once give back to the Emperor all his lands and revenues, exasperated the Shogun party; and as both parties were in full arms, Keiki Tokugawa, till then in Kyoto, had now to retire to Osaka, in order to avoid collision. This was on the 12th of December. On the 16th the representatives of the United States, France, England, Prussia, and Holland, presented themselves to the late Shogun, and read to him the following collective note:

'The Government of Japan has undergone a great change; but the representatives of the treaty Powers have no concern with the question as to whom the governing power should belong, provided there be a government commanding the obedience of the whole people and ready to fulfil international obligations. We have not yet been officially informed as to whom we should in the future address ourselves for the affairs concerning the nations we represent, and wish that your Highness will inform us at the earliest opportunity.'

To this, Keiki Tokugawa replied with a long note, in which he explained why he had given back the governing power to the Emperor, and why he had to retire from Kyoto, although the actual management of affairs was still entrusted to him, until the form of the new Imperial Government should have been decided upon by the assembly of all the Daimyos. The note concluded with the following words:

'The Powers that have entered into treaty relations with us need not concern themselves with internal affairs of Japan, but should guide themselves only by reason. I have already put the treaties into execution, and will further endeavour to promote the interests of the treaty Powers. I wish it to be understood that I regard it my duty to execute the things already promised by treaty, and preserve good relations with the Powers, pending the definite organization of the Imperial Government by the public opinion of the whole nation.'

Immediately after this the army of the Tokugawa party marched against Kyoto with the avowed purpose of presenting a petition to the Emperor, and fighting ensued between it and the Imperial army at Fushimi. The Shogun forces being defeated, Keiki Tokugawa fled to Yedo. Here he returned to his dutiful submission, left his own castle, and retired to a Buddhist temple to wait for deserved punishment. He enjoined the Daimyos under him likewise to disarm, but they refused to obey him, and marched north in order to defend themselves in their feudal possessions.

On the 15th of January, 1868, Lord Higashikuje, Chief of the newly instituted Board of Foreign Affairs in the Imperial Government, forwarded to the representatives of the five Powers assembled in Hyogo the important document dated

the 10th of January, 4th year of Keio, and signed by the Emperor himself, and stamped with the Great Seal of the empire, worded as follows :

'We, Tenno of Japan, hereby inform the Emperors and Kings of each and all the Powers and their subjects. Keiki lately petitioned us to hand back the governing power, and we granted it. The affairs of State, both internal and external, we will hereafter personally decide. Hence, the term Taicoon, used in the treaties, shall henceforth be changed into that of Tenno. Special functionaries have been appointed to deal with foreign affairs. Let the Ministers of the Powers know this.'

On the same day an Imperial ordinance was issued announcing to the nation the foreign policy of the new Government :

'The question of foreign intercourse had for many years been a matter of the greatest concern with the late Emperor, but, while nothing was done through the mistake of the Shogun Government, the state of affairs has entirely changed, making it impossible now to decide otherwise than to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the foreign Governments. The high and low should hereafter dispel all doubt, unite their forces in strengthening the army, and making the glory of the empire shine through the world ; for such is the way in which the Emperor intends to respond to the spirits of his ancestors.

'Let all the Samurais and people of the different counties* know this, and make them devote their mind and energy to the cause of the country.

'Public deliberation will decide as to which points in the treaties signed by the Shogun Government are not in the interests of the nation, and proceed to their early revision. Moreover, the intercourse with foreign Governments and peoples shall be conducted according to the public law of nations.'

The northern provinces being in open revolt now, Lord Higashikuje sent letters to the foreign Ministers on the 21st of January, and desired that their Governments should assume an impartial position during the present trouble, not allowing their subjects to aid the insurgent forces by transporting their soldiers, supplying them with ships, ammunition, etc. On the 25th the five Ministers announced the intention of their Governments to remain neutral, and called back the French officers that were fighting on the side of the Tokugawa forces.

On the 14th of February took place the first interview between the members of the new Board of Foreign Affairs and the foreign Ministers, and Lord Higashikuje, Chief of the Board, communicated to them verbally that the policy to be pursued by the new Imperial Government was to establish the intercourse between Japan and the foreign Powers on a firmer and broader basis than before. He then announced,

* At this time the provinces were still governed by the Daimyos, or feudal lords.

to the great joy of all present, the intention of the Emperor of receiving the representatives of the Powers in the palace in Kyoto.

That this sudden opening-up was decided partly by the necessity of not making the Powers incline towards the Tokugawa party is evident; but that the general feeling was still opposed to foreign intercourse is demonstrated by the murder of fourteen Frenchmen in Sakai on the 15th of February, by the Samurais under the Daimyo of Tosa. The affair, however, was soon settled by the payment of an indemnity and the prompt punishment of the culpable. The ill-advised patriots were made to commit *harakiri* before the eyes of the French Minister, but his endurance did not hold out to the end of the ghastly scene, for, on the eleventh man disembowelling himself, he implored that the punishment of the remaining nine men should be mitigated. They were therefore banished to distant islands.

The French and the Dutch Ministers were received in audience of the Emperor on the appointed day, but the retinue of the English Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, was attacked on the way by another party of mistaken patriots; and though the Minister himself was not hurt, yet some of the Japanese escort were wounded, among whom was the famous Nakai, afterwards Governor of Shiga-ken, and member of the House of Peers, who received a sword and pension from Queen Victoria.

In July of the same year the seat of the Imperial Government was transferred to Tokyo (formerly Yedo).

After much fighting, the northern provinces were subdued, and on the 3rd of December Lord Iwakura, Minister of the Right, received the representatives of the United States, France, England, Italy, Holland, and Prussia, in Yokohama, and expressed to them the wish that their Governments should now give up the position of neutrality. A verbal note to the same effect was sent to them the next day, and on the 28th the foreign Ministers announced the cessation of neutrality. Thus ended the eventful first year of the New Era.

In July, 1869, the form of the Imperial Government was definitely fixed, and a regular Foreign Office (Gwaimusho) instituted as one of the six departments of Daijokwan (the Great Imperial Government). The department Ministers were not the associates, but the subordinates, of the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Left and the Right, being the revival of the old Imperial Government modelled after the Chinese system. Lord Sawa was appointed the first Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Terashima Vice-Minister.

URGENT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS.

The new Imperial Government was hardly organized, when it found itself face to face with important international questions, which demanded early solutions. These were the question of peace or war with Corea ; of confirming or abandoning the territorial right of Japan to the islands of Sakhalin and Liukiu, in view of the rival claims of Russia and China respectively ; and the question of treaty revision. Let us first state these questions themselves, and then pass on to the narration of how we proceeded to solve them, and in what order.

The Question of Corea.

Japan had from time immemorial a trading settlement in Corea in the port of Fusan. It can be traced in history certainly as far back as the year 1443, under the Ashikaga Shogunate. And as this port lay opposite the island of Tsushima, so, under the Tokugawa Shogunate, the protection of trade between Japan and Corea was entrusted to So, Daimyo of Tsushima. In 1868 the new Imperial Government ordered So to send a special mission to Corea, in order to inform that Government of the political change that had lately taken place in Japan, and announce the intention of continuing peaceful intercourse with her as before. But the father of the King of Corea, usually known by the title of Tai-in-kun, who had never sat on the throne himself, but was at this time acting as Regent, refused to have anything to do with the mission. His pretext was that the wording and the seal in the document produced by the mission were not the same as before. But the real fact was that he had already heard of Japan's adopting Western things and ideas, and from his point of view the throwing away of the time-honoured national customs and institutions in exchange for Western 'barbarism' was in itself a sufficient proof of the disdainful character of the Japanese as a nation. As to his implacable hatred of Western nations, there were some historical examples. In 1847 the French under Louis Philippe sent two men-of-war against Corea, in order to chastise her for the murder of some Catholic missionaries several years back ; but both vessels were stranded on the Corean coast, and Tai-in-kun then caused the whole Christian population to be massacred. In 1866 Napoleon III. sent three men-of-war against Corea ; the vessels went up the Han River, bombarded the forts, and landed 400 men, but were repulsed, and came away effecting nothing beyond deepening the Corean hatred of foreigners. Now, these 400 soldiers had been taken out of the French garrison in Yoko-

hama, so that in the eyes of the Coreans Japan was an accomplice in the attack. Again, when in 1868 Herr von Brandt, Prussian Minister in Tokyo, visited Fusan in a man-of-war, it was the Japanese living there that rendered him aid, so that the Japanese were, in the eyes of the Coreans, the ally of the much-hated foreigners.

In 1869 the new Imperial Government sent out a Commission of investigation to Corea, with special instructions to inquire into her relations with China and Russia, and the Commission returning the next year, its members eagerly explained the necessity and feasibility of warlike chastisement. The Daimyo of Tsushima, having resigned the post of the medium of communication between Japan and Corea, a direct mission was sent out in October, 1869, for the purpose of negotiating directly with the Corean Government; but they absolutely refused to receive it, and when the mission proceeded to the capital without invitation, they accused its members of having 'intruded into forbidden precincts.' The mission came away leaving behind a document of severe reproach. In August, 1871, Hanabusa, Chief Secretary of the Foreign Office, was sent out with two men-of-war to remonstrate with the Corean Government, but their downright refusal to have anything to do with him forced this tenacious diplomat to come away with empty hands.

In the same year Frederick F. Low, United States Minister in Peking, accompanied by Commodore John Rogers, commanding the United States squadron in Asiatic waters, proceeded to Corea with the mission of negotiation for the treaty of peace and commerce with that country, but the Coreans fired at the American vessels, and forced them to retreat after having inflicted some injuries on the forts. Tai-in-kun's hatred of foreigners, Japanese included, became stronger than ever, and anti-foreign epitaphs were now posted up throughout the peninsula.

In Japan this was already the fourth year of the new Imperial Government, and the psychological moment was attained when the ex-Samurai politicians, tired of the long quiet after so many years of excitement and danger, and dissatisfied with the apparent gradual weakening of manly national spirit under the influence of Western intercourse, eagerly longed for some stirring events in which their belligerent patriotism could again be brought into direct display. Hence, the question of war or peace with Corea was clearly on the order of the day.

That there was ground enough to chastise Corea nobody doubted, but the peculiar condition in which Japan found itself just at this moment made this apparently simple ques-

tion very complex. Japan was yet only a few years ahead of feudalism, and though the leading men in the Government were enlightened, the mass of the ex-Samurai class was not. The districts were still governed by the Daimyos, whose title was changed to that of Governor, appointed by the Emperor, but whose real power rested on the authority they enjoyed as hereditary lords of the counties and chiefs of the local Samurais. There was as yet no Imperial army, and the Government could only dispose of the contingents supplied by the Daimyos. This last trace of feudalism and decentralization had to be done away with before any great undertaking could be launched, but it demanded the greatest possible prudence to work out such a momentous social reorganization.

There was also the financial difficulty. The finance of the Tokugawa Government was in the most wretched condition, and so were also the finances of most of the Daimyos, some of whom issued paper money beyond all hope of redemption. Coinage was irregular, and owing to the difference of ratio between gold and silver from the ratio in Europe and America, gold had almost disappeared from the empire. The salaries of civil and military officers, hitherto paid in rice, had now to be paid in money, and the system of taxation demanded complete reorganization. All this required time, and before finance was regulated nothing could be undertaken that called for any expanded outlay.

Such being the case, it was very natural that, with regard to the question of Corea, the opinion of the men in power should have been divided.

The Question of Sakhalin.

Formerly the island of Yeso formed a feudal possession of the Daimyo of Matsumaye, and the northern limit of this possession was undefined. The Russian ships often making their appearance in the northern seas in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Tokugawa Government directed their attention northward as early as 1780, when the two explorers Tokunai Mogami and Jinzo Kondo were sent out to explore the islands of Iturup, Urup, Kunashiri, etc. In 1785 a party of ten men was sent out to Sakhalin, and in 1799 Sakhalin and the greater portion of Yeso were laid under the direct government of Tokugawa. Already some fishermen's villages were founded on Sakhalin.

In 1804 a Russian mission headed by Lezanoff arrived in Nagasaki, with a number of shipwrecked Japanese, and, presenting a letter and presents from the Emperor of Russia, asked for the opening of trade with Japan; but being refused,

he turned northwards and ravaged the islands of Sakhalin and Iturup. This made the Tokugawa Government pay greater attention to the defence of the north.

In 1808 the bold explorer Rinzo Mamiya explored the whole length of the western coast of Sakhalin, and ascertained for the first time that Sakhalin was not a peninsula, but an island. He even crossed the channel, and went up the river Amur as far as the Chinese town of Delen.

After this period the Russian vessels ceased to appear for some years, and as the cultivation of the northern islands entailed great expenses, though attended with little fruit, so the Tokugawa Government gradually called back the troops, and finally gave back the northern islands to the Daimyo of Matsumaye in 1821.

But in 1849 the Russian Captain Nevilskoi explored Sakhalin under the instigation of the famous Count Muravieff, and found a Russian port at Dui, on the western coast of it. On the 17th of July, 1853—that is, a month after the first arrival of Commodore Perry in Uraga—Admiral Putiatin arrived in Nagasaki with a letter from Emperor Nicholas I., and asked two things: the fixing of the northern boundary, and the opening of trade with Japan. After a long negotiation, first in Nagasaki, and the next year at Shimoda, the first treaty of amity and commerce with Russia was signed. By the same treaty, the sea between the islands of Iturup (Japanese) and Urup (Russian) was fixed to be the boundary between the two empires on the Kurile side; but as to Sakhalin, no definite limitation was made, and the maintenance of the *status quo* was promised as regards the mixed habitation of Japanese and Russians there. Taking advantage of this indeterminate condition of the island, Russia busily explored the interior of Sakhalin, and discovered some coal-mines.

After the Crimean War, Russia extended its territory towards the Pacific with renewed activity, and in 1859 Count Muravieff himself entered the Bay of Yedo in a man-of-war and demanded the recognition of the whole of Sakhalin as Russian territory, making the Straits of La Perouse the boundary between Japan and Russia. His argument was that by the Treaty of Aigun, 1858, Russia had obtained from China the cession of the whole territory along the Amur and the Pacific coast, and Sakhalin formed a part of the territory ceded. When the article promising the *status quo* was pointed out, he replied that Putiatin had had only full power for signing a commercial treaty, and not for boundary affairs. But the diplomats of the Tokugawa Government were also determined to resist, and so the famous Count of the Amur had to go away without having accomplished his object.

Several earnest Daimyos and Samurais now advised the Tokugawa Government to wind up the affair by ceding to Russia the part of Sakhalin lying north of 50° of latitude, and when the mission had to be sent out to Europe in 1861-62 for obtaining the agreement of the Powers to the postponement of the opening of treaty ports, it was empowered to negotiate with the Russian Government on the line of the 50° delimitation. General Ignatieff was now the negotiator on the Russian side, and after some unworthy, if not fraudulent, attempts at proving the whole island to be Russian, he proposed to make 48° as the boundary, on the ground of its being in better conformity with the geographical features of the land. This our plenipotentiary refused, and Ignatieff finally agreed to the 50° boundary in principle, on the condition of appointing a mixed Commission from the two Governments in order to determine the appropriate natural boundary by the examination of local conditions. In 1863 the Russian Commissioner came to Hakodate, but the Tokugawa Government, being already hard-pressed by the political events soon leading to its downfall, neglected to appoint the Japanese Commissioner for several months, and when it decided to make good the neglect by consenting to the 48° boundary, the Russian Commissioner had already departed.

In 1866 the Tokugawa Government sent Koide Yamatonokami to St. Petersburg with instructions to make Kushunrai the boundary line; but as the Russian Government did not agree, he signed with Stremogoff, chief of the Asiatic Section of the Russian Foreign Office, a *modus vivendi* placing Sakhalin under a sort of joint rule between Japan and Russia. When Koide returned to Japan, the Tokugawa Government was no more!

The new Imperial Government instituted the Board of Exploration of Yeso in 1869, and that of Sakhalin in 1870. Kiyotaka Kuroda, the most influential Satsuma man after Saigo and Okubo, was appointed Vice-Director of the two Boards. But with regard to the important question of territorial right, nothing could be effected as long as there was no Russian Minister in Tokyo or Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg during the first years of the new Imperial Government.

The Question of Liukiu.

The Liukiu Islands are situated between Japan and Formosa, and were originally called Okinawa. In 1185 Tadahiro Shimazu, ancestor of the Daimyo of Satsuma, was made the lord of 'the twelve islands of the South Sea,' including Okinawa; but during the feudal wars of the fourteenth century the islands

became divided into three rival principalities, called North, South, and Middle Mountains, and the ruler of the Middle Mountains finally unified all the islands by the aid of China. In 1373 the Chinese Emperor of the Ming Dynasty named the island Liukiu, and conferred investiture on its King, who was obliged to pay annual tribute to the suzerain.

In 1609 Iyehisa Shimazu, Daimyo of Satsuma, obtained from the Shogun permission to reconquer Liukiu in the name of his ancestor, reduced the whole of the islands to submission, established there a local government, took the census, surveyed the lands, and gathered taxes from the inhabitants. But the people of Liukiu always regarded China as one of their masters, calling China their father, and Japan their mother.

The Powers of Europe and America generally regarded Liukiu as an independent State, and entered into treaty relations with it. The treaty between Liukiu and the United States bears the date of 11th of July, 1854, and in the Liukiu text the Chinese era is employed (17th of June, 4th year of Heng-Fieng), which, according to Oriental ideas, is the symbol of China's suzerainty. Under the new Imperial Government, when the question of Liukiu was first raised in 1872, some advocated the maintenance of the *status quo* for fear of coming into conflict with China and the foreign Powers; others advanced the theory of a well-defined joint protectorate, but finally a clear forward policy was decided upon. In September of that year order was sent to the new King of Liukiu to send a member of his family to Tokyo in order to announce his accession and congratulate the establishment of the new Imperial Government. When the mission arrived, the recognition of the King of Liukiu was formally issued by the Imperial Government, and under this title Sho Tai was made one of the peers of the realm. As all the peers were obliged by law to reside in Tokyo, a house was given him in the capital, and a sum of 30,000 yen was granted to him out of the Imperial treasury. Japan was, of course, to incur the liability for the national debts of Liukiu, amounting to 200,000 yen, but on the express wish of Sho Tai to pay them back in his name, the Imperial Department of Finance guaranteed the new bonds issued for cancelling the Liukiu debts.

The Imperial Government entrusted to the Foreign Office the regulation of the diplomatic relation of Liukiu with the foreign Powers, and the fact having been communicated to foreign Governments represented in Japan, the United States Minister in Tokyo sent a letter to our Minister of Foreign Affairs bearing the date of 20th of December, 1872, and asked whether by the late 'annexation' Japan meant to take upon herself all international responsibilities formerly incumbent on

Liukiu by the treaty with the United States. To this the Minister replied that Liukiu had always been a dependency of Japan, and the transaction of the last month only meant the transformation of a dependency into a province, and that, as to the treaty in question, Japan would keep it intact and assume itself all the obligations arising therefrom. In March, 1873, the authorities of Liukiu handed over to our Foreign Office all the texts of the treaties concluded with foreign Powers. Shortly afterwards the Ministers of Italy and Germany in Tokyo also sent a note to our Minister of Foreign Affairs asking to share in the benefit of the treaties formerly concluded by the United States, France, and Holland, with Liukiu. This was readily assented to.

All this was very good, but was in itself a one-sided transaction, and nobody could know what would result if China once came to assert her right to Liukiu. Hence, the account had to be settled with China sooner or later, but how ?

The Question of Treaty Revision.

Though coming last in order of time, this was by far the most important question of all. The treaties signed by the Tokugawa Government, and accepted such as they were by the new Imperial Government, were not even framed by the Japanese officers themselves, who were naturally entirely ignorant of international affairs. It was the United States Consul-General, Mr. Townsend Harris, who did everything for the diplomatic officers of the Tokugawa Government; and judged by what he had done, and by the accounts published by himself in after-years, we cannot but deeply admire the high conscientiousness and the real friendly feeling of this diplomat towards Japan. If he had taken advantage of the rare position in which he was placed, he could have forced upon us almost any treaty that only benefited America and the Americans; and all the other nations would have followed him in the track. But as he was anxious to assist Japan to join the community of nations based upon mutual interest, he never imposed upon us any greater disadvantage than was absolutely necessary, in view of the difference of life and culture. The right of extra-territorial jurisdiction held by the Powers over their subjects in Japan was one disadvantage, and Mr. Townsend Harris taught the Japanese from the very beginning that it was an injustice, inevitable for the time being, but which the Japanese ought to avoid by reforming their laws before the time came for treaty revision. Again, the Customs tariff rates attached to the Japanese-American treaty of 1858 were entirely framed out of the American Consul-General's own head, with

the view of initiating the Japanese into the benefit of Customs revenue, and was therefore quite fair. He openly told the Tokugawa officers that the items might not be in accordance with the real economical interests of Japan, so that Japan should work out its own problem by the practical experience of international trading. It was therefore quite regrettable that the Tokugawa Government should have succumbed to the pressure of the Powers in 1866, and by the articles signed in Osaka by the representatives of Japan, England, United States, France, and Holland, on the 25th of June of that year, consented to lowering the Customs duties on all imports to 5 per cent., excepting the few articles respecting which prohibitive tariffs were agreed upon.

Now the treaties, together with the tariff rates, were revisable on or after the 1st of July, 1872, subject to one year's previous notification, and the new Imperial Government had already proclaimed its intention 'to proceed to their early revision' by the decree issued immediately after its formation, on the 10th of January, 1868. But how was the consent of the Powers to be obtained?

Date's Mission to China and Lord Iwakura's Mission to Europe and America, 1871.

The fourth year of the new Imperial Government, 1871, is memorable as one in which the last trace of feudalism was done away with. The Daimyos, to whom had been entrusted the government of their ancient domains as provinces of the empire, were now relieved of their functions, and were superseded by the regularly appointed Governors removable at the will of the central Government. A uniform system of coinage was also established, and provincial paper moneys of all kinds and values exchanged with the new Imperial currency.

Externally the establishment of regular diplomatic intercourse with China and the Western Powers was considered to be necessary in order to proceed to the solution of the questions above mentioned, and the same year saw the sending of two important missions abroad—one to China, and the other to Europe and America.

On the 27th of April, 1871, Muneki Date, ex-Daimyo and Minister of Finance, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Peking, and Lord Yanagiwara and Shindo Tsuda were associate envoys. The mission stayed for two months in China, and signed with Li-Hung-Chang, on the 29th of July, 1871, the treaty of peace and friendship, accompanied by the commerce regulations and a tariff table. According to this treaty, criminal jurisdiction over the Japanese in China belongs

to the joint court of the Japanese Consul and the Chinese local officer in the treaty ports, but to the Chinese local officer alone in the interior, and, in view of the imperfect state of Chinese criminal law, this stipulation, although reciprocal, could not but be unpopular. Another very grave defect of the treaty was the fact that Japan was not placed in China on the same footing as the most favoured nations, and *vice versa*, so that the Japanese merchants and ships in China were placed under many unfavourable conditions compared with those of European and American nationality. For these reasons the treaty remained for some time unratified.*

In October of the same year Lord Iwakura, Minister of Justice, was appointed Ambassador and chief of the mission to the United States and the principal States of Europe. Kido, Okubo, Ito, and Yamaguchi were the second plenipotentiaries. To the mission were also attached a great number of officers, chosen out of the various departments of public service, for the purpose of observing and reporting on the various branches of administration and justice. The main object of the mission may be gathered from the following full powers given to the Ambassador and his associates:

'Since Our accession to the Throne by right of descent in the line of succession one and eternal from Our Heavenly Ancestor, We have not yet envoyed any mission to the Powers at peace with us, and now that We deem it absolutely necessary to send one, We have given to the Minister envoyed Our confidence, Tomomi Iwakura, Minister of the Right, full powers as Special Ambassador, and named Kido, Councillor, Okubo, Minister of Finance, Ito, Vice-Minister of Public Works, and Yamaguchi, Second Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, as associate plenipotentiaries.

'They shall with full powers proceed to the United States and the Governments of Europe, communicate to them Our friendly intention, and extend and increase the amicable relations happily existing between Us and those Governments.

'The time for the revision of the existing treaties will arrive in less than a year, and We wish to revise them considerably, so as to place Japan on the footing of equality with the civilized nations, and preserve our rights and interests resulting therefrom. But as the customs and laws of Japan differ much from those of foreign countries, We do not intend to undertake the revision at once. We will first study the institutions of the civilized nations, adopt those most suited to Japan, and gradually reform our Government and manners, so as to attain

* After the treaty was ratified in 1873, under the circumstances to be narrated in § 5, Japan made various attempts at its revision, as, for instance, in 1880, when Kowashi Inouye was sent to China to obtain her consent to the revision on the basis of Japan's ceding to her two islands, Miyako and Yayeyama, lying close to Formosa; but China never agreed, so that the unfavourable situation of the Japanese in China remained unaltered till the war of 1894-95.

the status equal to that of the civilized nations. Hence, We now envoy the mission to the Governments of the United States and other countries with instructions to explain to them the state of affairs in Japan, and deliberate with them on the best means of reforming our institutions. We will consider the question of treaty revision on receiving the reports of the mission, and then accomplish Our constant desire.'

But when the mission arrived in Washington, the Secretary of State of the United States told its members that in diplomatic affairs a mere verbal exchange of ideas would have no binding effect in the future, and that in his opinion the best thing for Japan to do would be to begin at once formal preliminary negotiations for the revision. President Grant is also said to have advised Lord Iwakura to open the negotiations there and then. For this, however, full powers were wanting. So Okubo and Ito were sent back to Japan to ask for the full powers, submitting at the same time the following items concerning treaty revision to the consideration of the Imperial Cabinet:

1. As it is too early to open the whole interior of Japan to foreign intercourse, so the foreigner should be made to live within prescribed limits, and allowed to travel freely within a fixed number of miles from the concession grounds, such distance having to be enlarged gradually.

2. Preparations should be made for the establishment of public courts and for the placing of foreigners under the same justice as Japanese subjects, in return for the abolition of extra-territoriality and the restoration of the right of jurisdiction to Japan. But for the time being temporary laws should be promulgated, subject to gradual reform until the foreigners became satisfied with the impartiality of the courts and the liberality of the laws.

3. Although the Japanese criminal code does not punish Christian converts, yet as long as there is the article prohibiting Christianity in Kosatsu (tablet of laws put up in public places), Japan would look like a barbarous country not recognising freedom of worship, and therefore unworthy of being placed on the footing of equality with other nations. Hence, the said article should be struck out.

In Tokyo the framing of the new treaty was entrusted to Ito and Soyejima, and when the draft was completed and approved full powers issued, the negotiation for revision was entered into in Washington. It was, however, interrupted in a very curious way. Herr von Brandt, German Minister in Tokyo, who had not on the whole shown himself very friendly towards Japan, obtained leave of absence just at this time, and on his way home came to Washington to inform Lord Iwakura that in his opinion the mode of nego-

tiating for treaty revision by going from one State to another was a very disadvantageous one to Japan, because, on account of the most favoured nation clause which would have to be introduced into every treaty, each country would obtain without trouble all the rights granted to the countries already passed through, and would not consent to the revision unless some fresh grant be made to it specially, so that in the end Japan would have to lose much more than in the case of negotiating with all the Powers at once. This frightened our mission, and the negotiations were broken off, for Lord Iwakura communicated to the United States Government that Japan intended to assemble the representatives of the Powers in Paris, and there negotiate once for all.

From America the mission passed over to Europe, and travelled through England, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. From the last-mentioned country it turned south, and visited the various German States, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland, and came home by way of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, spending twenty-three months on the way. There was not a city of any size or renown which they did not visit, and everywhere they received invitation from so many sides, and inspected so many public institutions, industrial establishments, historical monuments, etc., that their days and nights were entirely filled up. The exhibition of Vienna, in 1873, showed them what the world's industry and art could produce. The diary of the mission in five illustrated volumes, carefully compiled by the scholars accompanying the mission, and published by the Imperial Government, furnishes most interesting and instructive reading even to this day. It contains the history, statistics, politics, finance, and military organization, of the countries passed through, and one can readily imagine how much the stories told by this mission contributed to open the eyes of the Japanese public to the things going on abroad. We can also imagine how the thoughts and ideas of the leading men of Japan composing the mission became differentiated from those of their colleagues remaining at home. Hence, though attended with little diplomatic result, the importance of this mission in the history of Japan's external relations can hardly be overestimated.

About the same time Legations were established, and permanent Ministers sent to Austria, United States, England, France, and Russia.

THE AFFAIR OF THE *MARIA LUZ* (1872).

During the absence of Lord Iwakura on his mission to Europe and America, Soyejima, Councillor, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was a great Chinese scholar, but, unlike most Chinese scholars, he had a remarkably clear judgment and knowledge of European international law which was rather rare among the leading statesmen of this time. Under him Japanese diplomacy entered into an active phase. Soyejima's name as a diplomat was at once made prominent by the following incident:

In July, 1872, a Chinese coolie escaped from the Peruvian vessel *Maria Luz*, in Yokohama, and, swimming up to the British man-of-war stationed near by, prayed for rescue from the cruel treatment which was meted out to the coolies on board. Mr. R. C. Watson, British Chargé d'Affaires, notified the matter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, on examination by the Governor of Kanagawa-ken, it turned out that Ricardo Herero, captain of the *Maria Luz*, had bought 232 Chinese coolies in Macao, and on his homeward voyage entered the port of Yokohama for repairs. The Minister of Foreign Affairs proposed to bring the case before the district court of Kanagawa-ken, and have it tried by the Japanese law, which forbade the sale and purchase of fellow-beings. Curiously enough, Eto Shimpei, Minister of Justice, opposed this, and the French and United States Ministers also sent letters to Soyejima disapproving harsh measures against the Peruvian slave-ship. But Soyejima's argument prevailed on the Prime Minister, Lord Sanjo, who gave him full powers to treat the vessel as he thought proper. The Kanagawa district court declared the original contract for the purchase of Chinese coolies null and void, as contrary to the law of the land in whose waters she lay, and set free all of them. The Kanagawa local government supplied them with food and clothing, and protected them till aid came from China. Communication was made to the Taotai of Shanghai, and through him to the Viceroy of the Two Kiangs, who sent a special messenger to Japan to return thanks for the generous act, and receive the coolies in the name of the Chinese Government. The Chinese messenger, Chin-fuk-kin, was treated with special marks of respect in Tokyo, and when the 232 poor creatures were handed over to him they all wept with tears of gratitude. That this was a very good way in which the new Imperial Government introduced themselves to the attention of their very haughty neighbour cannot be doubted.

As to the Peruvian captain, he abandoned his vessel and

fled, because the Japanese law punishes severely those engaged in trading with human beings, and from San Francisco he telegraphed to his Government asking for protection. The Peruvian Government sent a special mission with two men-of-war to Japan, to demand an explanation and indemnity for the release of the coolies. But when the Peruvian representative arrived in the United States he heard of the attitude of the Japanese Government, and foresaw the ridiculous situation in which he would be placed if he were to appear in Yokohama with two men-of-war. He therefore left them at San Francisco, and came to Japan in an American passenger-boat, with only a few attendants. The negotiations then entered into resulted in a reference of the case to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, who, on the 14th of June, 1875, pronounced the proceedings of the Japanese Government to have been entirely legal.

This diplomatic victory had important effects. Macao was up to this time a great centre of the Chinese coolie trade, but now the Portuguese Governor of the port notified the Japanese Government that rigorous measures of suppression would be taken for the future. The French Minister in Tokyo applied for the cancelling of the letter addressed to Soyejima, disapproving his measures, and the American Minister, Mr. Delong, became a very great friend of Japan. Also the Government of Great Britain and Ireland issued instructions to the Governors of British possessions in the East that the case of the *Maria Luz* should serve as precedent for like cases happening in British waters in the future.

Soyejima's Mission to China in 1873.

The *rapprochement* made to the Court of Peking through the affair of the *Maria Luz* was utilized by Soyejima for solving the questions of Corea and Liukiu. The Coreans, elated by their apparent success against the Americans in the summer of 1871, now issued laws prohibiting all intercourse with the Japanese, so that military expedition now seemed more necessary than ever should China only give us freedom of action. Again, in the December of the same year a Liukiu junk was stranded on the eastern coast of Formosa, and fifty-four out of the sixty-six people of Liukiu composing the crew were killed by the Botan savages. The Liukiu Government sought for the protection of Japan, and since then the question of Liukiu was on the order of the day. The next year saw Liukiu reduced to one of the provinces of Japan, as already seen, and for this act it was necessary to obtain China's official recognition, utilizing, perhaps, the Formosan

incident. Hence, Soyejima decided to visit the Court of Peking himself in the capacity of an Ambassador. The apparent object of the mission was the exchange of ratification of the treaty of the 29th of July, 1871.

The Ambassador arrived in Shanghai on the 31st of March, escorted by two men-of-war, and then set out for Tientsin, where an interview took place between him and Li-Hung-Chang on the 24th of April. The Viceroy heartily thanked Soyejima for the liberation of the 232 Chinese coolies the year before. The exchange of ratification took place on the 5th of May, and though Li wished to enter the negotiation of the Formosan affair at once, Soyejima insisted on being received in audience by the Emperor first, and arrived in Peking on the 7th of May.

This was just the time when the question of audience was actively discussed in Peking between the Tsung-li-Yamen and the diplomatic circle of Peking. The Chinese ceremony of audience granted to foreign representatives dated from the flourishing days of Kanghi, founder of the present dynasty. A Russian representative then sent to the Court of Peking agreed to the proposal of following the Chinese Court ceremony on the condition of a Chinese representative in St. Petersburg following the rules of etiquette in the Russian Court. He did not take the trouble to inform himself beforehand in what the Chinese ceremony consisted, so that he was greatly taken aback when he was required to kneel down in the courtyard outside the grand hall, in the depth of which was seated the son of heaven, and to bow very respectfully first three and then nine times. What was promised must have been carried out, and since then this became the established rule of ceremony of audience in the Chinese Court. That a foreign Minister of the nineteenth century would not submit to this humiliation was evident, and so none of them had ever since applied for audience, but only presented a copy of their credentials to the Tsung-li-Yamen, until in the winter of 1872 the question was revived by some of them demanding audience on the coming New Year's Day.

But there was another irregularity among the foreign representatives themselves in Peking, which had to be first rectified if things were to go on according to the diplomatic usages of modern Europe. Up to this time the rule of precedence established between Ambassador, Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister Resident, and Chargé d'Affaires was not followed, but all were seated promiscuously, simply in order of their arrival in China. Soyejima thought it proper to correct this irregularity first, and entered into correspondence with his colleagues, who readily agreed with him. He then opened negotiations with the Yamen Minister concerning the audience,

and argued that it was improper to treat with dishonour representatives of foreign rulers, equally independent and dignified as the Chinese Emperor himself, and added that if the Chinese Court should go on disrespecting foreign Ministers, he, too, would make use of his knowledge of Chinese rituals, and assume a position as disdainful of the Chinese Court as that of the Court to the foreign representatives. Nay, more, he would also teach the foreign representatives the way in which they could reciprocate the Chinese lack of respect. The lucky use he made of his profound Chinese scholarship soon made him master of the situation, and the Yamen Ministers accepted in principle the Western ceremony of saluting the Emperor while standing in front of him. But they procrastinated, and put off appointing the date of audience. Just at this time the news of the burning of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo reached Peking, and Soyejima now told the Yamen Ministers that the Japanese Emperor had sent the Ambassador to the Chinese Emperor out of respect to the Sovereign of the neighbouring Power, so that the Chinese Emperor should, properly speaking, send a mission of condolence to Tokyo on account of the late disaster; that he regarded the Chinese Ministers as standing very low in the scale of Chinese morals in not even hastening to appoint the day of audience already agreed upon; and that, as his presence was urgently called for in Tokyo, he would no longer wait, but would depart, leaving the rest to the Russian Minister in Peking.

Thus threatening to break off negotiations, he tried to take the Yamen Ministers by *improviso* regarding the question of Corea and Liukiu, for he knew that if he were to carry on formal negotiation on these subjects it would take months and years, and finally no definite results would be obtained. So he announced the 24th of June to be the day of departure, and on the 21st he sent Lord Yanagiwara, Japanese Minister to Peking, to the Yamen as his representative, and made him discuss with the Ministers on the following points:

JAPANESE MINISTER. Was Macao ceded for ever and without condition to Portugal?

YAMEN MINISTERS. It is Chinese territory, but was ceded to Portugal on perpetual lease.

JAPANESE MINISTER. Some years ago, when France and the United States had to carry on military operations against Corea, they questioned the Chinese Government as to whether China regarded Corea as her tributary or not, and your Government answered that, though the King of Corea receives investiture from the Emperor of China, yet the internal administration and the question of war and peace were left to the

Corean authority, and China had no concern with them. A copy of this answer was given to the Japanese Government by the United States Minister in Tokyo, and is here now. Does the situation remain the same now as then ?

YAMEN MINISTERS. Yes.

JAPANESE MINISTER. Formosa had formerly been occupied by the Japanese and the Dutch, and afterwards Teiseiko established his independence there. Under his descendants, however, the island became Chinese territory, but China subdued only a portion of the island, leaving the eastern portion to the aboriginal savage tribes, which your Government never attempted to reduce to obedience. Now, in the winter of 1871 these barbarians attacked and murdered the Japanese subjects shipwrecked on the coast, and the Japanese Government intends to send an expeditionary force to chastise them. But as the region lies adjacent to the territory under the local government of China, the Ambassador thought it better to inform you of the fact, in order to avoid a collision endangering amity between the two empires.

YAMEN MINISTERS. We have only heard of the Formosan savages plundering and killing the people of Liukiu, but never heard of their attacking Japanese. Liukiu is a Chinese territory, and Chinese officers rescued and sent home to Liukiu such of them as could escape from the savages.

JAPANESE MINISTER. Liukiu has always belonged to Japan. During the feudal ages it was a dependency of the Prince of Satsuma, and is now under the direct rule of the Imperial Government. Hence, there is not a person of Liukiu who is not a Japanese subject, entitled to the protection of the Japanese Government. You say you have rescued the Liukiu people, but what have you done towards chastising the Formosan savages that have plundered and killed the rest ?

YAMEN MINISTERS. There are two sorts of aborigines in Formosa—those that have come under the Chinese rule, and are governed by the Chinese local officers, called 'the ripe barbarians,' and those that remain beyond the influence of China, called 'the raw barbarians.'

JAPANESE MINISTER. The Formosan savages have molested foreign subjects more than once, and your Government never chastised them. This might lead to a very serious consequence—namely, the occupation of Formosa by other Powers, as in the case of Cambodia, Tonquin, and Amur districts, which is inconvenient, and a source of danger both to Japan and China. Hence, the Japanese Government has decided to undertake the work of chastisement itself. But in order to avoid complications our Ambassador, in his capacity of

Minister of Foreign Affairs, caused the expedition to be postponed until he had opportunity to assure the Chinese Government that what Japan is going to do in Formosa concerns only the barbarians outside the limit of Chinese administration, and that it is no intention of hers to interfere with the internal affairs of China. It is also to be taken into consideration that, if the Japanese Government does not act now, the Japanese public, much enraged as they are at the murder of the Liukiu people, might invade the island of their own accord, and thereby give rise to a state of things incompatible with the existing treaty. The Japanese Government was originally against the idea of informing the Chinese Government of their intention, and it is therefore on his own responsibility that the Ambassador makes the present communication, etc.

YAMEN MINISTERS. 'The raw barbarians' have not been chastised, because *they are beyond the reach of our government and culture;* but as we have in our hands the reports of the Governor of Fokien, who rescued the Liukiu people, we will consult those papers, and then answer your questions.

JAPANESE MINISTER. There is not a Japanese ignorant of the murder of the Liukiu people in Formosa, as the incident has appeared in the Chinese journals; and as the Ambassador is preparing with all haste for his departure, he will certainly not wait for any later response.

Thus, having ascertained verbally (1) that China renounced the right of interference with the internal and external affairs of Corea, (2) that she did not object to calling the natives of Liukiu Japanese subjects, and (3) that she had no objection to Japan's sending an expeditionary force against the Formosan savages, the Ambassador regarded the object of his mission as accomplished. He had already made a portion of his suite start for Japan on the 23rd, when on the same day Bunsho, First Minister of Tsung-li-Yamen, sent one of his subordinates to the Ambassador, and, asking excuse for the delay in arranging for the audience, earnestly entreated him to postpone his departure. The Ambassador refused to consent, telling the messenger that what a Japanese Minister had once said would be done. The messenger then told Soyejima how much Bunsho repented of his not having treated the Japanese Ambassador as he ought to have done, and that he was now determined to arrange for the audience entirely in the way indicated by the Japanese Ambassador, etc. Soyejima reluctantly consented to receive Bunsho on the morrow.

On the 24th Bunsho came to the hotel of the Ambassador, and informed him that communication had already been made to the representatives of the Powers in Peking, to the effect

that the Imperial audience would be granted them on the conditions desired by them, after the Japanese Ambassador had been received in special audience. The following day Soyejima sent an interpreter to the Yamen, formally accepting the audience under the condition specified by Bunsho, and the date of the ceremony was fixed on the 29th. The audience finally took place in Shiko-den (Purple Light Hall). This was the beginning of the foreign Ministers being received personally by the Chinese Emperor, after years of interruption, and was due solely to the efforts of Taneomi Soyejima.

But the story told by the venerable Privy Councillor* does not end here. According to the Chinese custom, the Diplomatic Corps was invited to Court *déjeuner* after the ceremony, but, as it was already inconveniently warm, they all declined, except our Ambassador, who, understanding Chinese etiquette perfectly, gladly accepted it as a matter of the greatest honour. It was rumoured afterwards that the Chinese Princes and Ministers expressed deep approbation of the Japanese Ambassador understanding 'the right way,' and complained of the European and American Ministers dishonouring their 'Father and Lord'—*i.e.*, the Emperor.

The day following the audience the British Minister called on Soyejima, and thanked him in the name of his colleagues. On the Ambassador's leaving China, the Taotai of Tientsin, representing Li-Hung-Chang, escorted him to Taku, and twenty-one guns were fired from the forts decorated with flags, this being the first occasion such honours were shown to foreign representatives under ordinary circumstances.

On arriving in Tokyo, all the foreign Ministers paid a visit to him together, and, commenting on his success in Peking, gave him the following remarkable assurance: 'We wish we could say we have always done so, but as a fact we will from this day regard you as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a really independent State;' and they collectively invited him to a congratulatory dinner.

Within the walls of the Peking Court there are several halls, each allotted to separate ceremonial services. Shiko-den, in which the audience took place, was one originally devoted to the reception of tributary Mongol Princes. This fact having become known in 1889, the Ministers of the Powers in Peking demanded that the place of audience be hereafter transferred to Bunkwa-den; but the Court removed it to Sho-kwo-den, which was more important than Shiko-den, but less so than

* Soyejima, now Count Soyejima, Privy Councillor, is still living, though very aged and infirm. He is one of the few 'makers of New Japan' still remaining.

Bunkwa-den. It was only after the war with Japan that Bunkwa-den came to be used for the ceremony.

The Great Cabinet Crisis of 1873.

The policy of Soyejima's mission was war with Corea, and his whole energy was directed to nullifying obstruction from the side of China in case of its declaration. But it was already known that the Iwakura mission would also return before long, with a wider view of the world, and presumably inclined towards the policy of peace. This made a portion of the men in power more agitated than before.

How the military circle, with the great Satsuma man, Saigo, Generalissimo of the Japanese Army, for its centre, looked upon the policy of Europeanization at this time can be judged from the exchange of views which took place between him and General Koyata Torio (now Privy Councillor Viscount Torio), who had done much for the reorganization of the Japanese army. In his 'Souvenirs' (*Jikkwason*) General Torio writes that his theory was as follows: That the real strength of a nation consists in the just balance of martial vigour and polite learning; that Japan of the new era necessitated a thorough reform of both these forms of national activity; and that, as it was impossible to carry on both reforms at the same time, and as militarism was at the root of the real strength of Japan, as well as capable of reform in a comparatively shorter period of time, so it would be more profitable for Japan to educate its people militarily at first, by restoring the old Samurai class and enlisting all its male members between twenty and forty years of age in active service. For this two-thirds of the whole revenue should be devoted to the maintenance of the army, and the utmost economy should be practised in all the other branches of the administration.

General Torio pressed on Generalissimo Saigo to consent to his theory, and endeavour to carry it out before the return of the Iwakura mission. Saigo entirely agreed with his theory, writes the General, and promised upon his life to carry it out, *on condition that war with Corea be made the first step in its realization!* He intimated that as the members of the Imperial Government had solemnly promised Lord Iwakura to introduce no change until his return except those absolutely indispensable, so there was no way but to argue it out openly after the return of the mission, and in the presence of the party of Europeanization.

This fact, coupled with the fact that Soyejima, on his way to China, had called at Kagoshima especially for the purpose of seeing the Generalissimo, puts it beyond doubt that they

already had the Corean campaign fixed in their minds. Nor were there wanting reasons for it, for the Coreans not only persisted in their refusal to recognise the new Imperial Government, but they also openly compared the Europeanized Japanese to lower animals, sentenced to death those guilty of having had intercourse with the Japanese, and even threatened to attack our settlement in Fusan.

Hence, shortly after the return of Soyejima to Tokyo, in July, 1873, the Prime Minister, Lord Sanjo, agreed to the policy of war with Corea, subject to Lord Iwakura's approval; and both Saigo and Soyejima offered their lives to be sent as ambassador to Corea to remonstrate with the Government, which would surely insult or attack the mission, and thus create for Japan an indisputable *casus belli*.

Lord Iwakura finally returned in September, and the Government immediately split up into two portions. Among its leading members, Soyejima, Goto, Itagaki, Eto, advocated war, while Lord Iwakura, Kido, Okubo, Ito, and the rest of his mission, unanimously opposed it. Okubo thus enumerated the reasons against war as follows: (1) The discontented elements among the Samurai and the common people, that had lost their means of living in consequence of the political and social change since the abolition of the Shogunate, might find occasion to assert themselves in ways injurious to the accomplishment of the great work of reorganization. (2) The new Imperial Government has already incurred great expenses for the many bold works of reform, so that war can only be carried on by increased taxation, foreign loans, or paper money; but if the taxes increased the people will hate the new Government. As to foreign loans, if once raised, there is no hope of redemption; and if paper money be issued, prices of things will rise. (3) The various productive enterprises already begun by the different branches of administration can only bear fruit after a certain number of years, but if war begins everything will have to be stopped midway. (4) Imports much exceed exports, and gold flows out of the country in consequence; but if war begins, the balance must become still more unfavourable on account of the purchase of foreign ammunition and the decrease of home produce. (5) Of all the foreign Powers, Russia is the one to be most feared, and her southward movement is well known; so that if Japan and Corea fight with one another, both would fall easy prey to Russia. (6) England is also a powerful nation, from whom Japan has already borrowed much money, so that if we cannot pay the interest in consequence of the war, she would make it a pretext for interfering with our internal affairs, thus making Japan another India. (7) Japan not being yet on the footing of

equality with the foreign Powers — for stationing foreign troops in Yokohama, as England and France are still doing, is to treat us like a vassal State—to patiently bear such a gross ignominy near at hand, and impatiently move for chastising the remote Corea for much lighter offence, cannot be called reason. The days of animated discussions in the Cabinet between the 14th and the 23rd of October, 1873, form the most memorable epoch in the annals of New Japan, because it was by these earnest discussions, in which both parties contended, not for their personal influence or honour, but for the real good of the country, that the supremacy of the civil or the military party was to be decided, and with it the rapidity or tardiness of reform. The Prime Minister and the Minister of the Right, not being able to decide between themselves upon this all-important question, finally submitted the case to the personal decision of His Majesty the Emperor, who decreed that there should be no war with Corea. All the advocates of war now immediately resigned, except Lord Sanjo, who also petitioned to be relieved of his responsibility, on the ground of indifferent health, but whom the Emperor personally visited in his dwelling, and, consoling him, declared his intention not to let him go under any circumstance. The ex-Generalissimo Saigo retired to Satsuma, and all the Satsuma officers in the army followed him, so that the Imperial Guard was well-nigh disorganized, and the seed of the great civil war of 1877 was sown.

If war with Corea was a popular theme, the simultaneous resignation of the much-beloved Generalissimo and the Councillors, advocates of the war, was a more striking incident, such as had never occurred after the fall of the Shogun Government, and the public excitement, especially of the old Samurai class, was wrought up to a really dangerous pitch. In January, 1874, Lord Iwakura was attacked by a band of assassins, and miraculously escaped with a slight wound. In February, Eto, one of the resigned Councillors, raised the standard of revolt in Saga, which was put down with much bloodshed. Graver dangers were also anticipated, and something had to be done in order to give vent to the once aroused feeling. Thus the Formosan expedition was decided upon as the undertaking most easily practicable, and attended with the least danger of international complications.*

* In July, 1873 — *i.e.*, some time before the Cabinet crisis — a Japanese junk was again attacked by the savages on the eastern coast of Formosa, and four Japanese subjects had all their properties plundered, and barely escaped with life through almost indescribable hardships.

The Formosan Expedition and the Treaty of Tientsin, 1874. Final Solution of the Question of Liukiu.

The Formosan expedition was decided upon in the beginning of April, 1874, and Lieutenant-General Yorimichi Saigo, nephew of the great Saigo, was appointed commander of the expeditionary force by land and sea. Major-General Tani and Rear-Admiral Akamatsu were his associates. Shigeomi Okuma was appointed chief of the newly-formed Bureau of Formosan affairs, and Nagasaki was chosen as the base of operations.

A detachment of 3,655 men was embarked in an American steamer chartered for the purpose, and an American gentleman by the name of Mr. Lysander was engaged as adviser; but the United States Minister in Tokyo having protested against the measure as conflicting with the neutrality of his Government, the ship had to be given back and the adviser dismissed.

But as soon as the fact became known to China, she began to prepare actively for the protest. It is to be remembered that the assurance obtained from the Yamen Ministers by Soyejima while on his mission in Peking, to the effect that the Formosan barbarians were outside the reach of China's influence and culture, was only verbal, so that they could always assert with right that they had never officially admitted it. Grave complications were feared, and the Imperial Government, coming back on its own decision, sent Okubo to Nagasaki to stop the departure of the expedition. But Yorimichi Saigo would not listen.

He feared still graver complications at home, amongst others that the military tendency might be stopped through fear of diplomatic difficulties. He proposed to take all responsibility upon himself, and urged that, if the Chinese protestation came to anything serious, the Japanese Government might answer that Yorimichi Saigo was acting without authorization, and even against the will of the Imperial Government. So the expedition went off, and from the 6th to the 22nd of May, 1874, the work of chastisement was carried out under great difficulties, owing to the geographical conditions of that part of the island, when the savages took up their position amongst insurmountable rocks and mountains.

China now protested louder than ever, the Yamen Ministers addressing themselves to our Minister Yanagiwara, then staying in Shanghai, and the Governor of Fokien to our Consul in Amoy. On Yanagiwara's arrival in Peking, the Yamen Ministers repeatedly sent him notes accusing Japan of the 'invasion of Chinese territory,' of 'burning and plundering the Formosan people,' of 'the violation of the treaty of peace and

friendship,' etc., and ostensibly made warlike preparations. Hence, corresponding preparations had also to be made on our side, and for a time all looked very dark.

The Japanese Government appointed Councillor and Home Minister Okubo Minister Plenipotentiary, and sent him to Peking to negotiate on the Formosan affair. The mission arrived in Peking on the 10th of September, and the negotiations lasted from the 14th of the same month until the 30th of October. From the first Okubo assumed the offensive, and demanded of the Yamen Ministers what China had done to govern and educate the Formosan barbarians and on what they based their claim to sovereignty over the portion of the island inherited by them, and, if it were Chinese territory, why she left the depredations of these barbarians unchastised. The Yamen Minister produced as proofs of China's sovereignty the official geography of Formosa, but even in that geography were found such phrases as 'the mountain barbarians outside of Chinese territory,' 'beyond the reach of Chinese influence and education,' etc. They also cited the paying of tribute as proof of sovereignty, but these tributes were not paid by the barbarians, being in reality only a price paid by the Chinese merchants for the monopoly of trading with the barbarians. Our mission produced as contrary proofs Chinese histories and European books of geography, and also cited the fact that the Yamen Ministers themselves had repeatedly announced to the United States Consul and to the Soyejima mission that the barbarians were not 'included in the Chinese territory,' that they lie 'outside the civilizing influence of China,' etc., and argued that, according to international law, a country cannot claim sovereignty in that portion of the territory over which it exercises no administration. To this last they replied that territorial administration was an internal affair, so that to question it was a breach of the third article of the treaty of peace and friendship, assuring mutual non-interference. They also remarked that the so-called 'international law' was a law amongst Western nations, which China has had no occasion to study.

In the meanwhile in Tokyo loud cries were heard among the impatient public that the Okubo mission was being played with by the Chinese Government pending the completion of its military preparations. And that once these were ready, they intended to end the negotiations abruptly and declare war. The Tokyo Government considered it necessary to draw Okubo's attention to this rumour.

At last, on the 10th of October, Okubo sent an ultimatum to the Peking Government, demanding a response within five days as to whether China would relinquish all claim of

sovereignty over the barbarian territory, or accept, the responsibility towards Japan for having left their depredation unpunished. By the wish of the Yamen Ministers the answer was postponed for three days, and on the 18th the Yamen Ministers visited the hotel of our mission. They now agreed to regard the fact of having left the barbarians unchastised as neglect on their part, and to regard our expedition as *just;* but instead of paying any indemnity, they proposed to pay a certain sum of money as a gift to the families of the Liukiu people killed by the Formosan barbarians, on the condition of our evacuating the island. They were not even ready to fix the sum by mutual agreement, and refused to give any written engagement for it. Okubo, of course, did not agree to these evasive terms, and proposed the sum of 3,000,000 yen by written contract as indemnity to be paid before evacuation, so that the negotiations were again protracted till the 23rd, on which day Okubo announced the mission to be at an end, and made a declaration to the Yamen that Japan would hold the position of having chastised the barbarians, considering the territory as masterless. The 26th was fixed as the date of departure, and a part of the mission had already started for Shanghai on the 26th, when the British Minister in Peking, Mr. Wade, interceded.

Mr. Wade had already intimated to Okubo that the question of peace and war between Japan and China could not be indifferent to him in view of the 200 British merchants living in China, and that he would personally ascertain where the chief difficulty lay with the Chinese Government. It was easy to believe that what lay heavy on the Chinese mind was the idea of the Celestial Empire having to pay 'indemnity' to a small island empire. The name 'indemnity' having to be avoided, such a sum as 3,000,000 rio would look like an 'indemnity' in any case, and hence the amount would also have to be reduced. He notified that the Yamen was ready to pay at once 100,000 rio, to be given to the families of the molested people, and 400,000 rio *to defray the various expenses incurred by the Japanese Government,* this last sum having to be paid after the evacuation. The difference between 3,000,000 and 500,000 is not small, but money was not what Okubo wanted. So he proposed to consent on the following conditions: (1) That the Chinese Government engage to regard the expedition to have been a just undertaking. (2) That all the diplomatic papers exchanged between the Governments concerning the Formosan expedition should be returned, and the whole affair regarded as not having occurred. (3) That the Chinese Government should pay to the Japanese Government 100,000 rio for the succour of the molested

Japanese subjects, and 400,000 rio for their having opened the roads and erected public buildings in Formosa. These points were accepted by the Chinese, and the Treaty of Tientsin was signed on the 31st of October, 1874.

'Prince Kung, and [here follow the names of nine Ministers of Tsung-li-Yamen] plenipotentiaries of the Great Tsin, have agreed to discuss the articles and draw up document with the plenipotentiary of Great Japan, Okubo, Councillor and Minister of Home Affairs. Each State is entitled to protect its people from injuries, and for this purpose formulates laws for their conservation. If injury occurs in another State, that other State ought to regulate the affair. The raw barbarians of Formosa once unlawfully inflicted injury on *the people belonging to Japan*, and the Japanese Government, with the intention of making the said barbarians answer for their acts, sent troops to chastise them. Now, the Japanese Government discussed with the Chinese Government the conditions of evacuation and the regulation of the future relations, and signed the following three articles:

'*Article* 1.—What Japan has done on this occasion was caused by the just desire of conserving its people, and the Chinese Government will not point to it as improper.

'*Article* 2.—The Chinese Government will pay a fixed sum to the families of the injured people. They also wish to retain to themselves the roads opened and the buildings erected by Japan in Formosa, and agree to defray the cost as stipulated in the annexed protocol.

'*Article* 3.—All the documents exchanged between the two contracting parties will be received back mutually and annihilated, so as to leave no root of contention for the future. As to the Formosan raw savages, the Chinese Government engages to make laws, and protect the safety of navigation for the future by prohibiting the infliction of injuries.'

The expedition cost 9,550,000 yen, and 400,000 rio (one Chinese rio is a little over one Japanese yen) was no adequate recompense for it; but one great advantage obtained by this treaty was that China agreed to regard the people of Liukiu as Japanese subjects. This was Okubo's sole aim and purpose.

The Japanese Government, taking full advantage of the new position gained, now hastened to obliterate every trace of Liukiu's dual dependence. In 1875 Matsuda, Secretary of the Home Department, was sent to the islands to announce the coming as a garrison of a portion of the Kumamoto Division. At the same time he ordered the King to employ the Japanese calendar and stop further payment of tribute to China. But the Liukiu King and people insisted on the continuance of the dual protection, and refused to obey the orders, making interminable remonstrances and petitions.

In 1876 an Imperial Court of Justice was established in Liukiu, but the old Government would not hand over to it the pending judicial cases. On the contrary, the King sent one of his sons to Tokyo to prove to the Government the necessity

of dual dependency for the welfare of the island people, and petitioned its recognition by Japan more than ten times. Finding all its efforts fruitless, the Liukiu mission now sent letters to the Ministers of China, United States, France, Holland, etc., asking for interference. In these letters China was called 'the Great Tsin,' and Japan simply Japan. Such expression as 'a nation by itself though small' also occurs. But none of the Powers interfered, not even China, for she then had before her the more important question of regaining Ili (Kouldja) from Russia.

In March, 1879, Matsuda was sent for a third time to Liukiu with some policemen and a detachment of the Kumamoto Division, and required the King to hand over the land and the people to the Imperial Government. The order was carried out in less than ten days. Liukiu is now one of the most docile provinces of the empire.*

Solution of the Question of Sakhalin.

The year 1875 is memorable in many ways. Internally this was the year in which the first step towards a constitutional form of government was taken. We have already noticed the retirement of Saigo, Itagaki, Soyejima, Goto, etc., in consequence of the Corean question. The question of Formosa led to the retirement of another of the makers of New Japan, Kido, because in his eyes to have chastised the Formosan barbarians was a contradiction on the part of the Cabinet Ministers, who had opposed the chastisement of the far more delinquent Coreans. The Councillor and Minister of Finance, Inouye, had also retired, because his stringent economy differed from the views of his colleagues. But, with the open-heartedness characteristic of the patriotic statesmen of Japan, the Cabinet Ministers Okubo and Ito had an interview with Itagaki and Kido on the opposition side, and agreed on a plan of reforming the Government on a constitutional basis. This led to the return of Kido and Itagaki to the position of Councillors, and the famous Imperial decree of the 14th of April, 1875, was issued, by which the Supreme Court of Justice was established, and the opening of the Senate and the assembly of provincial Governors were announced as preliminaries for establishing a representative system of government.

The English and the French Governments, which had

* The ex-President of the United States, General Grant, who was just at this time on a tour of the world in a private capacity, lent his personal influence towards avoiding conflict between Japan and China on account of Liukiu.

stationed 1,500 soldiers each in Yokohama since 1863, in barracks built and repaired at the expense of the Japanese Government, now regarded the measure as useless, and evacuated the town of their own accord on the 25th of February, 1875.

It was in the same year that the long-pending question of Sakhalin was finally solved. Previous to this, in 1871, Imperial Councillor Soyejima had been sent out to Possiet Bay to confer with the Russian Governor residing there on the boundary question, but no definite result could be attained, nor could the Iwakura mission negotiating in St. Petersburg obtain any better success. In the meanwhile the Russians took advantage of the unsettled situation of Sakhalin, and, establishing a local government in Alexandrowsk, extended the sphere of their action in various directions, and even encroached on the southern portions of the island occupied by the Japanese fishermen.

On Soyejima's appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he heard of Russia's selling Alaska to the United States, and conceived the idea of buying from Russia her claim to the portion of the island south of 50° of latitude. The Finance Minister Okuma agreed to advance 2,000,000 rio, and negotiations were entered into with the Russian Chargé d'Affaires. As the Russian Government refused the offer, Soyejima made the alternative proposal of appropriating the islands of Urup, Kunashiri and Iturup to Japan, and ceding the whole of Sakhalin to Russia on the condition that the latter agreed to permit the passage of Japanese troops through the Russian territory in case of war with a continental Power (Soyejima undoubtedly had in view the invasion of Corea from the north). In March, 1873, with the boundary question still pending, Soyejima was sent to the Court of Peking as aforesaid, and when he returned, in August of the same year, the United States Minister in Tokyo came to him one day and privately acquainted him with the decision of the Russian Government to sell to Japan all claims on Sakhalin. But almost on the same day Councillor Itagaki called on him and told him that the Japanese Cabinet had just decided to adopt the views advocated in the memoirs of Kuroda, Director of the United Board of Yeso and Sakhalin, and abandon the whole island to Russia, with or without condition as the case might be. According to Kuroda, the island was not worth the money required to bring it to a cultivable condition, for not only was the climate extremely cold, but the soil was barren and unproductive, besides there being constant fear of collision with Russia as long as Japan possessed only a portion of it. The Russian representative in Tokyo was not slow to hear of

the decision arrived at by the Japanese Government, and he now remonstrated with Soyejima as the only person in Japan that stood in the way of Japan's ceding the whole island to Russia.

After the retirement of Soyejima from office, Munenori Terashima, who had been Japan's first Minister to the Court of St. James, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Vice-Admiral Enomoto was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Russia, with instructions to negotiate the affair of Sakhalin. The instructions consisted in making Russia agree to some natural boundary between the Japanese and Russian territories on Sakhalin, and, in case Russia should claim the whole island to herself, in making her recognise the sovereignty of Japan over the whole of the Kurile group. In the latter case Japan was to demand from Russia compensation for roads and other works in Sakhalin, and also the protection of her fishing interests in the adjoining seas.

In negotiating with the Tokugawa Government, Russia had readily agreed to recognise the three islands of the Kurile group as Japanese territory, as well as to open Sakhalin to Japanese fishing; but now that she had established a firm footing on Sakhalin, she long refused to listen to any condition proposed by the Vice-Admiral, till finally the approaching storm in the Balkans made Prince Gortchakoff agree to sign the treaty of the 7th of May (25th of April of the Russian calendar), 1875.

The treaty consists of eight articles, by the first of which the Straits of La Perouse is fixed as the boundary between Japan and Russia. In the second article are enumerated the islands of the Kurile group, recognised as Japanese territory, and the straits between the island of Shimshu and the Cape of Rabakka is fixed as the boundary between the two empires. The third article stipulates that the transfer of sovereignty over Sakhalin, with all the rights emanating from it, should take place immediately on the exchange of ratification, both Governments appointing officers to superintend the formality of such transfer. The fourth article assures that all the public buildings and lands owned by the Japanese Government in Sakhalin, and by the Russian Government on the Kurile Islands, should pass on to each other's possession, on the condition of the new owner paying indemnity for the buildings and movable property, to be valued by the officers mentioned in the third article. The fifth article concerns the nationality of the Japanese in Sakhalin and the Russians in Kurile, to whom the right of option is assured, with the promise to protect their property, labour, and worship, in case they prefer to remain in each other's territory while retaining

their former nationality. By the sixth article Russia agrees to confer the following advantages to Japan in recognition of Japan's readiness to cede the whole of Sakhalin to Russia: (1) Japanese ships entering the port of Korsakov shall be exempt from Customs tariff and harbour duties for ten years, and the Japanese Government shall have the right of appointing Consul in the said port. (2) Japanese vessels and merchants shall enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the vessels and merchants of the most favoured nation in regard to fishing and navigation in harbours of the Okhotsk Sea and along the coast of Kamtchatka. The seventh and the eighth articles refer to the Vice-Admiral's full powers, which were first given by telegram, and to the exchange of ratifications, which was to take place within six months of the signing.

If the loss of Sakhalin were regrettable, we have at least this consolation, that the treaty of 1875 was drawn up in a spirit of perfect equality, and in terms quite honourable to Japan, whose position then differed much from the position she now occupies.

The Corean Affair of 1876.

At the time the ratifications of the Enomoto-Gortchakoff treaty of 1875 were exchanged in Tokyo, in October of the same year, the Corean question was once more agitating the Japanese public. The Corean King had attained his majority in 1874, and assumed control of the Government; but having a weak will, and falling entirely under the influence of his far more strong-willed Queen, her relatives—the members of the Bin family—rose to power. The newly-formed Bin Cabinet was opposed to the policy of the late Regent and King's father, Tai-in-kun, of anti-foreign seclusion and animosity to Japan. In 1875, however, Tai-in-kun regained power, and anti-foreign agitation soon gained full motion.

On the 20th of September, 1875, the Japanese man-of-war *Unyokwan* was stationed at the mouth of the river Han, and the officers and men were engaged in surveying the coast, when the fort of Eiso, at the entrance of the port of Ninsen, opened fire on them. The next day the Japanese man-of-war bombarded the fort, landed a body of marines, and, attacking the garrison of Eiso, seized thirty-eight cannon and killed or wounded as many Coreans.

When the news reached Tokyo, the cry for war with Corea was again very loud, and Soyejima advised Lord Iwakura from his retirement that a decisive step should now be taken. But just at this time the leading Councillors were divided

amongst themselves concerning the question of the reorganization of the Imperial Cabinet, and no definite course could be decided upon with regard to Corea until December, when Lieutenant-General Kuroda was appointed High Commissioner Extraordinary, and ex-Minister of Finance Inouye Associate High Commissioner Extraordinary, to be sent to Corea. Two men-of-war and several thousand soldiers in four transports were to convoy the mission, but its object was a peaceful one, because the High Commissioners were instructed to utilize the occasion for signing a treaty of peace and amity with Corea, and in case of her refusal to wait for the decision of the home Government once more before having recourse to arms.

The mission left Japan on the 6th of January, 1876, and at the same time Yurei Mori, who had been Minister in Washington, was sent to China as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary in order to negotiate with the Chinese Government concerning the Corean affair. Li-Hung-Chang was then already at the head of Foreign Affairs in the North of China, and though he claimed Corea to be a tributary of China, he declined any responsibility regarding her action towards Japan. Li-Hung-Chang disapproved of the idea of Japan's going to chastise Corea for having opened fire on the Japanese man-of-war, which he held had no right to survey within the territorial water of Corea. To this Mori replied that Japan was not sending an expeditionary force against Corea, but simply intended to force Corea to open the country to foreign intercourse and enter into treaty relations with Japan. As to the surveying, its necessity was evident, according to Minister Mori, because the Corean coasts were particularly dangerous to the world's navigation, and Corea could not make any surveys herself. It was at least certain that no objection was to be feared from the side of the Chinese as long as Japan had no intention of annexing Corea, and kept herself within the bounds of forcing Corea to throw off the policy of absolute seclusion.

The part now played by the Japanese Commissioners in Corea was exactly the same as that played by Commodore Perry when he first came to Japan in 1853. The first interview with the Corean officials at Kokwa took place on the 10th of February, 1876, and, according to the Corean chroniclers, a most unprecedented scene of division and contest reigned in the Corean Court from the very next day. Tai-in-kun was decidedly opposed to any idea of entering into treaty relations with Japan, and offered to the Cabinet to take upon himself the task of defending the country should war ensue from the refusal. Most of the Ministers and Councillors

held the same view as Tai-in-kun, only the Minister of Right, Bokkeiziu, and the Chinese interpreter Yo-kei-yaku strongly represented the inevitable necessity of opening up the country, and the danger of attempting to avert it by force of arms. On the 12th the Coreans asked for a delay of ten days, which was granted. On the 20th the question was still unsettled, and the Japanese mission announced the intention to depart on the 22nd. At the end of the ten days the Coreans asked for the delay of several days more, but the Japanese Commissioners refused to comply, and betook themselves to the ship and remained there for some days, when on the 26th the Corean Government accepted the treaty, and signed it on the following day. It is said that the advocates of opening up the country finally prevailed on the leading members of the Queen's party, including the Presiding Minister Li-sai-wo, who went over to the new policy for the purpose of depriving the party of Tai-in-kun of political power. Thus, in Corea the question of seclusion or opening the country was mingled with the struggle for power amongst contending factions in the Court.

The treaty of the 27th of February, 1876, called the Treaty of Kokwa, is the first diplomatic document ever signed by Corea with modern nations, and is remarkable in many ways. The first article, which is really a manifestation on the part of Japan against China's claim to suzerainty over Corea, runs as follows:

'Chosen (Corea), being an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Nippon (Japan).

'In order to prove the sincerity of the friendship existing between the nations, their intercourse shall henceforth be carried on in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or manifestations of suspicion.

'In the first instance, all rules and precedents that are apt to obstruct friendly intercourse shall be totally abrogated, and, in their stead, rules, liberal and in general usage, fit to secure a firm and perpetual peace, shall be established.'

The second article refers to the exchange of Envoys, and the third fixes the Chinese language as the medium of intercourse between the two Governments. The fourth and the fifth articles confirm Sôrio in the port of Fusan as the Japanese settlement and place of commerce between Japan and Corea, and promise to open two new ports within a stated period, Genzan and Ninsen being the ports opened in consequence of these articles in 1880 and 1883 respectively, though considerably later than the time first fixed upon. The sixth article refers to the aid to be given to the Japanese vessels entering Corean ports and the Corean vessels entering Japanese

ports for stress of weather, repairs, want of fuel and provisions, and to the shipwrecked sailors, passengers, cargo, etc. The seventh article *confirms Japan's right of surveying the Corean coasts*, because the seas around Corea are especially dangerous to navigation. By the eighth article Japan obtains the right of appointing Consuls in each of the Corean treaty ports, and the ninth article protects the liberty of commerce in the following terms:

'Friendly relations having been established between the two contracting parties, their respective subjects may freely carry on their business without any interference from the authorities of either Government, and neither restriction nor prohibition shall be made on trade. In case any fraud be committed or payment of debt be refused by any merchant of either country, the authorities of either one or the other Government shall do their utmost to bring the delinquent to justice and to enforce recovery of the debt.

'Neither the Japanese nor the Chosen Government shall be held responsible for the payment of such debt.'

The tenth article preserves to Japan the right of extra-territoriality in criminal matters, as follows:

'Should a Japanese subject residing at either of the open ports of Chosen commit any offence against a subject of Chosen, he shall be tried by the Japanese authorities. Should a subject of Chosen commit any offence against a Japanese subject, he shall be tried by the authorities of Chosen. The offenders shall be punished according to the laws of their respective countries. Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.'

The eleventh article refers to the drawing up of trade regulations by special Commissioners, and the twelfth and last article makes the treaty binding from the date of *signing* without ratification by the Sovereigns of Japan and Corea. In the appendix the limit to the distance of travelling allowed to Japanese subjects in Corea is fixed at ten Corean ri (about two English miles) from the open ports, but this was afterwards much extended.

It is to be remarked that there is not a single article in the whole treaty concerning the status of the Coreans in Japan, nor does Corea enjoy by it the right of appointing Consuls in Japan. By the circular of the Minister of Justice of January, 1883, the Coreans in Japan were made punishable in the Japanese courts according to the criminal law of Japan.

In May, 1876, the first Corean mission, consisting of about fifteen persons, and headed by the Associate Master of Ceremonies, arrived in Tokyo, and was received by the Emperor. Their expenses while in Japan were defrayed by the Japanese Government, and they were made to inspect the Government factories, schools, etc., but everywhere the Coreans showed

great uneasiness whenever they had to meet with Europeans and Americans.

The treaty of 1876 is the first clear announcement of Japan's foreign policy as regards Corea. The policy of annexation, though not impossible to carry out, was from the very first rejected in view of the possible conflict with China (and later with Russia also); but neither China nor any other nation was to be allowed to substantiate its claim of suzerainty over Corea, and thereby interfere with the liberty of the Japanese nation to trade with Corea on the ground of free competition.

Thus the first step was taken towards the solution of the Corean problem, but the solution, it must be remembered, was partial, because the independence of Corea was only proclaimed by Japan, and not yet recognised by China. With China the interest was more historical than commercial or economical. What was difficult for her was to treat as an independent Power what is enumerated in her history as one of her tributaries. Hence, such empty rites as the sending of an annual mission with presents from Corea to the Court of Peking, and of the Corean King receiving investiture from the Son of Heaven, were still scrupulously practised. But such nominal claim to suzerainty may at a given moment be made real, and as long as it could be done so the interests of Japan in Corea were not secure. Hence, the next step was the settlement of the accounts with China.

The Corean Affair of 1882.

In the year following the first Corean affair occurred the greatest political event in Japan since the establishment of the new Imperial Government, namely, the civil war of Kagoshima. Saigo, chief of the old party for war with Corea, had retired into the reactionary province of Satsuma with his partisans, who were officers in the Imperial army, and, seeing the Cabinet Ministers differed more and more from his ideals, finally raised a standard of revolt in Kagoshima and prepared for a march upon Tokyo. For eight months most bloody fighting continued in the south-western provinces, from which the Imperial army came out victorious, though with great loss of life and property. The last remnant of the old régime having been done away with, things could now follow a freer course of development than before. The leading personages had also changed. Kido died of disease in the beginning of the campaign, Saigo fell in the field of battle, and Okubo was assassinated by the fanatic followers of Saigo not long after,

and such statesmen as Ito, Inouye, Yorimichi, Okuma, and Matsukata, came into prominence. Inouye became Councillor and Minister of Foreign Affairs in September, 1878.

The internal political history of Japan during the years that followed the Kagoshima civil war is characterized by the great activity of public opinion, demanding the prompt establishment of a constitutional form of government. All forcible means of effecting change in the Imperial Government being now out of question, persons discontented with the current state of affairs looked upon the opening of a popular assembly as the only means of giving effect to their political ideals. This movement resulted in the great Imperial proclamation of the 12th of October, 1881, promising 1890 to be the year in which the Japanese Constitution was to be promulgated, and in the sending of Ito with a numerous suite of officials and students to Europe in order to make the necessary investigations for the future Constitution of the empire (February, 1882).

In Corea the state of things during the four or five years following the signing of the first treaty with Japan was much the same as that in Japan during the years that followed the first signing of the temporary treaty of peace and friendship with the United States. The same antagonism arose between the foreign and anti-foreign parties in Corea as in Japan, with one important difference, that while in Japan the contest was dictated by purely patriotic, unselfish motives on both sides, in Corea it was mingled with personal, selfish motives, utilizing or trying to utilize the momentous political event as means of concentrating the governing power in the hands of a particular faction in the Court. This fact, added to the weakness of character of her King, made the history of Corea between 1876 and 1882 extremely low, and even barbarous.

In 1877 Hanabusa was sent to Corea in the capacity of Chargé d'Affaires, and in 1880, the building of the Japanese Legation in Seoul having been completed, Hanabusa became Minister Resident. Though intercourse was thus established on a formal basis, yet both the Government and the people of Corea refused to have anything to do with the Japanese, whom they scorned as much as before. Once, in October, 1878, the Corean Government imposed a high prohibitive tariff on all imports, with the object of annihilating the trade with Japan in Fusan, and annulled the measure only on the remonstrances of Hanabusa and the Japanese Consul in Fusan that it was a breach of treaty engagements. Again, in April, 1879, when the Commandant, officers, and men of the Japanese man-of-war *Hanabusa* were taking a walk through the streets of Torai, near Fusan, a mob gathered around them and attacked them with stones, so that the crew had to defend

themselves by firing the guns they carried with them for self-defence.

The Government was still in the hands of the Queen's party that had signed the treaty with Japan, but, curiously enough, they were no real advocates of intercourse with Japan. Their temporarily taking the cause of Japan was only a means towards depriving Tai-in-kun of governing power. Having gained this, they were intent on falling back on China. China was more popular, and in their eyes a better protector of their interests, than Japan. What the attitude of China was with regard to Corea after her entering into new relations with Japan may be gathered from the following letter sent by Li-Hung-Chang in 1881 to one of the members of the governing party, and showed by the latter to the King of Corea :

'Japan has in recent years adopted the manners and customs of the European nations, and begun hundreds of new works calculated to increase her wealth and power. But really her treasury is empty, and her debts accumulate from year to year, so that she is forced to pursue a policy of aggrandisement in order to make up for the deficit. Hence, the nations neighbouring on her must be extremely vigilant. Corea lies to the north of Japan, as Formosa does to the south of her, and these two lands are just what Japan covets the most. The rapacity of Japan, *relying on her skill in fraud*, is well illustrated in the affair of Liukiu, which she has at last absorbed. Your country had better be on the look-out. . . .'

The policy of China, then, was to draw Corea more and more towards herself by making the Coreans fear Japan's intention to annex the peninsula, thereby turning her merely historical suzerainty into a real one. Here, then, was one great source of international complication for the future.

But Corea was already not entirely wanting in men who could foresee the great future in store for Japan, and wished to cultivate a really good relation with us for the good of their country, or at least as the means of asserting their power between the two rival parties of Tai-in-kun and the relatives of the Queen. The centre of this new party was an ambitious young man of the Kin family, by the name of Kin-giok-kin, who won over to his cause Boku-ei-ko, born of a very high family, and nominal husband* of one of the royal Princesses. Jo-ko-han also belonged to this party. They sent a Buddhist priest called Li-to-jin to Japan, in order to communicate their ideas to Japanese statesmen, and afterwards they sent out two more men, Li-ken-gu and Taku-tei-shoku, to Japan with letters to the Minister of Justice, Iwakura, and the Coun-

* In Corea, when a Princess of blood is given in marriage to one of the subjects, only the marriage ceremony is gone through, and no living together as husband and wife takes place as consequence.

cillor Inouye. These three persons returned to Corea, after having seen something of Japan and formed acquaintance with the Japanese statesmen; but instead of taking orders from Kin-giok-kin and Boku-ei-ko, they went over to a section of the Bin party consisting of Bin-tai-ko, his son Bin-ei-yoku, Ko-ei-shoku, and his friends, who introduced the priest Li-to-jin to the King, and made him report on all that he had seen in Japan to the Sovereign. Hereupon the King decided to send a party of ten men to Japan on a mission of observation and study, and the Japanese Government gladly showed to the Coreans all that they had to show, from the interior of the Government offices, banks, and schools, down to post and telegraphic bureaux and astronomical and meteorological observatories. Thus, the King and a portion of the Bin family began to be Japanized, but the body of the Queen's family being still opposed to the idea, they banished Kin-giok-kin to a distant province, and caused the priest Li-to-jin to be assassinated.

In 1881, the Government of the Queen's family having become very unpopular on account of the exactions and oppressive measures of the officials belonging to it, Kin-giok-kin was recalled from his banishment, and, in concert with Boku-ei-ko and Jo-ko-han, tried to introduce reforms into the Government. Feeling their power too weak for the task, however, Kin-giok-kin and Jo-ko-han managed through Bin-ei-yoku to be sent on a semi-official mission to Japan, in order to confer in person with our statesmen on the means of reforming Corea under the guidance of Japan. The two Coreans arrived in Tokyo in the month of January, 1882, and from this time dates the attempt on the part of some politicians and statesmen in Japan to become the tutors of Corea, even with regard to her purely internal affairs.

Thus, in the beginning of 1882 three distinct factions were clearly visible in the Corean Court: the Tai-in-kun party, then out of power, but in touch with the soldiery and all reactionary elements in the people; the body of the Queen's party, relying on China; and the party of Kin-giok-kin, Boku-ei-ko, Jo-ko-han, with a portion of the Bin family as their patron, trying to find new source of power in Japan.

The calm was broken by the Tai-in-kun party, who cleverly utilized the discontent of the soldiery and the people in effecting the *coup d'état* of July, 1882, directed against both the rival parties. One of the Queen's party, Binken-ko, who held in his hands the finances of the Corean army, had pocketed the salaries of the soldiers for several months, and when he paid a portion of the arrears his subordinates lessened the sum by further pocketing. The angry soldiery attacked the subordinate pay-

masters, who fled into the house of their chief and accused the soldiers of false crimes. Bin-ken-ko ordered the arrest of the would-be chief malefactors, and sentenced them to death. The garrison now rose in a body and ran to Tai-in-kun, who formally appeased them, but secretly agitated them into a general rising, having for its double object the massacre of the Queen and the members of the Bin family, and the clearing Corea of the hated Japanese. The soldiers seized the arsenal, and, joined by a mob of several thousand Coreans, attacked the Japanese Legation in the evening of the 23rd of July, 1882. On the next morning they killed the then presiding Minister, Li-sai-wo, in his house, and, intruding into the royal palace, killed the army financier, Bin-ken-ko, and other hated officials. The Queen and the other members of her party concealed themselves, and so did also the members of the Japanese party. The angry soldiers surrounded the King, and forced him to say where the Queen lay concealed. As he would not do this, his life was in great danger, when Tai-in-kun made his appearance, and, appeasing the soldiery, received from the King full power to dictate the civil and military affairs of the kingdom. During the ten days that followed, the political enemies of Tai-in-kun were proscribed, and killed to the number of 300. The Queen, too, was proclaimed to be dead, and the ceremony of Court mourning was gone through, for the purpose, it is said, of facilitating the discovery of her whereabouts.

The attack on the Japanese Legation in Seoul is narrated as follows by the military attaché, Captain Midzuno. Late in the afternoon of the 23rd the following anonymous note was received by the Minister Resident, Hanabusa :

'In great hurry, cannot write long, a band of riotous people with soldiers on their side seem to be intending attack upon your Legation. Be prepared for defence, and should they come to actual attack, will it not be better for you to get out of danger even by the use of arms ?'

A few minutes after six o'clock several thousand Coreans surrounded the Legation, and with loud yells, threw stones at its occupants. They set the neighbouring house on fire, and the conflagration was fast consuming the building of the Legation. Out of the twenty-five persons then found in the Legation, only Captain Midzuno, an orderly attached to him, one police officer, and five policemen, were armed. The policemen guarded the front gate, which was flung open while the Minister remained inside and prepared for departure. The inmates now formed themselves into a compact mass, and, with the Minister and the national flag in the middle, made a sortie into the very thick of the mob, killing about

twenty Coreans before they opened the way for the Japanese. Hanabusa first directed the column to the quarters of the Governor of Seoul, whose duty it was to protect the Legation, and finding the whole building empty, he now proceeded to the royal palace—for his diplomatic duty forbade him to quit the capital without leave from the Sovereign to whom he was accredited—but as all the gates of the palace were hermetically sealed against him, he now declared his mission at an end, and retired to Ninsen, where he arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day. In Ninsen the party was courteously received by the Corean local officers, who offered our Minister their own houses as lodging, and all were resting themselves quietly and drying their clothes, wet with rain, when they were suddenly attacked by the soldiers of the port, better armed than the Seoul mob, and four policemen and several other persons were killed or wounded in defending the Minister. The party, recruited by some Japanese officers and students living in Chemulpo, now betook themselves to a small junk with scanty provisions, and, passing one night on an island off Chemulpo, the next day rowed out in search of a foreign vessel, which was known to be surveying the coast some days since. On the evening of the 26th they were picked up by the English surveying ship *Flying Fish*, through whose extreme kindness the party reached Nagasaki in safety on the 29th of July.

From Nagasaki Hanabusa telegraphed to Tokyo and waited for instructions. Inouye was still the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and a Cabinet Council was immediately held between the Prime Minister, Lord Sanjo; Minister of Right, Lord Iwakura; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Inouye; and the Councillors Kuroda, Yamagata, Terashima, Oki, Yamada, Matsukata. Kuroda, who had signed the treaty of 1876, strongly advocated the policy of war, but Lord Iwakura and Inouye proposed peaceful negotiations, and, unable to come to any decision till late at night, the Ministers and Councillors separated with a decision of reopening the Council the next morning in the presence of the Emperor, and of referring to his personal decision. Inouye then argued that the event of the 23rd of July was probably the result of anti-foreign agitations, as had been the case in Japan on the first opening of intercourse with foreign nations, when the fanatic Samurais had burnt the British Legation in Tokyo; and if that were so, it was rash to chastise the Corean Government for the movement, which they were powerless to check. He proposed sending Hanabusa to Corea once more under the escort of four or five men-of-war, in order to see first what the Corean Government could and would do towards fulfilling our demand

for satisfaction. After closely listening to the arguments of each present, the Emperor decided on the sending of a peaceful mission to Corea, and entrusted the management of the whole affair to Inouye. The Minister for Foreign Affairs immediately called together the Ministers of the Powers represented in Tokyo, and reading to them the telegram from Hanabusa, and acquainting them with the intention of the Imperial Government, asked them whether, in their opinion, they regarded Corea to be an independent State or not. They all answered that in their views Corea was an independent State. Satisfied with this answer, Inouye immediately set out for Nagasaki, and, giving minute instructions to Hanabusa, sent him out to Corea under the escort of three men-of-war and 800 men. Major-General Takashima and Rear-Admiral Nire were to start after him with 1,150 men.

But between the *coup d'état* of the 23rd of July and the second arrival of Hanabusa in special mission for demanding satisfaction, a new factor had made its appearance in Seoul. The Queen's party, suddenly deprived of their power by the party of Tai-in-kun, had applied to China for aid through their partisans, Kin-in-shoku and Gio-in-chiu, who had found themselves in China at the time of the *coup d'état*, and Li-Hung-Chang immediately gave orders to General Go-cho-kei, Colonel En-sei-gai, and Admiral Tei-jo-sho to proceed to Corea with land and sea forces. The very name of China inspired awe and reverence in the heart of all the Coreans, and Tai-in-kun was not only powerless to resist interference of the suzerain Power, but was even inclined to seek its aid in facing the storm that was sure to arrive from the side of Japan.

Hanabusa arrived in Ninsen on the 12th of August, 1882, and, despite the earnest demands of the Coreans to enter Seoul without escort, or to postpone his entry till proper buildings for the quartering of soldiers could be provided, proceeded to Yokwazin, within an hour's march of the capital, on the 16th. Here he was again asked to stop for three days in a villa belonging to Tai-in-kun, and the various Corean officials came and went with all sorts of pretexts, intended to make him postpone entrance into the city, but Hanabusa disregarded them. When he marched up to the capital, *he already saw superior Chinese forces posted around the four gates*, and understood for the first time what the remonstrances of the Corean officers meant. They either waited for instructions from Li-Hung-Chang, or wished to give the Chinese forces time to post themselves in advantageous positions. They now freely spoke of the chief Ministers visiting the Chinese men-of-war, and not being able to receive the Japanese Minister immediately.

Hanabusa immediately applied for audience with the King, but the Ministers would not grant it, on the pretext that the 17th and the 18th were days of important religious ceremony in the Court. The Japanese Minister consented to wait, adding, however, that on his mission hung the question of peace or war between Japan and Corea, that the unwillingness on the part of Corea to receive the mission in a proper way would be interpreted in the sense of her not wishing for peace, and that, should the audience be granted or not, he would present himself before the King on the 19th. On the 19th the King sent a messenger to Hanabusa expressing his sorrow for not being able to receive him on account of illness, and appointing the noon of the 20th as the time of audience. In the meanwhile Major-General Takashima and Rear-Admiral Nire arrived with reinforcements.

The audience took place at the appointed time. After proper exchange of courtesies, Hanabusa presented to the King the ultimatum containing the items of the demand for satisfaction, and added verbally that, in the extreme moment when the diplomatic relations between the two nations were about to break off, the Government of Japan made this demand solely out of their desire to preserve friendly relations, that on the answer of the Government of Corea depended the continuity or rupture of peace between the two nations, and that he was to wait for the said answer for three days—*i.e.*, till the noon of the 23rd. He also asked the King to appoint a responsible Minister for the negotiation, and the King named the Presiding Minister, Ko-jun-boku, as the Corean plenipotentiary.

After the audience, the arch-author of the *coup d'état*, Tai-in-kun, received the mission in another portion of the palace, treated Hanabusa and his suite with every mark of cordiality and good-humour, and acted as if he had nothing to do with the late event. He was even such a consummate diplomat that, in serving tea to the mission, he purposely made use of select Japanese porcelain and trays, and gave to each person with his own hands Corean fans made of stork feathers.

As the Corean Government showed symptoms of procrastination, Hanabusa urged once more that the ultimatum was really an ultimatum, the term of three days for the answer being absolutely unalterable. Nevertheless, the Presiding Minister notified on the 22nd that he had to travel in the interior on Government service, so that the negotiations could not be opened for several days more. This decidedly showed that the Corean Government did not really intend to end the matter by direct negotiation. Hanabusa now announced his departure the next day, and sending a note to Ko-jun-boku,

severely reproached him for his insincerity, and admonished him to consider well the situation before it was too late.

But the news that now reached Seoul made the whole situation clear. Admiral Tei-jo-sho, who had returned to China some days before, again arrived in the Corean port of Nunyo with six ironclads and two transports with six garrisons of picked soldiers under Li-Hung-Chang. On the 23rd, a few hours after the departure of the Japanese mission for Ninsen, the Chinese messenger, Baken-chiu, entered Seoul in the palanquin of the highest Corean official, with the Corean soldiers as forerunners. It was this messenger, no doubt, for which the Corean Government was waiting, or had to wait, before entering into negotiations with Japan. The situation in which the Japanese mission now found itself was an extremely vexatious one, for its retreat to Ninsen looked like *a flight before the stronger Chinese*. When the secretary of the Japanese Legation left Seoul on the 24th, the Coreans already threw stones at him in contempt.

There is no doubt that the Chinese preparation was meant to threaten Japan in case our demands were exorbitant, but our wise moderation seemed to have induced Baken-chiu to take a different course than he had first intended. On the 24th, while Hanabusa was still staying in Ninsen, Baken-chiu came to him and proposed to mediate between Japan and Corea, assuring him at the same time that he was interfering with the affairs of Corea, not as a dependency of China, but on purely friendly grounds. Hanabusa declined the offer, but Baken-chiu earnestly desired that the former should postpone his departure, *as there was definite hope of an amicable solution of the difficulty*. On the 25th Hanabusa returned the visit of Baken-chiu in Chemulpo, who returned to Ninsen immediately afterward.

Then followed the most high-handed stroke of policy on the part of the Chinese Government, reminding us of the fate of Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria, four years later. The Chinese officers, Go-cho-kei, Tei-jo-sho, and En-sei-gai, enticed Tai-in-kun into their camp, and, depriving him of his liberty, conveyed him in captivity to Tientsin, and thence to Po-tieng, where he was to be confined for several years! The Chinese now posted up placards in the chief places of Seoul, with inscriptions to the following effect:

'Corea is a tributary of China, from which she derives her morals and manners. For several years, influential Ministers have usurped power, and government is made an affair of private families, giving rise to endless abuses and misdemeanours, which finally brought on the great disturbance of last July. To threaten the life of the Queen, to dishonour the King, injure the people, and maltreat the officials, are disorders of the gravest kind. But to every disorder there must

be a cause which lies either in the accumulation of power in the hands of high families, or in the intrigues of malignant courtiers. 'The rumour has reached the Highest Place that the principal instigator is the King's father, and His Majesty [*i.e.*, Chinese Emperor] greatly enraged, now sends down troops to summon him before the Imperial Court and give explanations for his misconduct. . . .'

Such was the reason given for the kidnapping of Tai-in-kun, but the real ground for it lay in the attempt of Li-Hung-Chang to utilize the contest between the rival factions in Corea for advancing China's influence over that country. The Queen's party regained power under protection of the Chinese army, and on the advice of the Chinese officers they showed readiness to negotiate with the Japanese mission.

Hanabusa and his suite were already embarked in the ships, when in the early dawn of the 26th a letter from the Corean presiding Minister was brought to him, which showed sincerity of purpose in wishing to end the matter by peaceful negotiation. Hanabusa agreed to postpone his departure for two days, negotiations were opened in Chemulpo late in the night of the 28th, and the treaty was signed on the 30th of August, 1882.

By this treaty Corea promised to punish within twenty days, and in the presence of Japanese officials, persons guilty of the late attack on the Japanese; and if the Corean Government failed to do so within the stated time, Japan was to have the right of arresting and punishing the guilty herself by sending out her own police to Corea. Corea was to institute a funeral ceremony for the Japanese official personages killed in the disorder. She also promised to pay Japan an indemnity of 500,000 yen in annual instalments of 100,000 yen each (afterwards reduced to 50,000 yen each). Japan obtained the right to station a detachment of soldiers in Corea for the protection of her Legation, but if nothing occurred in the course of a year, and if the Japanese Minister in Corea regarded the presence of such a force no longer necessary, it was to be withdrawn. Corea was to send to Japan a High Commissioner with the King's letter asking pardon for the late disturbance.

By an additional contract the travelling limit of the Japanese residing in the open ports in Corea was extended to fifty Corean ri immediately, and to 100 ri on the expiration of the second year after the exchange of ratifications. In addition to the ports already opened, Yokwatin was also to be opened for trade with Japan within one year. The Japanese Ministers and Consuls with their families and suites were given the right of travelling in the interior of Corea with passports, and the Corean local Governors were called on to supply them with escorts.

In October, 1882, Corea sent Boku-ei-ko to Japan as High

Commissioner, with Kin-ban-shoku as associate High Commissioner, and Jo-ko-han as secretary, with letter and presents from her King to the Emperor of Japan, who received them in audience in the palace in Tokyo. At the same time the Corean Minister of Finance Bin-ei-yoku, Kin-giok-kin, and Li-fuk-kwan, also came, and were received by the Emperor in private audience. The intercourse of these men with the high circles of Japan doubtless led to the strengthening of the Japanese party in Corea.

The Corean Affair of 1884.

Lord Iwakura, who had been obliged to retire from active politics on account of illness, died in July, 1883. A fortnight later Ito returned from Europe after having studied the constitutional systems of England, Germany, and Austria, and he and Inouye became the centre of political life in Tokyo. The study of German law, politics, and administration now came into vogue, and Inouye began systematically the work of Europeanizing Japan, in order to place her on the same level with Western nations, and thus facilitate the last work of the new Imperial Government, namely, the revision of the treaties with foreign Powers.

On the 7th of July, 1884, were instituted the five classes of nobility, and, besides the nobles of the old Imperial Court and the ex-Daimyos already ennobled in the beginning of the New Era, many new nobles were created among the Samurais who had rendered service to the new Imperial Government. Lord Sanjo and the successor of Lord Iwakura were created Princes, and Ito, Inouye, Yamagata, Soyejima, Okuma, Matsukata, etc., were made Counts (of these Ito and Yamagata were afterwards made Marquises).

As to Corea, many Western Powers followed Japan, and entered into treaty relations with her, such as England, America, France, and Germany in 1883, and Russia in 1884.

Some Japanese politicians, like the ex-Councillor Count Goto and Fukuzawa, founder of Keiwogijiku, a private school of politics and social science, now formed the idea of reforming Corea through the aid of Japan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Inouye, was not entirely adverse to the idea. A certain sum of money advanced by the Yokohama Specie Bank was put at their disposal for the purpose of founding political newspapers in Seoul, for training Corean soldiers, and the like; and the disciples and agents of Count Goto and Fukuzawa went out to Corea to write the papers or corroborate the schemes of reform.

The Japanese Government appointed Takezoyé, a Chinese

scholar of some repute, Minister in Corea, to support the reformers.

But the Queen's party was well on guard, and did not suffer the Japanese party to grow stronger than they could control. The Chief Commissioner to Japan, Boku-yei-ko, received no higher appointment than the Governorship of Seoul, and Kin-giok-kin and Jio-ko-han were only appointed Councillors to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, so that their influence was too small to effect any reform.

On the contrary, the influence of China, having the Queen's party on their side, was very strong, and the Chinese army still garrisoned in Seoul now numbered 3,000 men, while the Japanese troops guarding the Legation only amounted to 130 men. China supplied Corea with arms, and the Chinese officers, Go-cho-kei, Go-chio-yu, and Yen-sei-gai, virtually dictated measures to the Corean Government under instructions from Li-Hung-Chang, who also advanced to Corea 200,000 rio out of the treasury of the Chinese Navigation Company, and sent the German Mollendorff, and other foreigners, as instructors and advisers to Corea. China obtained from Corea the right of allowing Chinese merchants to establish branches in Seoul, and the 2,000 subjects of the Celestial Empire, crowding into the Corean capital, far outwitted the ingenuity of the handful of Japanese editors and political adventurers. Hence the latter returned disappointed to Japan one after the other, and the cause of Japan in Corea seemed to be lost for a time.

But in 1884 France began an armed conflict with China, and the decrepit old empire seemed to be no match for the vigorous republic of the West. The Japanese party in Corea now saw a good opportunity of striking a decisive blow against the Chinese party, and it is likely that some of the politicians in Japan more or less countenanced this attempt.

The Japanese Minister Takezoyé, who had been in Tokyo for some months, returned to Seoul in October of 1884, and began active intercourse with the persons whom he supposed to belong to the Japanese party. He now freely spoke of the approaching destruction of China and of the opportunity for Corea of declaring her absolute independence. On the 2nd of November the Minister was received in audience by the King of Corea, and, after the usual ceremony was over, in the *tête-à-tête* conversation with the monarch, he made the formal announcement that his august master, the Emperor of Japan, had decided to present to Corea the 400,000 yen, still remaining to be paid out of the indemnity of 1882, on condition that the King should use it for military reforms. He also explained to the King the state of affairs in the East,

of the injustice of Chinese intervention in the internal affairs of Corea, of detaining Tai-in-kun, etc., and assured him that the Japanese Government would be very glad to see Corea assert her real independence according to international law in the face of the whole world.

On the 3rd of November the birthday of the Japanese Emperor was celebrated in the Japanese Legation, and in the midst of the gala dinner, to which the Corean Minister of Foreign Affairs, the United States Minister, the British Consul-General, and the principal Coreans belonging to the Japanese party were invited, speeches were made by the Japanese guests against China and in favour of the alliance between Japan and Corea. They even ridiculed the Chinese Consul present, who did not understand the Japanese language.

On the 4th of November Takezoyé presented himself at the Corean Foreign Office, and demanded the treatment of the Japanese in Corea on the footing of the most favoured nation—namely, the Chinese—especially with regard to the opening of shops and firms in Seoul. This was readily granted, and after the official negotiations were over, the Japanese Minister again freely indulged in conversation respecting the hopeless state of China, and the disorganized state of her army and finance.

On the 8th of November a report was brought to the Japanese Legation that for several days the Chinese officer Yen-sei-gai had given orders to his soldiers to be fully armed and ready for immediate action day and night, and that Bin-ei-yoku, one of the chief figures of the Queen's party was guarding the Crown Prince with armed men. In the depth of night of the 11th–12th of November the Jepanese troops practised firing at the foot of the Southern Hill, and terrified the poor King. On being asked for an explanation, the Japanese Minister replied that the thing was done without his knowledge, but that, according to the Japanese officer commanding the Legation guard, such measures were necessary in order to keep the soldiers alive to their duty in face of the Chinese soldiers kept ready for action day and night. The rumour now became general that Ja an was going to fight with China in Corea.

Kin-giok-kin, one of the central figures of the Japanese party, writes in his diary that he was admitted into the King's presence on the night of the 29th–30th of November, and, as there was nobody else in the room, he explained to the King the state of affairs abroad, and made him see the danger for Corea if Japan should come to fight with China on the Corean question. He told the King how the Japanese hated the

Chinese on account of the high-handed acts of the latter in Corea, and that if Japan should defeat China in concert with France she would surely annex Corea in order to prevent her becoming the prey of her rival. The Queen, who had been listening to the conversation from behind the door, now presented herself, and earnestly inquired of Kin-giok-kin what was to be done in order to avoid this unhappy outcome. Remembering that the Queen was a member of the Bin family, Kin-giok-kin only muttered that he deserved the sentence of death for having spoken to his Master and Lord in such an unceremonious manner. The Queen, who was no ordinary woman, now said to Kin-giok-kin: 'You doubt me, Kin-giok-kin, but when it concerns the fate of Corea, why should I, one woman, stand in the way of avoiding national calamity? You had better speak out freely what you think.' The King also assured Kin-giok-kin that he believed in the absolute loyalty of the latter, and, swearing that he would abide by whatever advice Kin-giok-kin had to offer, earnestly entreated him to do something for the country. Hereupon Kin-giok-kin disclosed to the royal pair what seemed to him the only possible way open under the circumstances, and obtained from the King *a secret order, written, signed, and sealed by the King himself*, to carry out the plan. That Kin-giok-kin was not lying when he wrote this diary subsequent events will show.

The plot conceived by the Japanese party was as follows: As all the principal personages of the Chinese party were officers of the guard, and were by duty bound to assume certain posts or appear in the Court whenever a fire broke out in the capital, a detached building of the Palace was to be burnt on a certain day, in order to give the assassins easier work to do; and as there was a fear of their perceiving the plot and concealing themselves, a festive occasion was to be chosen, when all the principal personages had to present themselves.

On the 4th of December, 1884, the first post-office was opened in Seoul under the direction of a Japanese ex-post-master, and a dinner was given by the Corean Government, to which were invited the Diplomatic Corps and all the magnates of Corea. The feast was hardly over when fire broke out in a neighbouring building, and, in the tumult which ensued, Bin-ei-yoku was severely wounded by Coreans disguised as Japanese. Boku-ei-ko, Kin-giok-kin, and the rest of the Japanese party immediately went to the royal presence, and told the King that, as the Chinese soldiers were ravaging the city and threatening the palace, the only help was to be sought from the Japanese Minister and his soldiers.

The King understood what it meant, drew up with his own hands a hasty note, stamped it with the seal of State, and sent it to Takezoyé asking for immediate aid. When Takezoyé arrived the whole Royal Family was assembled in Keiyu Palace, and the King came out to meet him in person. The Japanese and the Corean soldiers were stationed at the principal posts, and commanded by the Japanese officer, Captain Murakami. Within a few hours the assassins did their work, and killed six or seven principal Ministers of the Chinese party. The Chinese soldiers were stationed in a village at some distance from the capital, and care was taken that nobody should communicate to them what was taking place in the city till all was over.

Early the next morning the King issued orders abolishing all the old Government offices and creating new ones. Li-tai-gen the King's nephew, was made Presiding Minister; Boku-ei-ko, Commander of the Guards; Jo-ko-han, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kin-giok-kin, Vice-Minister of Finance, and so on. But as the Japanese party was from the beginning not numerous, it strengthened itself by giving offices to the near relatives of the King, Queen, or Tai-in-kun, who had something to complain of in the late Bin Government.

At ten o'clock in the morning the United States Minister, Foote, and the British Consul-General, Aston, were received by the King, who was unusually amiable, and freely conversed with them on the necessity of a *coup d'état* for all nations undertaking a thoroughgoing reform. Pointing to Takezoyé, who was always at his side, he told them that the Japanese Minister, for instance, had personally experienced many such events in his life, and asked if England and America had not fared the same. The United States Minister was of the same opinion as the King. In the afternoon the German Consul-General also came, and, though they all took leave after three o'clock, Takezoyé was still entreated by the King to remain with him.

Several measures of fundamental reform were now passed, such as the declaration of real as well as nominal independence from China, equality of political rights between the nobles and the common people, abolition of Court officers—whose intrigues always stood in the way of good national government—fiscal reform, and the concentration of all financial affairs in the hands of the Financial Minister, etc.

Boku-ei-ko now proposed to remove with the whole Royal Family to Kokwa Harbour, and there wait for Japanese reinforcements, since the 3,000 Chinese soldiers would not be long inactive, and the 2,000 Corean soldiers were not to be trusted. Already Kin-in-shoku, to whom the post of the Minister of

the Royal Household had been offered, had refused the offer, and gone over to the Chinese side. But the Queen wished to return to the main palace, and Takezoyé also disapproved of Boku-ei-ko's idea, and so the Royal Family now re-entered the usual residence in the evening of the day following the *coup d'état*.

The next day, the 6th of December, 1884, an apparent calm reigned over the whole of Corea, and the New Era seemed to have commenced gloriously. Takezoyé now asked for leave to retire with the Japanese soldiers, but the King entreated him to remain longer. The Cabinet Ministers were assembled in the royal presence, and discussing the Great Decree which was to be issued to mark the beginning of the Reformed Government, when, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden bursting noise was heard close at hand. The Chinese commanders, Go-chio-yu and En-sei-gai, had asked to be received by the King in person several times since the morning, but being refused as often, now fired a volley against the Corean and Japanese soldiers, and forced their way through the Senin Gate. The second and third volleys were also fired, and the bullets reached the royal presence. Captain Murakami now ordered the Japanese soldiers to return the fire, which they did with great precision, and killed eighty Chinese on the spot. The Corean soldiers either fled or went over to the Chinese ranks. The whole interior of the Palace now presented scenes of indescribable confusion, and as the poor King fled from one corner to the other for safety, Takezoyé had to hunt him out with great difficulty. Unfortunately, the King's mother, to whom the son had always shown the utmost devotion, fell into the Chinese hands, and the King now insisted on going over to her side, happen what might. He would no longer listen to Takezoyé's remonstrance that he should not show his person in positions so close to the Chinese and Corean soldiers; and as these latter would not cease firing so long as there were Japanese soldiers around the King, Takezoyé now resolved to retire with all his men out of sheer necessity of saving the King from the greatest of disasters. Takezoyé and his suite, and the Coreans—Boku-ei-ko, Kin-giok-kin, Jo-ko-han, etc.—now assembled the 130 Japanese soldiers around them, and made their way to the Legation, which they found well defended by the Japanese that had fled into it. But the want of food soon compelled the inmates to give it up to the fire of the Coreans, and retire to Ninsen. From here Takezoyé reported the whole incident to Japan.

In Seoul on the next day the remnants of the Chinese party came out of their concealment, restored the old form of government, and killed or gave poison to all the remaining partisans

of the 'Kin' and 'Boku' rebels, as the Japanese party was now called, from the first characters of the names of its leaders; and, according to the Corean law, all the innocent relatives of the accused were punished with death, including many women and children. The King himself issued the orders of persecution and punishment.

The news of the trouble reached Japan on the 13th of December, 1884, and the anger of the people, especially of the military class, was great. The opinion of the Cabinet Ministers was again divided between peace and war, and offers came from the French side to act in combination, if Japan were to declare war against China. Was it, however, with China or with Corea that we had to regulate the question? It was the King of Corea who had asked for protection, and it was the Chinese soldiers who had fired on the King and the Japanese soldiers protecting him; but the King afterwards went over to the Chinese side, and allowed the Japanese Legation to be burnt, and the Japanese subjects remaining in Corea to be massacred—against his will it may be, but surely in his name. Hence we had to square our accounts with both.

Our Government decided to send Count Inouye as Special Ambassador to Corea on the 22nd of December. The Chinese Minister in Tokyo notified our Foreign Office that his Government was sending Go-dai-cho as Commissioner to Corea; and Viscount Admiral Enomoto, our Minister to the Court of Peking, was instructed to ask the Tsung-li-Yamen to give full powers to the Commissioner, in order that, once arrived in Seoul, the latter might enter into negotiations with the Japanese Mission there, together with the Corean Government. The Peking Government, however, refused to consent, on the pretext that the Commissioner was being sent out merely for the purpose of 'punishing the rebels.'

Count Inouye arrived in Seoul on the 3rd of January, 1885, accompanied by the Minister, Takezoyé, Lieutenant-General Takashima and Rear-Admiral Kabayama, with a certain number of land and sea forces. As the Chinese Commissioner had already arrived with his soldiers, the Japanese troops had to be posted outside the city in order to avoid collision. Go-dai-cho now caused placards to be put up in the principal places in Seoul to the effect that the criminal attempts of the rebellious subjects, Kin-giok-kin, Boku-ei-ko, and his party had incurred the just anger of the Chinese Emperor, who, '*out of anxiety for his eastern vassal State*, now sends his officer with the grand army for protecting the King,' etc.

The audience took place as usual, and on the 8th Count Inouye opened negotiations with Kin-ko-shin, the Corean Plenipotentiary and Minister of Foreign Affairs, when a strange

scene occurred. As the Japanese demand for satisfaction was very modest, the Corean Minister was inclined to accept all, when suddenly the Chinese Commissioner, Go-dai-cho, introduced himself into the chamber of negotiations without notice or invitation, and wanted to know the substance of what was being negotiated. Count Inouye refused to do anything with him, and then Go-dai-cho, taking a piece of paper, wrote the following words and gave it to the Count:

'Mediation of a third Power between two nations in conflict has precedents; but if not accepted, I will not force it. I only wish that the terms imposed in Corea be fair and moderate.'

On another piece of paper he wrote down some threatening words, and, giving it to the Corean Minister, silently walked away.

On the next day was signed the Treaty of Seoul, by which Corea accepted five things, namely: (1) To send a special Mission to Japan to express regret for the late event; (2) to pay 110,000 yen as indemnity for the Japanese killed or wounded in Corea, as well as for the properties of the Japanese subjects destroyed; (3) to punish severely those guilty of the murder of Captain Isobayashi, who had been in the interior when the disturbance occurred; (4) to offer ground and pay 20,000 yen for the rebuilding of the Japanese Legation; (5) to rebuild a barracks for the Japanese soldiers at the expense of the Corean Government. As no provision was made for obtaining amnesty for the political crimes of the Japanese party, and as the indemnity was also much less than the sum obtained in 1882, the treaty caused some dissatisfaction in Japan; but it must be remembered that the chief care of Count Inouye was fixed upon quite another point—namely, that of obtaining official recognition from the Corean Government that the Japanese Minister, Takezoyé, was not implicated in the crime committed on the 4th of December.

Corea sent Jo-so-u and Mollendorff to Japan, as stipulated in the treaty, and also decapitated the murderers of Captain Isobayashi in the presence of the members of our Legation. Thus the account with Corea was settled, but there still remained the most delicate portion of the affair, namely, the necessity of making China responsible for the conduct of her soldiers in Corea, which was tantamount to making her disavow her claim to suzerainty. This difficult task was confided to Count Ito, lately returned from Europe, and actually filling the post of the Councillor and Minister of the Imperial Household. He was appointed Ambassador on a special mission to China in February, 1885, and the Councillor Count Yorimichi Saigo accompanied him.

On arriving in Tientsin, Count Ito was officially informed that Li-Hung-Chang was appointed Plenipotentiary to deal with the Corean affair, so that there was no need of the Ambassadors proceeding to Peking. Here, however, Count Ito had to choose between two courses, both of which found warm advocates among his suite, containing such able men as Ki Inouye and Miyoji Ito. As China was just at this moment suffering under great pressure from France, our Mission could take advantage of the situation and bring matters to a hasty close by threatening her; or, by pursuing an entirely opposite course, he could sympathize with her misfortunes, convince her of Japan's sincerity towards China by not taking advantage of her distress, and make her concede Japan's demands through the moral persuasion that it was for her interest not to sacrifice the friendship of such a nation as Japan, understanding the true idea of Eastern morality. For placing the relations between Japan and China as regards Corea on a firm, endurable basis, the latter course seemed much more preferable, and for the purpose of convincing the Chinese that we did not intend to take advantage of the action of France, Count Ito showed them that he was in no hurry, but willing to wait till China's hands should be free. So he decided to go to Peking merely for the purpose of presenting credentials and attending the funeral ceremony of Sir Harry Parkes, an old friend of the Count, lately deceased in Peking. He left Tientsin on the 17th of March, and arrived in Peking on the 21st. Although there was no audience on account of the youthfulness of the Emperor, yet there was a grand reception of the Ambassador by the Yamen Ministers on the 27th, and the funeral of the English Minister took place on the 30th. The Mission returned to Tientsin on the 2nd of April, and the negotiations were opened from the following day.

On this occasion Count Ito is said to have substantiated his demands by the following argument: The claims of China over Corea were historical only—*i.e.*, as the history of China reckons Corea among her tributaries, and as China had the greatest repugnance of changing the face of history as the worthy legacy of ancestral emperors, so she was intent on claiming Corea as her vassal state. The claims of Japan over Corea were economical—*i.e.*, she did not claim any legal authority over Corea, but, from her geographical position and the necessity of providing for her constantly increasing population, she was intent on utilizing Corea as the best source from which the defect in the home produce of rice was to be supplied, as well as the nearest field in which the future sons of Japan might find employment. For this purpose Japan would have Corea always independent and under no foreign influence; but within

late years China was sending military and political agents to Corea, and interfering with the Corean international affairs, as if she intended to make good her claims over Corea, long since become purely historical. This state of things had to be rectified, for Japan would never consent to Corea's becoming in reality a part of the Chinese Empire. Why should China, he argued, with an immense territory, covet a far distant country such as Corea at the danger of disturbing the friendship between the brother empires of the Far East? He also reminded Li-Hung-Chang of the fact that while China was still an absolute monarchy, conducting its foreign affairs as its Ministers thought fit, Japan was on the eve of adopting a constitutional form of government, with due regard to the voice of the people. This, if disregarded beyond a certain degree, would surely bring on a Cabinet crisis, and result in the appointment of politicians of the more marked forward policy. Li-Hung-Chang expressed his agreement with the general line of Count Ito's argument, and even consented to withdraw the forces from Corea, if Japan would do the same, but as regards the action of the Chinese soldiery in Seoul on the 4th of December, 1884, he held views quite different from those held by the Count. Li-Hung-Chang thought that the Japanese Minister, Takezoyé, was guilty of having instigated the Corean rebels, and that the affair was already closed by the Treaty of Seoul between Japan and Corea, signed on the 9th of January, 1885. Two days after the opening of the negotiations the conflict between China and France was brought to a happy close, which, though not glorious to China, because she had to abandon her historical claim to suzerainty over Annam, yet was, in fact, a success for China, because, after twelve months of armed conflict, France could obtain no material advantage over China. China now wished to reserve to herself the right of sending military forces to Corea whenever necessary, and Count Ito consented to this on the condition of Japan's preserving the same right. Both Japan and China accepted the obligation of each informing the other before sending troops to Corea whenever such a necessity should present itself in the future. The question of the instruction of the Corean army was also settled, it being decided that Japan and China should conjointly advise Corea to provide for her internal safety by training her own troops and employing foreign subjects other than Japanese or Chinese as instructors. As to the action of the Chinese soldiery in Seoul, the affair was to be wound up by Li-Hung-Chang addressing the following letter to Count Ito:

'That the Imperial Chinese soldiers and the Imperial Japanese soldiers should have fought with each other inside the Palace of the King of Corea, during the late disturbance in Seoul, was entirely

beyond the intention of both States, and matter of the greatest regret on my part. The amity between the Middle Empire and Japan is of long standing, and the fact of the Imperial Chinese soldiers forgetting this, and fighting under momentary impulse, without careful consideration of the circumstances, will be made a subject of special reprimand from the present Minister. As to the fact brought forward by Your Excellency on the evidence of the wife of Shujiro Homma and others—that the Chinese soldiers were guilty of breaking into the houses of the people and plundering and massacring them—the Imperial Chinese Government are for the present in possession of no satisfactory proofs, but will send out a special mission for investigation, and should definite evidences be obtained, will not fail to punish the culpable according to the military law of the realm, etc.'

Thus, after six sittings, the negotiations were brought to a close, and the so-called Treaty of Tientsin was signed on the 18th of April, 1885. By it China could not be brought to recognise the independence of Corea, but so much was gained for Japan that, with regard to Corea, China recognised Japan to be on the same footing as herself. Thus a step was gained towards the solution of the Corean problem. Subsequently China found the treaty inconvenient to herself, and made some futile attempts to annul it, but it remained in force till the war of 1894-95, of which it was really the cause.

War between China and Japan, 1894-1895.

The Treaty of Tientsin did not alter the relations between China and Corea. Go-dai-cho and the Chinese soldiers were recalled, but En-sei-gai was again sent as Chinese Resident, and interfered in all the important affairs of State. The German, Mollendorff, and after him an American named Denny, continued to act as adviser under instructions from Li-Hung-Chang. When Russia tried to open inland trade with Corea along the river Tiumen, it was Li-Hung-Chang who persuaded Corea not to consent. Corea appointed Boku-tei-yo Minister to Washington, but En-sei-gai objected to the measure on the ground that for all such matters authorization had to be obtained from China as suzerain. Li-Hung-Chang instructed En-sei-gai to propose the following conditions: (1) On arriving at his post the Corean Minister should first of all pay a visit to the Chinese Minister, and ask the latter to accompany him to the State Department. (2) On all public occasions, State ceremonies, and private dinner-parties, the Corean Minister should always sit below the Chinese Minister. (3) Whenever an international affair of any significance occurred, the Corean Minister should ask the advice of the Chinese Minister, and act in concert with the latter. Corea objected, but En-sei-gai threatened her with immediate action, and she yielded to superior force.

The question of telegraphic connection brought Japan into direct antagonism with China in Corea. Since March, 1883, there had existed a secret treaty between Japan and Corea concerning the submarine cable between Nagasaki and Fusan, according to which the Corean Government was for twenty years bound to employ this line and no other for all telegraphic communications between Seoul and abroad, and not to sanction the establishment of direct communication by land with neighbouring countries. The cable was completed the following year by means of a special arrangement between the Japanese Government and the Shanghai branch office of the Great Northern Telegraph Company. But in July, 1885, En-sei-gai succeeded in inducing the Corean Government to sign a treaty which gave China right to extend her Shanghai-Tientsin line through Gishin (Wiju, in the North of Corea) to Seoul, and control it for twenty-five years. As there existed no telegraph line between Seoul and Fusan at that time, all telegraphic communications with the foreign countries came to be made by this new Chinese line, in violation of the secret treaty with Japan. Japan, of course, remonstrated with Corea, but her reply was that she never allowed China to connect the Chinese line with Seoul, but only agreed to her connecting it with an insignificant village on the other side of a rivulet flowing outside the limits of Seoul. What a subtlety! Japan now demanded from Corea permission to establish the Seoul-Fusan line, in order at least to bring the Fusan-Nagasaki cable into direct connection with Seoul; but Corea refused this, and, on the pretext of building the line herself, gave the right to China, who completed the line and worked it under Chinese control from 1888 (till the right was transferred to Japan during the war of 1894-1895).

In 1889 the so-called anti-corn affair embittered the feeling between Japan and Corea still more. The Governors of the two Corean provinces adjacent to China suddenly prohibited the export of rice, and caused great loss to the Japanese rice importers. As this was in distinct violation of the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Kokwa, 1876, the Japanese Government remonstrated with the Corean Minister of Foreign Affairs, but without success, for five years, during which several of the rice importers were ruined. In 1893 the Japanese Government made Oishi, one of the young politicians of the popular party, Minister in Seoul, and gave him a free hand to deal with the Corean Government as best he might. Oishi threatened them with breaking off of relations, and succeeded in obtaining an indemnity of 110,000 yen out of the 140,000 demanded. All through the years of tension China was believed to be backing Corea, for the prohibition of the export of rice is a

well-known Chinese system, which in her own case is founded upon treaty rights.

The affair of the Corean political criminals in Japan, arising as an immediate consequence of the affair of 1884, and continuing down to the very eve of the great war, hopelessly entangled the relations between Japan on one side and China and Corea on the other. On the failure of the *coup d'état* of December, 1884, the chiefs of the Japan party, Kin-giok-kin, Boku-ei-ko, Jo-ko-han, etc., had fled to Japan, and from there they went to the United States, with the exception of Kin-giok-kin, who lived in Tokyo under the assumed name of Imata Shinsaku. The Corean Government sent Mollendorff and Jo-so-un to Tokyo to ask for the extradition of Kin-giok-kin, but the demand was refused on the double ground of there being no treaty of extradition between Japan and Corea, and of Kin-giok-kin being a political criminal. To the Coreans, however, furthest removed from any idea of international law, this refusal seemed to mean that Japan harboured secret plans against Corea. Several would-be assassins now offered their services to the Corean Government, chiefly for pecuniary ends. One of them, named Chi-un-ei, came to Tokyo in February of 1886, and fell into the snares set by the crafty Corean students under the patronage of Kin-giok-kin. He showed to the students a letter patent from the King of Corea giving him full powers 'to go beyond the sea and capture or deal with the rebel as convenience required.' In his possession was also found a letter which proved that Li-Hung-Chang and En-sei-gai had also been consulted in connection with Chi-un-ei's mission. Chi-un-ei offered 5,000 yen to any of the students who succeeded in assassinating Kin-giok-kin. In order to avoid complications, the Japanese Government ordered Kin-giok-kin to quit the soil of Japan without delay, and at the same time telegraphed to Seoul demanding of the Corean Government whether it had really given such full powers to Chi-un-ei. The Corean Government disavowed this, and asked the Japanese Government to send back Chi-un-ei under escort, which was done. Kin-giok-kin wanted to go to America, but, as he was not in possession of sufficient means to do so, was ordered to retire to Ogasawara Island, which orders he refused to obey, and was in consequence dragged out of his lodging and sent thither by force. As his health required a cooler temperature, he was afterwards removed to Hokkaido, where he remained for two years under police superintendence, till, in 1890, owing to comparative calm in Corea, he was permitted to return to Tokyo. Meanwhile, Boku-ei-ko had also returned from America, and the presence of these two so-called

arch-conspirators in Tokyo again disquieted the Corean Government, who now sent a more discreet assassin in the person of Ri-itsu-shoku. He came to Japan in 1892, and entered by some means or other into the closest intimacy with Kin-giok-kin, who imparted to his false friend all his secrets. Ri-itsu-shoku won over as his accomplice Ko-sho-u, a young Corean lately returned from France, whose name will never be forgotten in the dark history of assassinations. Ri-itsu-shoku made Kin-giok-kin believe that Li-Hung-Chang was tired of the Bin Government in Corea, and wished to enter into personal relations with Kin-giok-kin in order to carry out in Seoul a plan suited to bring back the Japanese party to power. He presented Kin-giok-kin with a false cheque for 5,000 yen drawn by Li-Hung-Chang on a Chinese bank in Shanghai, and told the latter that Ko-sho-u and an attaché of the Chinese Legation in Tokyo would accompany him to the Chinese port, whence the party might find passage to Tientsin. Kin-giok-kin was foolish enough to believe all this, despite the warning given him by some of his Japanese friends, and was shot by Ko-sho-u while resting in a Japanese hotel in Shanghai on the 28th of April, 1894. Ko-sho-u was captured by the Chinese police, and Li-Hung-Chang ordered him to be sent to Corea under escort, together with the corpse of Kin-giok-kin, which, arriving in Corea, was cut into six pieces (head, body, and limbs), and exposed for three days in each of the eight provinces of the realm. As for Ko-sho-u, he was set free by the Corean Government, despite the representations made to the Tsung-li-Yamen by the foreign Consuls in Shanghai through their Ministers in Peking, and to the Corean Government by our Minister in Seoul.

Meanwhile, Ri-itsu-shoku remained in Tokyo in order to assassinate Boku-ei-ko, but was not so fortunate as Ko-sho-u. He was betrayed by two of his accomplices, who went over to Boku-ei-ko, invited Ri-itsu-shoku to the boarding-house of the Corean students in Tokyo, and, tying him up with ropes and threatening him with fire and sword, compelled him to disclose all the details of the secret mission. His papers were seized, and among them were found as many as two letters patent from the King of Corea. Of course, illegal arrest and torture were punishable by Japanese law, and the Corean students were sentenced by our district court to several months' imprisonment. Ri-itsu-shoku was also tried, and acquitted for want of evidence.

Since March, 1894, several provinces of Corea had been in a disturbed condition. The so-called To-gaku-to (Tonghaks—party of Oriental learning) were driven to despair by the

oppression of the local Governors, who had obtained their appointments by giving high bribes, and intended to pay themselves back by squeezing every penny out of the pockets of the people they governed. These discontented people were anti-foreign, because in their eyes the vices of Corean officialism were due to the corruption of good morals by contact with the foreigners—*i.e.*, Japanese most of all. They formed themselves into bands with the following reactionary motto. 'Reorganize society on the principle of Confucian virtue. Restore the right way by driving out the Japanese barbarians. Enter Seoul with armed force and exterminate the nobles and the officials. Re-establish moral order according to the teachings of the Chinese sage.' Towards the end of May an army of several hundred men sent out by the Central Government suffered ignominious defeat, and the enraged populace now marched against defenceless Seoul from all directions. The terror-stricken Government of the Bin party asked China for aid, and Li-Hung-Chang despatched an army of 1,600 men under Sho-shi-sho, and two men-of-war commanded by Admiral Tei-jo-sho (Ting). In fulfilment of the Treaty of Tientsin the Chinese Government notified the matter to our Government on the 7th of June, 1894, but in the note produced by the Chinese Minister in Tokyo Corea was called the 'protectorate' of China in one place, and her 'dependency' in another. The Japanese Government at once retorted that they had never recognised China's claim to 'protection' or 'suzerainty' over Corea, and, mobilizing the 6th Division, hastily sent out a mixed brigade under General Oshima to Corea. The Japanese army entered Seoul while the Chinese army was still in the province, and the Japanese Minister Otosi forced the King of Corea to ask the aid of Japan in driving out the Chinese army threatening her independence, and thus was begun the war between Japan and China, the course of which need not be retold here.

By the Peace of Shimonoseki, China formally recognised the independence of Corea, and thus the question of Corea was at last solved.

After the war, Russia, France, and Germany objected to Japan's annexing the Liao-tong peninsula on the ground that such annexation was dangerous to the peace of the Extreme Orient. The Emperor of Japan listened to the seemingly well-intentioned advice of the three Powers, and retroceded the Peninsula *sans condition*. But why, it may be asked, did not the Japanese diplomats obtain from the intervening Powers assurance that they, too, would never attempt to annex the peninsula under any form or pretext whatever? The case was as follows: The intervention of the three Powers began

in Tokyo with diplomatic notes sent by their Ministers to the Foreign Office on the 23rd of April, 1895—*i.e.*, a week after the signing of the Peace of Shimonoseki. Russia had already been sending out powerful battleships to the Far Eastern waters since the end of March, 1895, and France and Germany joined her in the demonstration. The Japanese Government now considered it necessary to ascertain two things before taking a decisive step: first, whether Russia really meant to fight with Japan, and secondly, to what extent was aid from the side of England to be relied upon. Hence, in order to gain time, Count Mutsu instructed the Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg to see the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and make representation to the effect that the Japanese Government wished the Russian Government to *reconsider* the question. This was a fatal step, for Russia refused to change her views, and went on increasing her armaments and that of her allies in the East to the point that it was now too late to bring up the fresh demand for assurance that the Powers, too, would not annex Liao-tong in the future. At the same time it became clear that nothing could be expected from England beyond benevolent neutrality. Thus an important chance was let slip.

The Question of Treaty Revision.

We now arrive at the last of the great diplomatic problems of the New Imperial Government which baffled the attempts of many a statesman. The extra-territorial jurisdiction which the foreigners in Japan had enjoyed had to be done away with, the disadvantageous tariff rates annexed to the treaties had to be revised, and the application of the most favoured nation clause had to be made reciprocal and not one-sided, as under the old treaties. The 4th of July, 1872, being the date after which Japan could demand the revision of the treaties signed by the Tokugawa Government, the Imperial Government had revised the penal code, and abolished the system of torture in 1871, and sent out the Iwakura Mission for the sake of exchanging ideas with foreign Governments regarding treaty revision. In the project of the revision then adopted by the Japanese Government, the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction was made the principal point. The circumstances under which the negotiations were opened in the United States, and the way in which they came to an end, have been already told above. This was the first attempt at revision.

In the absence of Lord Iwakura, Count Soyejima, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was also working for the revision by conferring with the foreign Ministers in Tokyo. His idea was to allow the foreigners to live in the interior of Japan instead of

shutting them up within the concession grounds (settlements), for the double purpose of disseminating the civilizing influence among our people, and of making the Western Powers agree to the treaty revision. To the question why he regarded the present treaties as unfair, he replied that in order to make them fair England ought to give to Japan the same rights and privileges she had already given or would give to France; France the same rights and privileges she had already given or would give to Germany, etc. That is, he laid the greatest stress on the unfairness of Japan's being obliged to treat the Western nations on the basis of the most favoured nation clause, while Japan received no corresponding treatment from the Western Powers. The foreign Ministers in Tokyo agreed to the necessity of revision on principle, and the Italian Minister even went so far as to agree to submitting the Italians in Japan to the Japanese laws on the condition of their being allowed to reside in the interior. But the Ministers of the other Powers objected to the advances of their Italian colleague, and the mission of Count Soyejima in China, and the fall of the Cabinet soon after his return, prevented him from accomplishing his object.

The second systematic attempt at treaty revision was made by Count Terajima, Minister of Foreign Affairs, immediately after the civil war of 1877. As it was then clear taht until the laws and the system of administration of justice in Japan had been reformed on the European model nothing could be effected by way of the recovery of judicial rights, so Count Terajima made the establishment of tariff autonomy the principal point of his revision. He developed his ideas as follows:

'When the treaties were first made both the Government and the people did not understand anything about foreign commerce, and hence everything was made as the foreign Powers wished; but after more than ten years of experience we now know that the existing treaties infringe our right of independence in a very material way. Moreover, our Government having begun the works of national progress and enlightenment, public expenses increase from year to year, and as there is no way of increasing national revenue by import duties so the Government is thrown upon the increase of internal taxation as the only means of meeting the increased demand. If the national power thus goes on declining by the ever-increasing burden on the people, the policy of national progress and the opening up of the country might become unpopular, and meet with unexpected hindrances caused by discontent. This is what the Government fears the most. Hence, we now deem it extremely important to recover the right of independence in matters of Custom tariff as the only means of covering the financial deficit, and satisfying public opinion, at the same time promoting foreign intercourse and international trade. For this reason, the foreign Governments are expected to restore tariff autonomy to Japan on the condition of our never introducing

differential tariff unless under special treaty arrangements. Moreover, if it be deemed necessary for promoting foreign trade, export duties will be abolished, and new treaty ports will be opened, although *cabotage* must be left to the entire control of the Japanese Government.'

The United States readily agreed to Count Terajima's proposal, and the new treaty, signed in Washington, was published here on the 25th of July, 1878, but it was not to come into force until Japan had concluded similar treaties with the other Powers, or greatly modified the existing ones. As tariff reform affected England the most, so the British Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, strongly opposed the revision, and the efforts of Count Terajima seemed doomed to failure, when an unlucky incident put an abrupt end to this affair. In 1878 an Englishman named Hartley secretly imported opium in violation of the treaty, but Japan had no jurisdiction over foreigners, so the case was brought before the British Consul, who acquitted the prisoner on some ground or other. This greatly enraged the Japanese public, who now deemed the measures of Count Terajima as insufficient, and cried for tariff and judicial reforms at the same time. Count Terajima tendered his resignation, which was accepted.

The next Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Inouye, also ardently worked for the revision in concert with the Councillor Count Okuma. The new penal code and the law of criminal procedure compiled by the French jurist, M. de Boissonade, and voted by the Senate, the only existing legislative body at the time, was promulgated in July 1880, and seemed to pave the way for their success. The plan of Counts Inouye and Okuma was to recover both tariff autonomy and judicial independence, not at once, but by degrees, by negotiating with the Powers, not separately as did Count Terajima, but conjointly in the form of a diplomatic conference to be held at the Foreign Office in Tokyo. The main treaty was drawn up on the basis of perfect equality, but to it were attached a memorandum restricting jurisdiction over foreigners for a certain number of years, and separate articles on commerce and navigation by which the tariff rates were greatly revised to our advantage, but autonomy was far from being realized. The negotiations were conducted under great secrecy, but the drafts were published by the *Yokohama Herald*, through the indiscretion of the Dutch Minister, and the discontent of the public opinion at such a partial measure soon became very loud. The Dutch Minister was recalled, and the negotiations were dropped. Thus ended the third attempt at treaty revision in 1880.

Count Okuma, having become the leader of the first political

party in Japan in 1881, Count Inouye became the sole exponent of the revision movement in the Government. His principle was to reform not only the laws and institutions of Japan, but also to Europeanize entirely the manners and customs of the Japanese, in order to make the foreign Powers see the anachronism of the existing treaties. Already in 1882 he invited the foreign Ministers in Tokyo to a preliminary conference for treaty revision, and discussed with them the projects of laws on the privileges of Consuls in Japan, the administration of justice, the lease of land, the reforms of administrative organs, the treatment of the Christian religion in Japan, trade regulations, harbour regulations, and regulations for *cabotage*, lighthouses, ships, shipwrecks, and even neutrality. But the Corean affairs of 1882 and 1884 and the consequent trouble with China prevented him from resuming the work of the revision itself, until, in 1885, his great friend and fellow-clansman, the present Marquis Ito, became the Minister President of the reorganized Imperial Cabinet.*

A more united action being now possible, the plan of Europeanization was carried out on a grand scale. Rokumeikwan was built at the Government expense for social gatherings in European style, the adoption of foreign dresses and coiffure by the ladies was officially encouraged, and, amidst a whirl of soirées, garden-parties, balls, and even fancy balls, the formal conference for the revision of treaties was opened on the 1st of May, 1886. The Ministers of twelve Powers took part in it. After seven sittings it was adjourned, in order to give time to the foreign Ministers to obtain instructions from their Governments, and was resumed on the 20th of October. In the meanwhile a board for the codification of civil and commercial laws, and the law of civil precedence, was established, not in the judicial department, as it ought to have been, but in the Foreign Office, under the presidency of Count Inouye himself. The present Marquis General Yamagata (now Marshal), was entrusted with the reorganization of the system of local government, for which he travelled to Europe, and became the founder of the present system of communal self-government, based on the Prussian model.

In April, 1887, the substance of the revised treaty was agreed upon as follows :

* In December, 1885, the old system of Daijokwan—Great Imperial Government—with its Prime Minister, Ministers of Left and Right, and a set of Councillors over and above the Departmental Ministers, was abolished and replaced by the present system, with its Ministers of State, each responsible for his own affair, subject to the guiding principle of the Minister President.

'CUSTOM TARIFF.

'The duty of 10 per cent. will be imposed on import articles in general, of 5 per cent. on some specified articles as before, of 7½ per cent. on cotton and wool, and of 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. on articles of luxury.

'The duty of 5 per cent. will be imposed on all exports as before.

'The duties shall be *ad valorem* at the place of import and export.

'The new tariff will not come into force before the end of 1889.

'EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION.

'The extraterritoriality will not be entirely done away with at once, but at first only remodelled, and for this purpose the foreigners in Japan shall be made to have different status according to their place of abode.

'During the three years after the treaty revision, the foreigners living in the seven treaty ports shall be entirely outside the Japanese jurisdiction—*i.e.*, Consular jurisdiction will be kept up in regard to them.

'But even during the same three years the foreigners residing and possessing property in the interior shall be subject to Japanese jurisdiction, except in cases of capital punishment, to which the laws of their own countries find application.

'In the civil and criminal cases against foreigners in the interior, foreign jurists shall be employed as juries, but these juries are to be in the hire of the Japanese Government, and do not represent the State they belong to.

'During the twelve years after 1891 inclusive, the arrangement is to be as follows: The distinction between the foreigners in the treaty ports and those in the interior is abolished, but in all civil and criminal cases concerning foreigners the Japanese laws shall be applied in the joint court of the Japanese judges and the foreign judges representing their Governments.

'After the expiration of the said twelve years, the Japanese Government shall exercise unlimited jurisdiction over all foreigners.'

The revision itself was perhaps the best obtainable at the time, but the conditions under which it was obtained, namely, the Europeanization of Japan, disgusted a certain class of men both in and out of the Government. When the draft of the revised treaty was submitted to a Cabinet Council in May, a unanimous consent could not be obtained. The late Count Katsu, who had formerly been a member of the Tokugawa Government, and to whose rare statesmanship and personal influence was due the peaceful transition of power from the Shogun to the New Imperial Government, presented memoranda to the Cabinet enumerating 'twenty-one faults of the time' emanating from an attempt to imitate the externals of Western civilization. Later it was a member of the Cabinet itself, General Tani, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, lately returned from Europe, who pointed out seven defects in the draft of the revised treaty, and resigned his office. M. de Boissonade, the French jurist who was engaged in compiling our

codes, himself objected to the system of employing foreign judges in Japanese courts. The writings of these last two personages were secretly printed by a set of patriotic students and became freely circulated amongst the amateur politicians of Tokyo. Hence the creation of many new associations for opposing treaty revision in its present form, and the almost daily demonstrations in the city and the provinces.

A minor incident also added to the unpopularity of Count Inouye's foreign policy. In October, 1886, an English steamer, the *Normanton*, was wrecked off the coast of Kisnin, and all on board were saved, except over forty Japanese cabin-passengers, every one of whom went down with the ship. Seeing that even a Chinese servant could be saved, the unfairness of the captain was apparent, and as public opinion loudly called for retribution, our Government indicted the captain before the British Consular Court, but after a protracted trial he did not receive the just punishment he deserved in the eyes of the Japanese people.

After twenty-nine sittings, on the 29th of July, 1887, Count Inouye was obliged to announce the adjournment of the conference *sine die*, on the ground that the codification of the civil and commercial laws had to be completed before proceeding to treaty revision. Count Inouye himself resigned his office, which he had held for eight years, and the fourth attempt at revision came to an end.

The Minister President, Marquis Ito, gave the portfolio of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Count Okuma on the 1st of February, 1888, and the latter at once devoted his whole energy to the work of treaty revision, leaving the routine of his department to the care of the Vice-Minister, Viscount Aoki. His policy was diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor, for he caused the existing treaties to be interpreted with great strictness and withdrew all such favours and benefits hitherto bestowed on foreigners in Japan as were not expressly stipulated therein, in order to make the foreign Governments themselves feel the necessity of revision. Among other things, he caused the most favoured nation clause to be interpreted *conditionally*, with the object of liberating Japan from the necessity of revising the treaties with all the Powers simultaneously.

First of all a treaty of amity and friendship was signed between Japan and Mexico on the 30th of November, 1888, and was the first treaty on the footing of perfect equality ever signed by the Japanese Government. The Japanese in Mexico and the Mexicans in Japan were allowed to travel, sojourn, or dwell in any part of the interior of the respective countries, with the sole incapacity that they were not allowed to own

immovable property. The tariff was autonomous, but not to exceed or to be different from those levied on the imports of other nations. The extraterritorial jurisdiction found no trace in it. The most favoured nation treatment was, of course, reciprocal, and at the same time conditional—*i.e.*, the right or benefit granted to A was to be granted to B, C, D, etc., without recompense if the original grant was made without recompense, but with the same or equivalent recompense if the original grant was made in exchange for some other right or benefit.

At the same time negotiations were carried on with the United States, whose Minister in Tokyo asked instructions of the home Government by telegram towards the close of the year 1888, and obtained an answer within forty-eight hours that he was to accept the treaty as proposed by Japan. England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Austro-Hungary were also invited to consider revision.

In the meanwhile an event of the greatest moment occurred in Japan, which gave to the affair of treaty revision quite a new aspect. Previous to this, on the 30th of April, 1888, Marquis Ito resigned his premiership in favour of Count Kuroda, and himself becoming the President of the newly-created Privy Council, submitted the draft of the constitutional laws compiled under his direction to the deliberation of that august body, consisting of all the male members of the Imperial Family, the acting Ministers of State, and special Councillors, among whom figured all the greatest personages of the new epoch, like Prince Sanjo, Counts Higashikujé, Soyejima, Terajima, Ōki, Sano, Katsu, Torio, Toshii, Viscounts Enomoto, Nomura, Hijikata. The Emperor attended in person almost all the sittings of the Council, and the Imperial Constitution and its accompanying laws and ordinances being now complete, they were promulgated on the 11th of February, 1889. Japan was henceforth to be a constitutional State, and as becomes a constitutional State, she was to enjoy the unrestricted right of independence in her foreign relations, so that the treaty revision now acquired a new meaning and a new urgency.

In Germany negotiations were carried on between our Minister, Marquis Saionji, and Count Herbert Bismarck, and the telegram received by our Government on the 11th of June, 1889, announced that the treaty was signed. This was considered a great success on the part of Count Okuma. Russia also consented to the revision. The Ministers of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and other minor Powers were now invited to obtain full powers from their Governments concerning treaty revision.

But again an unexpected hindrance occurred. A correspondent of the London *Times* reported from here on the 11th of March, 1889, the substance of the new treaty, which appeared in the number of the 19th of April, and was distributed amongst its Japanese readers about this time. It was as follows :*

'CUSTOM TARIFF.

'As regards import duties, the Custom tariffs already agreed upon in the Conference between 1886-1887 (Count Inouye's Conference) were to be adopted.

'EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION.

'1. After a certain date, before the opening of the Imperial Diet in 1890, the foreigners in Japan shall be granted the right of freely travelling, trading, dwelling, or possessing property in any part of the Japanese Empire outside the limits of the settlements fixed by the old treaties; but the same foreigners will be subjected to the jurisdiction of Japan in matters arising from the exercise of that right.

'2. The present institution of settlement and Consular jurisdiction shall be kept up for a certain number of years after the date mentioned in 1 for the benefit of those that prefer to live in them, but after the expiration of these years such institution shall be abolished entirely.

'3. The following point shall be agreed upon by a Diplomatic Note. Before opening up the country, as stipulated in 1, a certain number of foreign jurists shall be nominated judges of the Supreme Court. They are to partake in the reversal of the civil cases to the value of 100 yen or more, and in that of all criminal cases. Whenever a foreigner figures as one of the contending parties, the absolute majority of the judges concerned shall be foreigners. This arrangement is to continue for ten years, after which Japan acquires unlimited right of jurisdiction.

'4. The following point is also to be promised by a Diplomatic Note. In order to carry out point 2, a new civil code shall be promulgated and put into execution three years before the abolition of the settlements and the Consular jurisdiction, and its authentic English translation published a year and a half before the same date.'

As soon as the secret was thus divulged, great opposition again rose against the new form of revision, both in and out of the Government.† The majority of the Genro-in (old Senate) and of the Privy Council were opposed to it, and especially weighty was the opposition of Marquis Ito and Count Inouye, the former because he thought the employment of foreign judges in the Supreme Court not in conformity with the spirit of the new Constitution, and the latter because the very same arrangement was the cause by which his own project of revision had been frustrated two years ago. In the Cabinet Council held

* This is a retranslation from a Japanese translation.

† Count Okuma did not communicate the substance of his revision project to his colleagues, because treaty revision was a matter commissioned by the Emperor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs alone, and not to the Cabinet in general.

on the 2nd of August, it was decided that the 'foreign judges' in the project of the revised treaty should be interpreted 'foreign jurists naturalized in Japan,' and a law of naturalization was projected with great haste. But the measure was considered to be still objectionable on two grounds: first, because the limitation of the Imperial right of nomination by treaties was contrary to the idea of independence; and secondly, because the fact that seven out of the twelve judgeships of the Supreme Court were open only to naturalized subjects was in distinct violation of the article of the Constitution by which all public offices are open to all the Japanese subjects alike.

Never was political controversy so loud and so heated in Japan as at this time. The members of Count Okuma's party energetically defended the revision in speeches and in the papers, but all the other parties denounced it as national dishonour. New associations, clubs, and newspapers sprang up in all districts and among all classes of the people especially for the purpose of opposing the new treaties, which were understood to become effective from the February of the next year. At the end of September the addresses presented by the people to the Senate* concerning the revision amounted to 305 in all, of which 185, signed by 63,616 persons, were *against*, and 120, signed by 6,759 individuals, were *for* the revision.

The Minister President, Count Kuroda, decided to support Count Okuma at any cost, but Count Matsukata, Minister of Finance, proposed to set up a special Commission for the investigation of necessary preparations for treaty revision to be made in the various branches of the Administration; and Count Goto, Minister of Communication, at whose back stood a powerful group of political associations, all opposed to the revision, demanded a Cabinet Council in presence of His Majesty, for deciding the question of revision or not revision at once. At last the great Cabinet Council was held on the 15th of October, 1889, under the personal presidency of the Emperor. It continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till dark, Count Okuma strenuously advocating his measure, Count Goto opposing it with convincing arguments, and Marquis General Yamagata, as Minister of Home Affairs, lately returned from Europe, proposing several weighty questions to Count Okuma. No conclusion was arrived at before the Minister President asked His Majesty to adjourn. On the 18th of October another Cabinet Council was held, without the presidency of the Emperor, and it was almost decided that the revision should be postponed, when Count Okuma, driving back to the Foreign Office at four o'clock in the afternoon, was seriously hurt by a

* By the law of this time, all addresses of the people concerning political questions were to be presented to the Senate.

dynamite shell thrown into his carriage by Tsuneki Kurushima, ex-*samurai* of Fukuoka, who instantly cut his own throat, with a sharp dagger, and died on the spot. Luckily, the wound of Count Okuma was not mortal, but the amputation of his left leg prevented him from taking part in the affairs of State for some months. The Kuroda Cabinet resigned on the 25th, and in the difficulty of finding a new Premier among the active statesmen of the day, the Emperor called out Prince Sanjo from his retirement, and entrusted him with the formation of the next Cabinet. Thus was brought to an end the fifth attempt at treaty revision.

In December, Marquis General Yamagata formed a new Cabinet, and Viscount Aoki was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The next year, 1890, was a busy one in the political history of Japan, for it was in this year that the Imperial Diet was to be assembled for the first time, and the new Constitution put into execution. Many new things had to be done before legislation should become hampered by the addition of new machinery, whose action and working nobody could foresee, and among other laws hastily 'crammed,' so as to speak, at this time were the civil and commercial codes, civil procedure, and the law on the organization of the Courts of Justice. They were all prepared by the Board of Codification, transferred to the Judicial Department immediately after the retirement of Count Inouye; the civil code was drafted by M. de Boissonade; the commercial code by the distinguished German jurist, Dr. Roesler; the civil procedure and the law on the organization of the Courts of Justice by another German jurist, Dr. Rudolf. Many were the objections against these hasty codifications, and the Senate, which was soon to give place to the Imperial Diet, rejected them, but the necessity of their completion as preliminary steps to treaty revision, and the fear that the coming Diet might never pass them, induced the Yamagata Cabinet boldly to promulgate them in the early part of 1890. The law for the organization of the Courts of Justice came into force on the 1st of November, 1891; the commercial code and the civil procedure on the 1st of January, 1892; and the civil code, which was to take effect on the 1st of January, 1893, was postponed by a law passed by the Diet in its first session till five years later. It is fair to add that the civil and the commercial codes were afterwards carefully revised with the consent of the Diet, so that they now suit Japanese life and institutions perfectly well, and no loud complaint is heard of their being foreign in origin.

As the day for the first election in 1890 approached, the political life of the people, with its parties, papers, meetings,

and the like, acquired a new force and a new meaning. The body of the old Senate passed into the new House of Peers, in which were also present all the male members of the Imperial Family and the two highest classes of nobility, the counts, viscounts and barons being represented through class elections. Marquis Ito was nominated by the Emperor the first President of the House of Peers. In the House of Commons Count Itagaki's party returned the greatest number of members, and that of Count Okuma was also largely represented, but neither commanded an absolute majority. The first session was sufficiently stormy, but ended well, chiefly out of respect to the Emperor, whose earnest desire to see the smooth working of the Constitution—a thing so new in the whole East—filled the hearts of all with sympathy and the spirit of moderation.

In May, 1891, Marquis General Yamagata voluntarily laid down his office, and Count Matsukata became the next Minister President. Viscount Aoki was still the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but he was forced to resign a few days after on account of the unlucky incident which befell the Crown Prince Nicholas of Russia. The latter was in Japan on his way to Vladivostok, whither he was sent by his father, in order to inaugurate the commencement of the building of the great Siberian Railway, when an infatuated policeman, perhaps seeing in him the future enemy of Japan, wounded him with a sword on the temple. Viscount Admiral Enomoto, Privy Councillor—that very same Enomoto who had fought against the Imperial forces in 1869—was appointed the next Minister for Foreign Affairs. He had some plans for the treaty revision, but the fall of the Matsukata Cabinet, in consequence of the conflict with the third Diet, did not allow him time to announce them.

In retrospect, we might say that for Japan, with her people yet unprepared to live side by side with foreigners, her system of government absolute, though by no means despotic, and her laws yet little developed, to try to revise the treaties was to try an impossibility—if only for this reason, that the civilized nations of Europe make the protection of the life and property and commerce of their subjects abroad the primary object of their foreign policy; and as long as Japan had not given the guarantee that she, too, had the same end in view, no Government could safely trust their subjects to our care. Until such guarantee had been given, the Western nations must of necessity cling to the system of 'settlements' and 'consular jurisdiction.' But now, when the same constitutional form of government, the same system of the administration of justice, and the codes of laws based on the same principles as in Europe and America, had been promulgated and begun to work smoothly in Japan, the real objec-

tion to the treaty revision lost its *raison d'être*. The Chinese War of 1894-95, which showed the real strength of Japan, and her ability to act like a civilized nation, not only in time of peace, but also in that of war, and even towards the enemy, greatly facilitated the work of revision.

After the fall of the Matsukata Cabinet in August, 1892, Marquis Ito was again the Premier and Count Mutsu Minister of Foreign Affairs.* During the fourth session of the Diet, in 1893, the House of Commons presented an Address to the Emperor, humbly imploring him to cause the last work of the Restored Imperial Government—namely, treaty revision—to be accomplished, not by such halfway measures as had been tried by the successive Ministers of Foreign Affairs, but by at once concluding with the foreign Powers treaties on a footing of perfect equality. Nor was the task very difficult now, for the reason above stated. Count Mutsu followed the principle of giving full powers to the Japanese Ministers abroad, and made them negotiate with the Governments to which they were accredited upon the project of revision sent them from Tokyo. The negotiations were in some cases long and difficult, because despatches had to be received and instructions given by mail requiring weeks to arrive, but the method proved successful on the whole. Even before the war, England signed the new treaty, in July, 1894, the United States during the war, and the rest of the Powers immediately after it. All these new treaties were designed to enter into force simultaneously in May, 1899, and to remain so for twelve years, after which the contracting parties were free to renounce them at any time, subject to one year's previous notice. In them extraterritoriality is done away, the sojourn and possession of *movable* property by foreigners in the interior are allowed, and the most favoured nation clause is made *reciprocal* and *unconditional*. The Custom tariff is not yet autonomous, but import duties are fixed by a separate diplomatic document accompanying the main treaty, with which it is to disappear after twelve years or more, to be replaced by autonomy pure and simple. These conventional tariff rates, of course, differ in the different States, according as their chief articles of export and import differ, but the most favoured nation clause applied to them makes them uniform throughout. In the treaties with China, Corea, and Siam, it is Japan that still retains the right of extraterritoriality over her subjects living in these countries.

Thus, the last work of the new Imperial Government was

* Munemitsu Mutsu, created Count in consequence of his service as Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Chinese War, began his career as politician in the early part of the New Era, but was later imprisoned on account of having sided with Saigo in the Civil War of 1877. When pardoned, he was Minister to the United States.

accomplished before the close of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the war with China gave rise to many fresh problems for Japanese diplomacy concerning China and Corea, generally known as the 'Far Eastern Questions,' most of which have not yet found any definite solution, so that our history must end here for the time being.

System of Japanese Diplomacy.

For the organization of diplomatic service in Japan a few words must suffice. By the 13th Article of the Constitution the power of deciding over peace and war, and of making treaties and conventions, rests in the Emperor. This article is so interpreted that in Japan the conduct of diplomatic affairs, like the conduct of military and naval affairs, forms a part of the Imperial prerogative, and lies entirely outside the rights of the Imperial Diet. If the execution of a diplomatic act calls for something which, according to the Constitution, can be done only by force of law, such a law will be submitted to the deliberation of the Diet as law, but the diplomatic act itself never requires the assent of the Assembly for its validity. Similarly the resolution of the Diet regarding diplomatic questions has no binding effect, and can at best only take the form of an address to the Emperor or memorandum to the Government. Interpellations regarding foreign policies are generally met by the answer that such and such a matter is beyond the power of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to answer.

Such absolute power of the Sovereign in diplomatic affairs is under ordinary circumstances exercised by his Cabinet Council, and only in rare, exceptional cases does the Emperor directly commission his Minister of Foreign Affairs to conduct a special diplomatic business without reference to the Cabinet Council, as we have seen in the case of the treaty revision. By the 5th Article of the Ordinance on the organization of the Imperial Cabinet all treaties and conventions and important international affairs have to be submitted to the Cabinet Council, and hence the real head of Japanese Diplomacy is the Minister President, and not the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who usually takes the initiative, but can decide nothing of weight by himself. This is the internal arrangement, but outwardly it is of course the Minister of Foreign Affairs who represents the Imperial Government towards foreign Governments and their representatives in Japan, and also gives instructions to the Japanese Ministers abroad. Knowing that nothing of weight can be decided without a Cabinet Council, foreign Ministers in Tokyo sometimes go to the Minister President directly for the negotiation of an affair at hand, but

the latter usually refers them to the special machinery under him.

The Foreign Office is called in Japanese Gwai-mu-sho, and is divided into three sections, namely, the General Section, the Political Section, and the Commercial Section. The General Section is again divided into seven subsections for *personnel*, telegrams, *comptabilité*, correspondence, records, translation, and legal questions, and its chief takes the place of the former Vice-Minister, which office does not exist in the present organization. The change of the Minister of Foreign Affairs generally carries with it the change of the chief of the General Section, but not necessarily the chiefs of the other sections. All the chiefs are special High Commissioners, though sometimes Ministers Resident are nominated to the post. Secretaries and councillors, all ordinary commissioners, make up the staff of each section, together with a varying number of 'élève-diplomats' as attachés. Besides the three sections, and co-ordinate with them, is the Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with a chief and the Minister's confidential secretaries, who take charge of the confidential correspondence of the Minister, and such special affairs as the latter might choose to confide in them from time to time.

The appropriation for the Foreign Office has to be voted by the Diet, as also those of all the Ministerial departments; but the system of forcing the Foreign Secretary to state his policy regarding pending diplomatic questions, as in England and other countries on the occasion of Budget deliberations, has not yet begun, or cannot begin in Japan, on account of the article of the Constitution cited above. There is another article in the same Constitution which prevents either House to strike out or decrease, without the consent of the Government, *fixed* expenses—*i.e.*, expenses once voted in the last Budget for the exercise of the Imperial prerogatives.

Japan has only three classes of diplomatic agents at present, namely, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Ministers Resident, and Chargés d'Affaires. No Ambassadors exist permanently, though on rare occasions Ambassadors are sent out on special missions. Likewise there are at present no foreign Ambassadors sent to Japan for permanent representation. A Chargé d'Affaires was formerly envoyed to Corea, but now the post has been raised to that of a Minister Resident. Ministers Resident are also accredited to Siam and the Republics of South America, but to all other States of Europe and America Ministers Plenipotentiary are sent. They are both special High Commissioners, and though theoretically the post is open to anybody, yet of late years the custom has grown up that only those that have gone through a regular diplomatic career either at home or in the Legations abroad, can aspire

to the post. The nomination of all the other *personnel* of the Foreign Office and the Legations are strictly exclusive—*i.e.*, only those that have gone through the course prescribed in the Ordinance on the appointment and promotion of diplomatic officials are nominated. The course begins with 'Élève-Diplomats' or 'Élève-Consuls' who are admitted upon special competitive State examination. There are at present fourteen Japanese Legations abroad, and to the more important ones are attached military attachés, or naval attachés, or both.

As regards Consular Service we have Consuls-General, Consuls of the first and the second classes, Vice-Consuls, and Élève-Consuls. Their nomination is also exclusive, though sometimes the diplomatic *personnel* is recruited from among the consular officers. There are now about fifty Japanese consulates abroad, of which a large portion is distributed over China, Corea, and India. For posts in Europe and Australia merchant consuls are also nominated, but their number is steadily decreasing.* Once a month a commercial report is published by the Foreign Office in the form of a pamphlet, wherein all the mail reports of the Consuls are to be found. Only quite recently the Consuls in New York, Lyons, Bombay, and Shanghai have been instructed to send in their *weekly* reports by telegram. Japan is still in need of good Consuls versed in making useful commercial reports quickly.

As to diplomatic publications, things like Blue-Books are yet unknown in Japan. Only once after the Chinese War did the Government publish some diplomatic documents in the separate print of the *Official Gazette*. Usually reports of undiplomatic character alone, such as quarantines in foreign ports, changes of foreign laws affecting our commerce, etc., are published in the *Official Gazette* under the head of 'Reports of Legations and Consular Reports.'

One great defect of the Japanese system of diplomacy is its unreasonable secrecy. Of course, all pending negotiations must be secret, but even then there are cases in which the nation can profit by well-managed disclosing of facts. But here all questions are kept secret while they are pending, and secret they remain till the end of time unless revealed in some fortuitous way, usually through publication in foreign Government reports or official organs. There are tens of cases every year where weighty diplomatic questions arise and find official solutions somehow or other; without that the people in general never dream of their ever having occurred. Public opinion works no constant effect on diplomatic affairs, because not properly guided, and in this respect little has changed since the establishment of the constitutional régime.

* A *Commercial Agent* is appointed for Vladivostok, because Russia does not allow foreign Consuls to be stationed there.

CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN POLICY*

BY COUNT OKUMA

I PROPOSE to make a general statement to-day respecting our foreign policy. As you are aware, Ministers of State have frequently, since the first session of the Diet, stated to the House that our foreign policy is based on the principle of opening the country, or, more accurately, of opening and developing the country. I am assured that this foreign policy, or rather national policy, having been fixed and unchanged since the first years of Meiji, the principle of opening and developing the country is unalterable either now or in the future. But I consider it necessary to make more or less additions to what has hitherto been stated. If we inquire what points are practically most important in the foreign policy that may be regarded as the national policy of the Meiji era, we find that to attain an equal footing with other Powers, as declared in the Imperial Edict at the Restoration, has been the impulse underlying all the national changes that have taken place. It was perceived that, in order to attain an equal footing with the Powers, it was necessary to change the national institutions, learning, and education. Hence the replacement of clans by prefectures took place, as well as coinage reform, enforcement of the conscription law, revision of various other laws and promulgation of new ones, establishment of local assemblies, and the granting of local self-government, steps that led at length to the proclamation of the Constitution. This national policy, this so-called opening and development of the country, or, in other words, this principle of attaining an equal footing with the Powers was, I firmly believe, the motive that has enabled Japan to become a nation advanced in civilization and respected by the world.

What I now desire to add to previous statements on the subject is that foreign intercourse is a very difficult affair, not to be regulated at will by a single country, and that it has now

* Speech in the House of Representatives as Foreign Minister, 1897.

undergone gradual but great changes. Gentlemen, the foreign intercourse of former years was, as you are aware, really of narrow limits, being concerned with the relations between one country and another, or a few others. But now, through the enormous development of facilities of transportation and communication, and the close interaction of the world's interests, foreign relations have been greatly transformed. In the affair between England and Venezuela you are aware that the dispute was about a narrow strip of marshy, uninhabited frontier territory, and that the parties to the controversy were, on the one side, England, the greatest Power in the world, with colonial possessions of over ten million square miles in area, and, on the other, the little South American Republic of Venezuela. But it was by no means so easy, for the United States of America immediately interfered. The affair was thenceforth no longer one between England and Venezuela alone, but between England and North and South America. The ground of that interference was the Monroe doctrine, which, as you are aware, was enunciated long ago with the object of averting the spread of European influence in North and South America. Thus the affair no longer concerned the two Americas and England alone; it became a general international question, for the exclusion of European influence from America was naturally a matter of grave importance to Europe, which has many colonial possessions in the New World. Thus a question that ordinarily concerned a small colony came to assume a general international character.

Take another instance, also relating to England. Last year a dispute arose between England and the Transvaal. It was due simply to an attempt by travellers, or employés of a company, to effect a revolution in the Transvaal. The affair itself was trivial, but though it arose in a little South African Republic—a country having almost the character of a British protected State—it gave rise to complications between Germany and England, and at one time threatened almost to involve the two Powers in war. This dispute between Germany and England was not confined for long to those two countries. It extended apparently to the German Triple Alliance and other Powers, and thus became also a general international affair. In truth, the limits of foreign intercourse have gradually widened to such an extent that a very small affair becomes of concern to the whole world. The war with China in the 27th and 28th year of Meiji originally concerned only Japan and China, and did not touch other Powers in any way. But even this led, in the latter year, to the interference of three of the most influential Powers of Continental Europe. Thus it also became a general international ques-

tion. In consequence of the war between Japan and China it has come to pass that whereas the expression 'Eastern Question' used to apply only to the world-famed problem of Eastern Europe, it now possesses the dual significance of the Near-Eastern, or the Far-Eastern, Question. In a word, the sphere of foreign intercourse has so greatly widened that the slightest incident may affect the interests of the whole world.

I desire here to emphasize the facts that foreign intercourse must above all things be planned on a large scale, for all diplomatic projects have immediate interest for the whole world; and that, since foreign policy, or, rather, national policy, must be fixed, unchanged, and continuous, the best method of diplomacy is to adhere strictly to the principles of international law. Now, to adhere to the principles of international law, diplomacy must be based on justice. The power of justice is great, for it is sure to enlist the sympathy of the whole world. Having devoted herself for years with ardour and diligence to national progress, and having come to enjoy the great friendship of the Powers of Europe and America, Japan, which for forty years past has been fettered with disadvantageous treaties, has now advanced to such a position that, in accordance with the principles of international law, she is recognised as a truly independent Power, and, in conformity with international usage, is accorded the treatment of an equal. This is, in fact, the result of her own progress, and of England's consent, leading the rest of the world, to a revision of the existing treaties—consent which was followed by a similar ample expression of good-will and agreement in treaty revision by the other Powers of Europe and America. Thus treaty revision, which has for decades been a great object with us, has been accomplished, the only Power that has not yet effected revision being Austro-Hungary, and the negotiations with her are sure sooner or later to be successfully concluded. Japan will thus have attained a position of equality with the world.

It has hitherto been contended, as you are aware, even by great jurists, that extraterritoriality should be exercised in all non-Christian countries, and among all other than white races. But that theory has gradually been abandoned, and Japan, having based her progress upon justice, and received the just support of the world, has, though outside the pale of Christendom and the white races, succeeded in attaining a position of equality with them. If, therefore, we would reap all the fruits of treaty revision, we must make still greater efforts to develop our country. There is no doubt that the country will progress, and its advance will go hand-in-hand with diplomacy. We must adopt that best type of diplomacy which, based on justice,

approaches most closely to international law. This is not a mere statement of my own—that is to say, of Okuma individually. It is my declaration as a representative of the Meiji era. The kind of diplomacy that changes with its director is most pernicious and dangerous. There have been many instances of temporary success obtained by extraordinary geniuses or through extraordinary diplomacy; but such successes are as fragile as towers built on sand. That is what I mean by saying that foreign policy is fixed, immovable and unchangeable, and that foreign policy which changes with its director is pernicious. This has been the definite and settled view held since the first years of the Meiji era, though there may have been occasional errors. It is my intention to follow loyally and sincerely the principle I have just referred to, with due regard for the national Constitution, and in obedience to the spirit of progress, and I do not think there can be much error in carrying out such a policy.

Happily, our foreign relations are at present very cordial. I am assured that whatever slight differences may exist will be readily settled. These foreign relations will, in my opinion, eventually lead to a most cordial friendship towards Japan. Powers that, up to the present, have felt more or less coldly towards us will turn out to be the most friendly.

In respect of the general policy—that is, the policy of the Meiji Government—I have made but slight observations in addition to what has already been frequently stated. Before closing I desire to make a few more remarks. Since Japan, as I have already said, has entered the comity of nations, there is no doubt that all her foreign affairs will be more complicated than ever; and as Japanese interests, commerce, and other matters, abroad must extend, the expenses for legations and consulates, which are essentials of diplomacy, cannot be avoided. But since Japan's position in the world has risen, the work she must do abroad is daily augmenting. The nation is ceaselessly expanding, so that her flag is to be seen in Europe and America. She is now no longer what she was in the days of her seclusion. I believe it really necessary that her diplomatic expenditures should gradually increase.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION

I.—The Growth of Education

BY COUNT OKUMA

The development of Japanese literature in the past has been very similar to that of England. The geographical positions of the two countries closely resemble each other, as also their relation to the mainland. First, England was inhabited by the Britons, who possessed little or no literature, then with the Anglo-Saxon and Roman invasions the germs of literature were sown, but did not develop to any great degree. The Norman Conquest resulted in more literature, and the wars with France, under Edward III., brought England into contact with the Continental literature, which rounded off and completed English literature. The end of the Middle Ages and the Turkish Conquest saw the change of the centre of literary life to Rome and gradually towards Europe. The English and the European literatures became closely connected and were much influenced by each other.

Formerly there was no Japanese literature, and this continued until 500 years ago, when Chinese literature began to penetrate Japan, travelling viâ Corea. Later, through the same intermediary, came Buddhism, bringing with it Indian philosophy. Before this songs were the only literature, and, as in Homer's stories in Greece, the warlike element was ever well to the fore. Gradually intercourse between China and Japan became more frequent, business men entered into relations, statesmen and priests travelled. Sometimes these growing relations were interrupted by disturbances in Korea, which served as the bridge between the two countries. But nothing seemed to be able to prevent the intercourse from growing closer. Then came in Japan what is known as the Translation period, when Chinese books and Chinese ideas were taken and reclothed in Japanese garb. In this way a considerable literature came rapidly into being.

The feudal system, however, put a stop to the literary growth. The feudal lords were far too occupied in seizing lands and waging wars to give any attention to literature or education. Then came the dark ages, with great set-backs to all literary endeavour. Gradually everybody became tired of this life and thought of the hereafter. The endless feuds and fightings reduced the joy of living to a minimum, and priests and religion were greatly in demand. From the point of view of literature this was all to the good, because it at least insured the preservation of the literature that already existed. The priests also did good work in spreading education.

Meanwhile, great changes were coming about in the outer world. The discovery of America and the discovery of printing were great steps forward; the Reformation was another. All these brought hope to the peoples, and encouraged them to widen their spheres of life. Jesuit missions left Spain and Portugal; some, passing round Cape Horn, arrived in Japan, and were welcomed. Many of the feudal chiefs became Christians, and temples were built at Omi and Kyoto. This was some 350 years ago. This welcome of the foreigners continued for sixty or seventy years, and only ended because of the intrigues of the Jesuits and the jealousies of the various sects. These sixty years brought about in Japan many changes in literature and also in education. The foreign priests were very zealous in teaching the people, and spread education very considerably. When, however, the Shogun decided that it was necessary to expel the foreigners, not only was the religious element shut out, but also the literary and educational intercourse with the West. Only the Dutch, who had sided with the Shogun, were allowed to remain at Nagasaki, under special restrictions. They were not allowed to import books, for fear of any recurrence of religious teaching. Thus Japanese literature, which had begun to expand in that direction under the stimulus of foreign intercourse and books, was stopped in its rapid growth. There were 250 years of this seclusion, which were years of peace, without wars to disturb the country. Japanese literature, however, grew naturally and Japanese philosophy developed.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century British and Russian vessels arrived off the coasts of Japan, even before the advent of Commodore Perry with his American squadron, but were refused permission to enter the country. Russia, in Kamtchatka, also desired a treaty, but met with no encouragement. Although these attempts on the part of foreign nations did not succeed, they are indications of the outside pressure which was gradually being brought to bear upon the country. The people of Japan were also dissatisfied

with the old condition of things. Books on medicine and geography and similar subjects had come to their hands—political books were rigorously suppressed—and had given them longings for wider development. The Shogun had forced upon him the necessity of opening the country. There was, however, a strong conservative feeling against such a course—very much as had in the old days caused the killing of some thousands of Jesuits and native Christians. The desire on the part of the Shogun to open the country largely contributed to his downfall, and the coming of the restoration to the Emperor of his full power. The Emperor, with great foresight, decided upon opening the country, and also determined that the systems of education of the Western world should be adopted, so that Japan could learn enough to beat the foreigners on their own grounds, and thus preserve their country for themselves.

It was, however, about thirty years ago when the greatest attention was paid to education. The first Imperial University was founded, and many schools were started. It was fixed by law that all children must attend school on reaching the age of six. Throughout the whole country a clear sweep was made of the old education system, and new schools took its place. Although it is impossible for education to develop very rapidly, most satisfactory results were obtained, and at present over 85 per cent. of the children attend schools.

One great difficulty which at once confronts the student is the fact that Japanese literature is developed along Chinese lines, and is bound up with Chinese literature. It is therefore necessary for them to learn Chinese as well as Japanese characters, and to study Chinese classics. It must be remembered that, besides this, they have to learn at least one foreign language. Another difficulty exists in the difference of the written and the spoken languages. Whereas the first-mentioned difficulty is common to many new countries, the second is peculiar to Japan. Originally the written and spoken languages were nearly identical, but owing to the influence of Chinese literature the written language became more Chinese, while the spoken remained Japanese. At the present moment the written language is a mixture of Chinese characters and the Japanese alphabet. This is still so; and thus, when a lecturer addresses his students, these cannot take down his words, but have to write a special treatise on the same subject. The physique of the Japanese people is not as good as might be hoped for, and this must be attributed to the years of peace and ease preceding the Restoration. This difficulty of the difference between the written and spoken languages is a serious tax upon them, and duplicates their work. So much time has to be spent in study that it is impossible for them to have

sufficient physical exercise. If more exercise is allowed, then the years devoted to education must be lengthened, and this would mean a serious loss to the work of the nation. This difficulty was recognised over twenty years ago, and several attempts were made to find a means of bringing about a change. Of these, the two chief are—first, the advocates of *Kana*, consisting of those who believe in using only the Japanese alphabet for the written language; and, second, those who advocate the introduction of Latin characters and a horizontal form of writing, as opposed to the present vertical form. These two branches were unable to come to any compromise, and the Government appointed a committee to discover the better plan. The work of this committee was complicated by the appearance of a new section, who wished to bring about the reform by gradually improving the spoken language, and then bringing the written language into line with it.

A third great difficulty in Japanese education is the lack of a moral standard. Physical and literary standards exist, but the Restoration destroyed the religious standard. For the upper classes there remained Chinese philosophy, but for the great mass of the people there was nothing. There is great difficulty in deciding what should take the place of the old standard. In the Western world Christianity supplies the moral standard. In Japan some desire a return to old forms, with patriotism added, others prefer Christianity, some lean on Kant, others on other philosophers. Everything is confused. If a great man and leader of men were to arise, the way of decision would be more easy. Otherwise the difficulty seems almost insuperable. The struggle with these three difficulties in the future may be regarded with more hope from the successes in the past. All countries have stationary periods, and in Japan this may become progress on the advent of a great man either at home or abroad. Such men and such changes as they would bring about would make for progress.

Over twenty years ago I saw that private schools were necessary as well as Government ones, and founded Senmon Gakko. From this 2,000 or 3,000 graduates have taken up positions in all branches of national life.

It is interesting to note, with regard to the question of women's education, that in the old literature of Japan women had a prominent share. Later this changed, and until the adoption of Western educational methods forced women to enter schools, little was heard of literary women. Even now the law only allows women to study to the middle schools, and no higher. There are many who consider that women do not require higher education, but the number of these is diminishing. I felt always that it was only logical and right that women

should receive equal education with men should they so desire. A special college for women was opened at last, and met with great success; and it is probable that the next few years will see so great a change that the Government will be forced to establish higher educational schools for girls.

In Japan it is practically impossible to take a course in higher education and conduct it all in Japanese. Independence of study does not exist. In the Universities, Roman law is taught in French and equity in German. In no ordinary school is everything taught in Japanese. While this was necessary during the transition period, it cannot be beneficial now. Especially in the higher studies, the impossibility of Japanese education is marked. At the college of Senmon Gakko all the studies are conducted in Japanese, and independence of study has always been sought after. One of the chief difficulties experienced at first—and this probably was one of the great reasons for the semi-foreign education elsewhere—was the lack of suitable Japanese books. It was found necessary to devote a portion of the college at Senmon Gakko to the publishing of such books. At first this was unremunerative, but recently it has begun to pay its way. There is therefore more hope that other publishers and the Government may be led to follow the example of the college.

The growing commercial side of Japan brought about a need for special schools, and I was instrumental in founding the Middle Commercial School, in which especial attention is given to the needs of those anxious to enter commercial life. At first there were 100 students, but these numbers soon increased to 300. Students who have completed their three or four years' course in the middle schools are eligible, without examination, to study a further three years in the Middle Commercial School. After this they are fitted to take business positions. It is hoped that the Government may be induced to establish such schools in connection with the middle schools. English and Chinese are taught, the former being compulsory. This is also the case in the middle schools.

The world is watching Japan in her struggle with her educational difficulties, and to the three mentioned before must be added the old conservatism still latent in many Japanese quarters. From abroad much sympathy is directed towards Japan, and the feeling is strongly developed that Japan's ultimate success will mean much for the good of humanity, as well as for Japan herself.

II.—The Present System of Education

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Education in Japan originated in the first foundation of the country. The spirit of loyalty, filial piety, and bravery which constitutes the fundamental character of the nation has been fostered and cultivated from time immemorial. But education, prior to the Restoration in 1867, had been restricted to a narrow scope, a certain class only enjoying its benefits. The subjects of study were also limited to Chinese and Japanese literature, much stress being laid upon morals. Soon after the Restoration the new Government directed serious attention to the subject of education, and consequently the old system was discarded and a new one, entirely different, and such as prevails in the civilized West, was introduced throughout the Empire. Though the educational idea of the nation has gradually developed during the period of more than 2,000 years, yet the present system of education is really the outcome of the great changes effected in the very short period of less than forty years since the Restoration, to which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of Europe or America.

It was the year 1871, just one year after the adoption of the educational system in England, that saw the establishment of an independent Ministry called the Department of Education, whose head, the Minister of State for Education, became a member of the Cabinet. Two years later an Educational Code, comprising the whole system of Universities, secondary schools, primary schools, etc., was issued. Since then various improvements in the system have been carried out, until we have the organization existing to-day. There has been this steady progress in the educational system for many years, but especially is it true that, during the last five or six years, the advance made in every direction is very remarkable.

The central administrative organ is the Department of Education, with a Minister of State at its head and a Vice-Minister under him. In addition, there are three directors, corresponding to the three bureaus of special school affairs, general school affairs, and technical school affairs; councillors, secretaries, school inspectors, and examiners of school books and charts, who transact the various duties respectively assigned to them. The local administrative body for education comprises three classes: the administrator of the body of the lowest class is the head of a city, town, or village, who has

charge of primary education; the administrator of the second class is the head of the 'gun,' or county, who supervises the educational affairs of towns and villages; the head of the highest is the local Governor, who controls both the primary and secondary education within his jurisdiction, under the supervision of the Minister of State for the Education Department

Primary schools are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education, and of education specially adapted to render them good members of the community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for daily life, due attention being paid to their physical development.

Primary schools are divided into ordinary primary schools and higher primary schools. An ordinary primary course and a higher primary course may be established conjointly in one and the same school. The ordinary primary course extends over four years, and the higher primary course over two, three or four years. A supplementary course, extending over not more than two years, may also be arranged in order to give such instruction as is suitable to local requirements.

The subjects of study in ordinary primary schools include morals, the Japanese language, arithmetic, and gymnastics. According to local circumstances, one or more subjects, such as drawing, singing, or manual work, may be added, and, for females, sewing.

The subjects of study in higher primary schools include morals, the Japanese language, arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, sciences, drawing, singing, and gymnastics, and, for females, sewing. In addition, agriculture, commerce, and manual work, may be included for boys, as well as the English language.

A point worthy of special attention is that the moral lessons taught in primary schools are not founded upon any religious doctrine, but are purely secular. In future the text-books for use in primary schools shall, as a general rule, be those for which copyright is reserved by the Department of Education.

The number of classes in a primary school must not be more than twelve; the number of children in one class, not more than seventy in the case of ordinary primary schools, and not more than sixty in the case of higher primary schools.

Children must have completed their sixth year on entering a primary school, and be fully fourteen before leaving, thus allowing the full school term to be eight years. The guardians of children of school age are under the obligation of sending them to school to complete at least the ordinary primary school course. At present, of the school population, more than 90 per cent. are receiving the prescribed course of instruction. And though the education in the higher primary schools

is not compulsory, 60 per cent. of the graduates of ordinary primary schools pass to the higher primary schools.

A municipal or rural community is under obligation to establish and maintain one or more primary ordinary schools, sufficient in equipment to admit children of school age residing in its jurisdiction. The establishment of higher primary schools is not obligatory. In 1902 the total expenses of cities, towns and villages for primary schools amounted to £2,981,574.

No ordinary primary school established by a city, town, or village, may exact a fee from its pupils, unless under special circumstances, and subject to the approval of the local Governor. The amount of this fee shall not exceed 20 sen (5d.) a month in the case of a school existing in a city, and 10 sen in the case of a school established by a town or village, or a town or village school union. For a higher primary school the amount shall not exceed 60 sen a month in the case of a municipal school, and 30 sen in the case of a rural school. Most of the primary schools are established by municipal and rural communities, those founded by private individuals being few in number. Primary schools established by churches do not number more than ten throughout the country. In 1902 the number of primary schools was 28,381, with 4,980,604 pupils, including 6,351 higher primary schools with 948,777 pupils.

There are three classes of teachers for primary schools: the regular teachers, qualified to teach all the subjects in the regular course; assistant teachers; and those who have to undertake the teaching of special subjects, such as drawing, singing, gymnastics, sewing, English, agriculture, commerce, or manual work: these are called special teachers. All teachers must be provided with a license, but when it is difficult to engage licensed teachers, those not possessing a license may be employed for the time being.

The appointment and dismissal of teachers lie with the local Governor upon the recommendation of the head of a 'gun' or city.

The salary of teachers for primary schools established by a city, town, or village, is not less than 25s. nor more than £10 a month. An additional sum for rent may be granted, such expenses being borne by cities, towns, or villages. There is also a law concerning an additional allowance from the national Treasury to teachers for long and meritorious services. A teacher who has been employed for more than fifteen years receives a life pension, and his family is also pensioned after his death. In 1902 the primary school teachers numbered 102,700, of whom 22,225 were unlicensed teachers.

The object of secondary schools is to provide instruction in such higher subjects of general education as are necessary for boys of the middle class.

In each of the existing forty-seven prefectures, at least one secondary school must be established and maintained. Private individuals may also establish secondary schools in conformity with the regulations.

The course of study occupies five years, with an optional supplementary course not to exceed twelve months.

The following table shows the curriculum of the secondary schools and the number of hours weekly for instruction :

	First Year.	Second Year.	Third Year.	Fourth Year.	Fifth Year.
Morals	1	1	1	1	1
Japanese and Chinese	7	7	6	6	6
Foreign Language	6	6	7	7	7
History and Geography	3	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	1st and 2nd term, 4	4
Natural History	2	2	2	4th term, 2	–
Physics and Chemistry	–	–	–	1st and 4th term, 3 3rd term, 4	4
Elements of Law and Political Economy	–	–	–	–	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1	–
Singing	1	1	1		
Gymnastics and Drills	3	3	3	3	3
Total	28	28	28	30 and 31	30

It will be seen from the above table that the curricula are uniform throughout all the secondary schools in Japan, differing in this respect from those in America and Europe, where the course of study is diverse. The instruction in Chinese consists solely of the classics ; composition and conversation in modern Chinese not being taught at all, though a great deal of time is devoted to modern sciences. In comparing our secondary schools with those of other countries, it may be said that the Japanese are much like the modern secondary schools in Europe.

Candidates for admission to secondary schools must be over twelve years of age, and must have completed the second year's course of the higher primary school, so that children who pass on to secondary schools are those who have finished an elementary course covering six years.

As a general rule, text-books used in secondary schools must be those examined and approved by the Minister of Education.

In general, the number of pupils in one secondary school shall not exceed 400, though the number may under special circumstances be increased to 600. One class must not contain more than 50 pupils. Some of the pupils lodge in the school, while others live outside. The number of teachers must be at the rate of at least two per class for a school containing not more than five classes. For every additional class above five,

the number of teachers must be increased at the rate of one and a half per class.

In 1902 the number of secondary schools was 292, of which 34 were established by private individuals, the others being established and supported by prefectures. The number of pupils was 102,304; of graduates, 9,416; and of teachers, 4,233, of whom 1,832 were not licensed. The public expenditure for secondary schools during that year amounted to £492,140.

The object of the girls' high school is to provide instruction in such higher subjects of general education as are necessary for girls of the middle classes.

The course of study generally extends over four years, and occasionally five. In addition to the regular course, a supplementary course not exceeding two years may be provided.

The subjects of study are morals, the Japanese language, a foreign language (English or French), history, geography, mathematics, sciences, music, gymnastics, to which pedagogics and manual arts may be added as optional subjects. Besides, for the benefit of those desiring to study such arts as are necessary to females, a special course for arts, extending over not less than two and not more than four years, may be established. A higher course covering two or three years may also be instituted for the benefit of those graduates who are desirous of pursuing some branches of study.

The regulations concerning establishment, qualification of the candidates for admission, text-books, teachers' salaries, the number of pupils in one school or one class, the number of teachers, etc., do not differ from those of secondary schools.

In 1902 the number of girls' high schools was 70, of which 8 were founded by private individuals, the pupils numbering 17,540, graduates 3,631, and teachers 988, of whom 420 were not licensed. The public expenditure of girls' high schools in the same year amounted to £131,493.

The normal schools are of two kinds—namely, ordinary normal and higher normal. Ordinary normal schools are designed to train teachers for primary schools; the higher normal schools, to prepare teachers for secondary schools, girls' high schools, and ordinary normal schools.

Each prefecture must establish at its own expense at least one ordinary normal school, which may be divided into male and female departments. In some prefectures the two departments are established as independent institutions.

The course of study extends over four years for males and three years for females. The subjects of study for males are morals, pedagogics, Japanese, Chinese, history, geography, mathematics, physics and chemistry, natural history, drawing,

writing, music, gymnastics and drill. In addition, a foreign language, agriculture, commerce, or manual work, may be included. The subjects of study for females are morals, pedagogics, Japanese, Chinese, history, geography, mathematics, sciences, household management, writing, drawing, music, and gymnastics. A simpler or preparatory normal course to train regular teachers for ordinary primary schools may be added to the regular course.

Candidates for admission to the ordinary normal schools must be between fifteen and twenty years of age, and possess attainments at least equivalent to those who are qualified to serve as assistant teachers in ordinary primary schools.

The pupils' expenses, including board and lodging, are supplied by the local treasury, and in return for this help the pupils are required to give their services at one or another primary school for ten years in the case of men, and five years in the case of women, from the date of their graduation.

In connection with each ordinary normal school a primary school provides practical experience in teaching for normal students.

The directors are officials of the State, and the teachers enjoy the same treatment as those of secondary schools. As regards the number of students in one school there are no special regulations. In the majority of schools there are about 200 students, while in some are more than 400, all of whom live in the dormitories. The number in one class must be less than 40; the number of teachers is the same as in secondary schools.

In 1902 the number of ordinary normal schools was 54; male students, 11,900; female students, 2,000; male graduates, 2,215; female graduates, 503. It is anticipated that the yearly average of graduates will be at least 3,600. In 1902 the number of teachers was 1,032, of whom 216 were not licensed. The total expenses for the ordinary normal schools in the same year amounted to £302,104.

Higher normal schools are designed to train students as teachers of ordinary normal schools, secondary schools, and girls' high schools. There are two higher normal schools in Japan—one at Tokyo, the other at Hiroshima—the expense of both being defrayed out of the national Treasury.

The scheme of the school is the division of its courses into preparatory, principal, post-graduate, and special. The period of study extends over one year in the preparatory, three in the principal, and one in the post-graduate course. The preparatory course includes the following subjects, namely: morals, the Japanese language, Chinese literature, English, mathematics, logic, drawing, music, gymnastics and drill. The principal course is divided into five sections—of Japanese

and Chinese; the English language; history and geography; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural history—each section including instruction on allied subjects.

Candidates for admission are selected by examination from among the graduates of ordinary normal schools and secondary schools. The students' expenses are supplied by the respective schools, and in return for this help it is obligatory on the students to devote their services to educational work for seven years from the date of their graduation.

Connected with the higher normal schools there are a secondary school and a primary school, in order to give students practical training in the art of teaching.

In 1903 there were 807 students, 140 graduates, and 88 instructors, the expenses amounting to £58,844. The higher normal school at Hiroshima was opened in 1902.

The higher normal school for females trains students who wish to become teachers of the female departments of ordinary normal schools and girls' high schools. It is supported by the national Treasury, there is only one institution of this kind in Japan.

The scheme of the school is divided into a literature course, a science course, and an art course; the period of study extends over four years. In each course the students are required to include kindred subjects. In addition a post-graduate course and a special course are arranged. The students are selected from among the candidates graduating from the female departments of ordinary normal schools or girls' high schools. Students' expenses are paid by the school, and in return it is obligatory on the students to give their services to the educational work for five years from the date of their graduation. Attached to the main school are a girls' high school, a primary school, and a kindergarten, where practical training is given in the art of teaching.

In 1903 there were 361 students, 100 graduates, 52 instructors, the expenses amounting to £9,782.

The object of higher schools is to give preparatory instruction to young men wishing to enter the Imperial Universities. There are eight higher schools, all being maintained by the State. This school, it may be said, is exclusively peculiar to the educational system of Japan, as there is no equivalent either in Europe or America. Under the present circumstances, the use of the Japanese language alone is not yet sufficient for the purpose of University education without the accompaniment of foreign languages, some courses having to be conducted in French, some in German, text-books in Japanese not existing—a fact explaining the *raison d'être* of the higher school. So much emphasis is laid on the foreign languages in the

curriculum that in some classes as much as thirteen hours a week are devoted to them. The students have to choose English and German, or English and French or German and French. The chief aim is to train the students to fully understand foreign literature rather than to render them fluent conversationalists.

The course of study extends over three years, and is divided into three departments. The first is intended to give the necessary instruction to those aspiring to enter the institutions of law or literature in the Imperial Universities; the second department is for candidates of the Colleges of Engineering, Science, and Agriculture; and the third department for candidates for the College of Medicine. It has been stated that the curricula in secondary schools are uniform throughout Japan, but we find in the higher schools three different departments, or courses, and the higher schools form the connecting link between secondary schools and Universities. The higher schools may therefore be considered the continuation of, or, rather, the supplementary instruction to, the secondary schools; and secondary education in Japan may be said to be common to all students for the first five years, while it is divided into three courses for the last three years.

Candidates for admission must be over seventeen years of age, and must have completed the secondary school course, or have the same degree of proficiency. Some of the students board in the school, while others live outside. The directors and instructors are officials of the State. Among the instructors of foreign languages are more than twenty foreigners who are teaching their own tongue. In 1903 there were 4,781 students, 875 graduates, and 301 instructors. The expenses amounted to £106,090.

The Imperial University consists of the University Hall and the colleges. The University Hall is established for the purpose of facilitating original investigation in arts and sciences, and the colleges for that of instruction, both theoretical and practical, in the special branches of study. There are two Universities maintained by the State—one at Tokyo, called the Imperial University of Tokyo; and the other at Kyoto, the Imperial University of Kyoto.

The Imperial University of Tokyo comprises six colleges—namely, law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, and agriculture; that at Kyoto comprises four—namely, law, medicine, literature, science and engineering. Twenty years ago the majority of the professors were invited from Europe and America, but nowadays the Japanese instructors are in the majority, the number of foreign professors being less than ten. The native professors are chiefly those who, after graduating at

the University, have studied several years abroad, with the exception of those teaching subjects relating to Japan and China.

The equipment of the University can fairly bear comparison with that of the famous Universities of Europe and America, and the standard of instruction is also as high.

Candidates for admission to each of the colleges must be the graduates of the higher schools, or those who possess attainments at least equivalent to them; consequently, it is evident that only those who have received their education for fourteen years—namely, six in primary, five in secondary, and three in higher schools—can enter the Imperial Universities. Candidates for admission to the University Hall must be the graduates of one of the colleges, or those who possess equivalent attainments.

Degrees are conferred upon those who have made original investigations in art and sciences, and have passed prescribed examinations at the University Hall. The course of study extends over four years in the case of students of law and medicine, and three years in the case of students of the other colleges. Unlike European Universities, students have to enter upon a regular prescribed course of study, with a few optional subjects.

The Presidents of the Imperial Universities control all the University affairs, with a director in each college. There are over 100 chairs in the Imperial University at Tokyo, each chair being occupied by a professor, the number of chairs in the Kyoto University being somewhat fewer. In 1903 there were 4,076 students, 716 graduates of colleges, 44 graduates of University Hall, and 349 members of the faculties. The expenses amounted to £238,303.

Special schools are the institutions devoted to higher education in the arts and sciences, Imperial Universities, higher schools, and technical schools, being excepted. The State special schools include five special schools of medicine, a foreign languages school, a fine arts school, and an academy of music. The majority of the special schools established by the local governments or by private individuals are those of medicine, law, and literature. Generally speaking, the course of study extends over at least three years. Candidates for admission to special schools must be the graduates of secondary schools or girls' high schools, or those possessing equivalent attainments. In 1903 there were 57 special schools, including 45 private establishments, with 14,573 students and 1,971 graduates. The expenses in the State and local special schools amounted to £42,440 and £22,865 respectively.

The object of technical schools is to provide necessary

instruction to those aspiring to engage in industry, agriculture, commerce, etc. There are industrial schools, agricultural schools, and commercial schools; and in each there are three grades—lower, intermediate, and higher.

The number of the State higher technical schools is seven—two agricultural, two commercial, and three industrial. In 1903 there were 2,972 students, 509 graduates, and 236 instructors. The expenses amounted to £80,468. Technical schools of intermediate and lower grades are chiefly established and maintained by prefectures, counties, or cities, and granted a certain allowance of pecuniary aid from the national Treasury, which amounts to £32,000 for the current year.

Candidates for admission to technical schools of intermediate grade must be over fourteen years of age, and have received eight years' education in primary schools. The minimum course of study extends over six months, the maximum over four years. There are also technical supplementary schools.

The technical schools in Japan comprise at present all possible kinds of technical schools, and each kind has three grades; indeed, it may be said that technical education in Japan has made steady progress. No expense is spared on the part of the Government to encourage the development of technical education. In 1902 there were 392 technical schools, of which 221 were technical supplementary schools, with 34,665 students, 5,633 graduates, and 1,986 instructors. The expenses amounted to £228,214.

In addition to those above mentioned, various schools of a miscellaneous character may be established by public communities or by private individuals, with the approval of the supervising authorities. In 1902 there were 1,474 miscellaneous schools, most of them being private establishments, with 96,184 students, 18,685 graduates, and 4,938 teachers. There were 15 blind and dumb schools, with 797 pupils, in 1902. Kindergartens in the same year amounted to 254, with 23,671 infants. The number of libraries does not exceed 50. There are very few at present, but it is highly probable more will be gradually established.

III.—University Education in Japan

Specially prepared in the Imperial University, Tokyo

In the past twenty-five years the Imperial University of Tokyo has produced some 5,000 graduates, of whom 300 have died, and the Kyoto Imperial University less than 100; thus, it will be seen that the University graduates in Japan number at present less than 4,800. In all professions and the various branches of business University graduates are in great demand, but the Universities supply only about 500 graduates annually. That the supply of graduates is insufficient is shown by the following figures, taken from reliable statistics: Among 1,700 judicial officers (Judges and public procurators included) there are only 300. Graduates holding the position of high executive officials number something over 400, the whole number of these officials being 3,200. And out of the 4,300 teachers in middle schools, only about 300 are University graduates. Physicians and surgeons number over 40,000; only 600 of these have received a University education. I have enumerated the above four professions because the statistics are easily procurable, but that the need of the University graduate is felt in all professions cannot be doubted. This state of things existing, even graduates of ordinary ability find much less difficulty in obtaining lucrative situations in professional ranks than is the case in Europe and America. Thus, University education is coveted by all classes in Japan. More young men desire to enter the Universities than these are able to accommodate, and in consequence a very strict entrance examination has been instituted for admission into the higher schools, which are the preparatory schools for the Universities. Not more than one-third of the applicants pass and are admitted into the higher schools, the other two-thirds having to wait for the next examination, or else change the line of their education. The parents, guardians, and friends of the disappointed candidates are therefore clamorous for the establishment of more Universities. This question has become almost a national one, and the present Minister of Education announced in the last session of the Imperial Parliament that he would ask for Parliamentary support for a North-East University in the near future. There can be no manner of doubt that in a few years we shall have the pleasure of welcoming the newly-born sister University, say in Sendai.

In order to understand the conditions of University education in Japan, one must understand something of primary and secondary education. In the primary schools the ordinary course of study is a four-year course, during which elementary

lessons in the three R's are given, together with moral and physical instruction. It is obligatory on the parents and guardians of all children who have attained the age of six to send them to the primary school, and to allow them to finish the ordinary course there. In the primary schools, besides the ordinary course, a higher course of two, three, or four years may be taken by those who have completed the ordinary course. Boys who have passed through the two-year higher course are eligible for admission into the first-year class of a middle school (secondary school for boys). There are at present 258 middle schools in Japan; most of these find their scholars among boys from primary schools, and as a result it has been found necessary in many middle schools to institute competitive entrance examinations. Thus, it happens that although boys who have finished the second year of the higher course in the primary schools are eligible for advancement to the first-year class in a middle school, it is not until they have finished the third, or even the fourth, year in a higher course that they are admitted. Out of 46,570 applicants for admission into the first-year class last April, only 26,622 were successful, of whom 12,737 had finished the four-year higher course in primary schools, 9,404 the three-year course, and only 4,017 the two-year course. This gives percentages of 48, 35, and 15.

Ten years ago there were only 63 middle schools, so that in ten years these schools show a fourfold increase. This sudden growth is due to many causes. In the Japanese educational system, those who aspire to higher education, not only in the Universities, but also in commercial, technical, and military ranks, must be graduates of middle schools, or else they must possess equivalent attainments, to obtain admission to the higher institutions of learning. Since the Chino-Japanese War, also, the people have been suddenly awakened to a sense of the need of higher education. Both these are undoubtedly causes which have prompted the establishment of more middle schools. Another cause, although a less weighty one, is the increased feeling of the necessity of a higher general education for those not desirous of entering official or professional careers, but who, nevertheless, feel the need, both as business men and as citizens, of possessing a more thorough education than that of the primary schools. Again, the scholars of the middle schools, as well as those of higher institutions, are exempt from military service until they have reached the age of twenty-eight. Graduates of the middle schools have the privilege of performing their military service as volunteers for one year, instead of as conscripts for three years. This privilege is also extended to any passing an examination before the military authorities which shows that they possess an equivalent literary and

scientific knowledge. Another privilege enjoyed by the middle school graduates is that of being appointed *hanin* officials. Whatever may be the causes at present, there are more than 250 middle schools; and, in spite of the fact that the present Minister of Education discourages rather than encourages the establishment of more middle schools, many people, and among them some of the most experienced in educational matters, are not satisfied with the present number. The officials of the Department of Education argue that it is much better for young men to enter the technical, commercial, or agricultural schools than to spend five years in a middle school, as it is not possible that they should all be admitted into the higher institutions of learning, whose accommodation is indeed very limited. But, on the other hand, others argue that the smattering of commerce, technology, or agriculture, such as is imparted to the scholars of those schools of equal rank with middle schools, is not to be compared with the liberal middle school education. The former could be learnt in a few years of practical life, whereas the latter could never be obtained by those not graduates of middle schools. This loss would seem to be so irreparable to the scholars as to render reasonable the demands of those people who desire more middle schools.

The principal defect of the middle schools is at present the lack of good teachers. The Tokyo Higher Normal School turns out about 100 graduates annually, and a new higher normal school is to be opened next September in Hiroshima. These schools, however, can barely supply teachers to the ordinary normal schools of the prefectures. Some University graduates enter the profession of teaching, but in those departments of the Universities which might furnish teachers—namely, those devoted to literature and science—the number of students is comparatively small. Hence the teachers are mostly recruited from among those that have passed the State examinations qualifying for the profession of teaching; this number is about 500 annually. This number, if properly distributed, would probably be sufficient to make up the deficiencies in the ranks of the teachers of the middle schools; the distribution is, however, so arranged that those who have passed examinations in such subjects as English or the sciences are extremely few, while there are many who are granted certificates for such subjects as caligraphy, etc.

All the defects of the middle schools may be traced directly or indirectly to the lack of good teachers. The authorities are well aware of this pressing need, and are trying to remedy it. As a means to this end they have established training schools in connection with the Tokyo Imperial University. A school of Japanese and Chinese Languages and Literature

has been founded in connection with the College of Literature of the University, and one of Natural Science in connection with the Science College of the University. Besides these there are the following: The First Higher School (a school of physics and chemistry), the Second Higher School (a school of mathematics), the Third Higher School (school of English language and literature), and the Foreign Language School (a school of English language and literature). The scholars in these training schools are recruited from among the graduates of middle schools and ordinary normal schools. Some people are inclined to doubt whether such training schools are able to turn out good teachers—at least, as far as it is a question of proficiency in certain branches of study. As the courses in all of them are only for two years, it could hardly be expected that the scholars should be well fitted for teachers, inasmuch as some subjects are confessedly ill-taught in the middle and ordinary normal schools.

The foreign languages taken in the middle school course may be one of three—English, French, or German. The time allotted to English is seven hours a week during the first four years, and six hours a week during the fifth year. In none of the schools is French taught, and in only one or two German; in the vast majority the foreign language taught is English. It must be confessed that, although much time is spent in the study of English, the result does not seem to be commensurate with the labour spent. Ordinary graduates would probably find it difficult to write intelligible business letters, or to read easily the daily newspapers, while it is rare to meet one of them able to speak English. A radical reform in this respect is pressingly necessary.

The number of boys admitted into the middle schools last April is reported to be over 26,000, and the total number of scholars is a little over 102,000. In a few years the number of graduates should rise at the lowest calculation to 10,000 annually. Judging from the ratio that the total number of the graduates of the middle schools (in last April, 9,003) bears to the number of candidates for admission into the higher schools (in last July, 4,459), the number of candidates for admission into the higher schools would rise to be not far from 5,000, while the higher schools can accommodate only about 1,600 annually. As a result, not a few unfortunate young men, who have been unsuccessful in the competitive examination, disappointed and disheartened, drift into leading lives of dissipation, and lose for ever the chance of becoming useful members of society. Failure in an examination is not necessarily equivalent to lack of talent, and thus sometimes higher schools, and consequently Universities, lose many young men who might prove themselves men

of great promise, and the loss to the country may be serious enough to be worth consideration.

From this it may be seen that those who advocate the increase of higher schools have reason to back their arguments.

Of the successful candidates for admission into the higher schools, there were 8 Kwazokus (nobles), 543 Shizokus (descendants of the bannerets of the feudal times, or Samurai), and 1,047 Heimins. The percentages are: Kwazoku, 0·5; Shizoku, 34·0; Heimin, 65·5.

Excluding the island of Taiwan (Formosa), the population of Japan, according to the latest census, is 43,758,415 (excluding foundlings and unregistered prisoners under sentence), of which the Kwazoku number 4,551; the Shizoku, 2,105,698; and Heimin, 41,548,166; so that the percentages are as follows: Kwazoku, 0·01; Shizoku, 4·81; Heimin, 95·18.

Setting aside the Kwazokus, out of every 100 successful candidates, at most only 5 should be Shizokus. Of 451 graduates of the Tokyo Imperial University last July, 219 were Shizokus and 228 were Heimins, thus showing the same discrepancies of the ratios of the graduates to the total number of the two classes of people. The cause of this is not far to seek. The Shizokus had been the governing class during the feudal system until the Restoration, in the year 1868. Tradition in a Shizoku family cannot but make its sons ambitious—a fact that makes them aspire for higher education, as the latter alone can raise them above the mass of the people. Another cause may be found in the following fact: Most of the higher officials, and a great many successful professional men, are of Shizoku extraction, and their sons, brothers, and relatives and friends, are apt to desire to enter official or professional lives, for which, of course, higher education is a necessary qualification.

Shizokus are generally very poor, and yet, in spite of it, some of them with slender means of subsistence manage to have their sons obtain a University education. This may seem to be utterly inexplicable to the uninitiated; it is, however, quite easy of explanation. In the first place, if a young man distinguishes himself in the middle school, the members of his family are generally ready to make any sacrifice or to undergo any hardships to secure his education. A case has been known where a sister, to aid in defraying the cost of her younger brother's education, has entered the profession of Geisha—a profession which, while not an honourable one, is not necessarily a degrading one. This may be, perhaps, an extreme case, but many cases occur in which the parents of University students lead hand-to-mouth lives for their sons. Then, there are a great many student aid societies, whose function is to lend sufficient means to those students in higher schools or

Universities whose families are not sufficiently affluent to be able to furnish their sons with the means necessary for their education. Such societies are generally local, a number of men from the same locality (men, probably, who have been poor students themselves) meeting together and constituting a society to aid poor scholars from their own locality. The scholars thus assisted afterwards return the money thus lent them, with or without interest. There are hundreds of societies of this description, and the good which they have done and are doing for the cause of higher education is incalculable. And, then, in the families of higher officials and of professional men one generally finds one or two young men who are found to be in attendance in some Government or private schools. These young men are lodged and boarded in the families—indeed, sometimes all expenses paid besides—and sent to school, they, in return, doing odd services for the families when not at school. A great many of the higher officials and professional men themselves passed through the life of *shosei*, as the life of such a student is called, and the system has been of so great a service that it is to be hoped that it may long continue.

There are eight higher schools, all of which are under the direct control of the Minister of Education. Some of them used to have, besides the preparatory course for the Universities, a department of medicine, which, however, was last year made an independent school. One at Kumamoto has a department of engineering. Excepting the Kumamoto Higher School, all the others are now purely preparatory schools. As has been remarked before, the number of applicants for admission is far above the number that the shools can accommodate, and a competitive examination is held to select the best-fitted students. Each candidate sends in a written application to the Minister of Education through any one of the higher schools, designating the college in the University which he wishes to enter, and naming the higher schools in order of his choice. The examination takes place in July, and the subjects of the examination are made known in April or May by the Minister of Education. They are taken from the lists of subjects studied in the middle schools, and are not to be the same from year to year. The subjects were, at the last examination, Japanese and Chinese languages, mathematics, a foreign language, physics, chemistry, and geography. The 'foreign language' is to be in all cases English, except for those who wish to take the courses of German law and German literature in the University course, when German is accepted instead of English; and for those wishing to study French law and French literature French is accepted as the foreign language of the examination. Besides this, German is accepted instead

of English for some fifty students passing for the medical course. All these are admitted only to the First Higher School (Tokyo). All the applicants are examined on the same days and hours, in the different higher schools, each one being examined in that school through which he had sent in his application. The answers are collected and sent to the Department of Education, where a specially appointed committee examines the papers and assigns the marks. The aggregate of marks, due weight being given to the different subjects, determines the applicant's standing. A list is made of all those who wish to enter a particular college, in order of their merit. The applicants are then admitted to the schools of their first choice, in the order of merit. If the number of applicants for a particular school reaches the fixed number of admissions, those with the lesser marks have to go to the school of their second choice, and so on. This system was tried for the first time last July, and proved to be undoubtedly the best way of selecting the most completely prepared applicants. For their competitive examinations, young men exert themselves to the utmost during their fifth year in the middle schools, and also during the time between their graduation in April and the examination in July. It is to be feared, however, that many young men lose their health by this overzealous application to study, and this is another argument for the advocates for the increasing of the institutions for higher education. This competitive examination is one of the causes which raise the average age of University graduates to over twenty-six, instead of twenty-three or twenty-four. In the ordinary way a child enters a primary school at six years of age; six years afterwards he enters a middle school (at twelve); five years afterwards he enters a higher school (at seventeen); three years after he enters a University, and after three or four years he must graduate (at twenty three or four).

The course of the higher schools is divided into three sections. The first section is the preparatory course for those who wish to enter the Law and Literature Colleges of the University, the subjects taught being: Morals, Japanese and Chinese languages, foreign languages, history, logic and psychology, elements of law, elements of political economy, and gymnastics. The foreign languages are English, German, and French, of which any two are to be selected; but for those who wish to take the course of German law or German literature, and who studied English only in the middle school, German is not only obligatory, but the time devoted to it is much increased; this is also the case with respect to French. Also there are some slight differences in the curriculum according to the courses of study that they are to follow in the University. In the second

section, where are found those who are to enter the Engineering, Science and Agriculture Colleges, or the pharmaceutical course of the Medical College, the curriculum includes morals, Japanese language, English, German (or French), mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, drawing, and gymnastics. Here English is obligatory to all, and either German or French is to be selected; there are some differences in the third year curriculum for the different courses. In the third or medical section, the subjects taught are morals, Japanese, German, English (or French), Latin, mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology and botany, and gymnastics. Here German is given first place, and English or French is to be selected as an additional language. For those who have entered the higher school after an examination in English, the time devoted to German is much more than for others. In the first section more than 30 per cent. of the total time is spent in the study of each of the foreign languages, in the second section more than 20 per cent., whereas in the third section the time spent for the study of German reaches 40 per cent., and for English or French 10 per cent.; so that the percentages of the total times taken up by European languages are respectively 60 per cent., 40 per cent., and 50 per cent. for the first, second, and third sections. In spite of the fact that so much time is spent in the study of the European languages, the knowledge of these languages possessed by the University student is far from being satisfactory, and what is more deplorable is the fact that this deficiency shows signs of increasing from year to year. Its cause is perfectly evident, the recent sudden increase of middle schools having not been accompanied by an increase in the number of good English teachers. The result is that the students in the higher schools have to grapple with two foreign languages. If they had been well taught in English in the middle schools one of the languages at least would not be so formidable. As it is, however, some educationalists argue for one foreign language in the higher schools instead of two. But surely a professional man, who aims at a high position, could never be satisfied with one language! Certainly it would be impossible for anyone to keep up with the rapid progress of the world, which takes place in all the higher branches of education, with only one European language at his command. If a foreign language is well taught in the middle schools, that language need occupy very little time of the student in the higher school. Thus, it will be seen that the bad teaching of foreign languages in the middle schools is the cause of disastrous result in the branches of higher education. It is not only the teaching of foreign languages, but in all the subjects taught in the middle school there seems to be need

of improvement. Many subjects taught in the higher school might be omitted if they were taught well in the middle school. In fact, if sufficient improvement were introduced into the method of teaching, and a sufficient teaching staff employed, and, most important of all, really *good* teachers procured, we could abolish the system of section division in the higher school, and every student would be able to follow the same curriculum in it. The present system requires every young man to decide upon what course in a college of a University he will pursue when he enters a higher school—that is to say, he has to choose a profession to follow for life, when he is not mature enough to be able to make, perhaps, the wisest choice. Besides this, if sufficient improvements are introduced, perhaps it may be possible to shorten the time spent in the higher schools. The change, desirable as it is, however, could not be accomplished unless great improvements are introduced into the middle schools, a task that requires much time and expense.

The Imperial University is founded in accordance with the Imperial ordinance, No. 3 (March 1, 1886).*

The following description applies to the Tokyo University.

The academic year of the University is divided into three terms. The first term extends from the 11th of September to the 24th of December; the second from the 8th of January to the 31st of March; while the third term begins on the 8th of April and ends on the 10th of July. The lectures are suspended on Sundays, the national holidays, and the foundation-day.

In the College of Law the student has to take one of the two courses, namely, ~~Law and Politics~~. This college is attended by more students than any other college, the number being over a thousand. One must study at least ~~four years~~ to be graduated from this college.

Besides lectures on the above subjects, exercises shall be conducted, with the view of training students by conversations, or essays, or by any other means the professor in charge of the exercises may choose. Subjects for such practical exercises may be decided upon at the faculty meeting.

In the College of Law the class-system has been entirely abolished, a feature peculiarly its own, distinguishing it from all the other colleges. The student may continue to be a member of the college for any number of years, and he undergoes an examination at his own request. A student who has been a member of the college for a year has the privilege of being present at the first examination; if successful, he may be allowed to be present at the second examination. And he may present himself at the third and fourth examinations after having successfully passed the second and third examinations.

* A list of the Chairs in the various Colleges is given in Appendix E.

If the student be successful in these four examinations, he is further examined in some five subjects selected from among the subjects for lectures in the respective courses. Those who succeed in this graduation examination are granted the title of *Hogakushi*. *Ho* means law, and, although *gakushi* is sometimes translated 'doctor,' 'licentiate' is probably more proper, so that the Hogakushi may be rendered 'the licentiate of law.' The Hogakushi who has taken the course of Law is admitted to the membership of the Bar, and can practise without undergoing any State examinations; and, further, he is eligible to the probationership of law officers. No *Hogakushi* is exempt from the State examinations for the higher civil and diplomatic service, except the preliminary one for the former. It is thought by many that this is manifestly unjust to the Hogakushi, since he has already passed a much more difficult State examination at the University, as nearly all the subjects for the State service examinations are contained in the examination list of the University. On the other hand, it is argued that it is not every Hogakushi that is able to pass successfully the ordeal of the State examinations, and therefore if the privilege of exemption from the examination for the State service be granted to all the graduates of the Law College, the service will suffer from the low standard of attainment among the candidates for the position of higher responsibility. But in reply it may be said that the attainments of the licentiate are certainly high enough to insure the efficient civil and diplomatic service, and that the only effect of the severity of the State examination is to lessen the number of those from whom men of practical ability (which can never be ascertained by an examination) are to be selected for the State service. It is evident that the system needs a radical reform.

The College of Medicine.

The courses established in the Medical College are the course of Medicine and that of Pharmacy. The course of Medicine extends over four years.

At the end of each academic year the student is examined in all the subjects pursued during the year, and when he has passed successfully the examination at the end of the fourth year he is ready to receive the graduation examination, which takes place during the next academic year. The subjects are divided into the following three sections:

I. Anatomical and Physiological.
II. Surgical and Ophthalmological.
III. Medical and Obstetrical.

A change of the system of examination is said to be under consideration, and therefore further particulars are omitted.

The title of *Igakushi* (licentiate of medicine) is granted to the successful candidate in the examination.

A hospital sufficiently large to accommodate 570 in-patients is attached to the Medical College, into which are admitted such patients as may be deemed instructive cases in medical and surgical investigation. It also contains laboratories for carrying out researches upon subjects relating to the sciences of medicine and surgery. Beside ordinary patients, the hospital admits free patients; that is, the treatment is not only free to them, but medicine and food are furnished gratis, and even clothes are sometimes lent free. A part of the present building is being rebuilt, and is to be enlarged somewhat, the estimates having already been approved by the Imperial Parliament. Even when this scheme of enlargement shall have been accomplished, it will be too small for the present needs of the college, and a further enlargement is to be hoped for in the near future. Among the new buildings already constructed or in the course of construction, a large number are designated as the laboratories of anatomy, physiology, medical chemistry, pharmacology, hygiene, and forensic medicine, the old laboratories having been found too small and inconvenient. The laboratories are to be provided with everything necessary for demonstrations and researches. The utmost encouragement is given to original research; the results obtained have been published in the four volumes of the *Mittheilungen aus der Medicinischen Facultät*, which are well known in the medical world.

Those who have finished the three years' course have to undergo a written, a practical, and an oral examination. In the first they are examined in Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Pharmacography, and Dispensing; in the second, in Analysis, Japanese Pharmacopœia, Pharmaceutical Chemistry (practical), Dispensing (practical), Forensic Chemistry (practical), and Sanitary Chemistry (practical); in the third, in Pharmacography, Medical Botany, Organic Chemistry, Forensic Chemistry, and Sanitary Chemistry. The title of *Yakugakushi* (licentiate of pharmacy) is granted to the successful candidate. This course is one of the least popular, and the average number of graduates during the last ten years has been less than two.

The Engineering College.

The following nine courses, each of which extends over three years, have been established in the Engineering College:

I. Civil Engineering.
II. Mechanical Engineering.
III. Naval Architecture.
IV. Technology of Arms.
V. Electrical Engineering.
VI. Architecture.
VII. Applied Chemistry.
VIII. Technology of Explosives.
IX. Mining and Metallurgy.

The title of *Kogakushi* (licentiate of engineering) is granted to the student who has successfully passed one of these nine courses. Much importance is laid on practical training, the object of which is to give to students the knowledge for the practical application of scientific principles. For this purpose students are trained either in the college or else they are sent out to see various establishments or institutions of industry related to their respective studies. The laboratories are all provided with machines, tools, apparatus, instruments, etc., and are under the control of the various professors. Original investigations are much encouraged. The museums of the college are seven in number—for Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Naval Architecture, Electric Engineering, Architecture, Applied Chemistry, and for Mining and Metallurgy. The collections in the above comprise models, samples, specimens, instruments, etc. The Engineering College is one of the most popular among Japanese students, and sometimes the number of applications for admission exceeds that which the college is prepared to receive; and it is evident that increased facilities for the University study of Engineering are an urgent necessity.

The College of Literature.

In the College of Literature the following nine courses, each extending over a period of three years, have been established:

I. Philosophy.
II. Japanese Literature.
III. Chinese Literature.
IV. Japanese History.
V. History.
VI. Comparative Philology.
VII. English Literature.
VIII. German Literature.
IX. French Literature.

The title of *Bungakushi* (licentiate of literature) is granted to the student who has successfully finished one of the courses. Attached to this college there is a committee for the compilation of materials for the history of Japan, presided over by one of the professors of the college. It has collected ancient documents and records, copied from old originals kept in old Buddhist and Shinto temples, or preserved for generations by certain ancient families. Of such ancient documents the total number is about 100,000, while there are nearly 2,000 volumes of old records. It has already published four volumes of the 'Materials' and two of 'Ancient Documents.'

The College of Science.

The following eight subjects form the courses in the College of Science:

I. Mathematics.
II. Astronomy.
III. Theoretical Physics.
IV. Experimental Physics.
V. Zoology.
VI. Botany.
VII. Chemistry.
VIII. Geology.

In addition to these courses of study, special lectures on seismology and anthropology, etc., are given in the College of Science for the students of other colleges, especially for the students of Civil Engineering and Architecture in the Engineering College, and for the students of History and Philology in the Literature College.

The student who has successfully passed one of these courses is permitted to call himself *Rigakushi* (licentiate of science).

The college is one of the least popular, the number of students being little over one-third of what it could accommodate. The laboratories attached to this college are well equipped with instruments, apparatus, etc., and much original work has been done, the account of which has been published in the fifteen volumes of the *Journal of the College of Science*, a periodical well known among specialists. The Zoological, Geological, and Anthropological Museums and Botanical Herbarium are provided with very good collections. The Tokyo Astronomical Observatory is a part of this college, and it publishes annals in the French language. The Botanical Garden of the University, situated about a mile north-west of the University, with an area of about 40 acres, is under the control of this college. Students of Botany, Entomology, and Pharmacy spend a portion of their time in it. The University is the birthplace of the science of seismology; in fact, before the investigation undertaken by our professors almost nothing was known about the precise nature, the mode of propagation, etc., of earthquakes, and no seismometer existed. In the short time of some twenty years the science has been created here by our professors. The Seismological Observatory attached to this college is perhaps the best-equipped one in the world, and much active work is done. The Marine Biological Station of the University is also a part of the College of Science, situated at the extremity of the peninsula jutting out between the Bay of Sagami and the Gulf of Tayko. The station has access to localities long famous as the home of some remarkable animal forms, and it has been for the last seventeen years the centre of researches in marine zoology in Japan. The station

is primarily intended for the use of the instructors and students of the University, but its facilities are extended as far as possible to other persons who are qualified to avail themselves of the opportunities of research here afforded. For the last two years a summer course in practical zoology has been given for the benefit of teachers of intermediate schools.

The College of Agriculture.

In the College of Agriculture the courses are Agriculture, Agricultural Chemistry, Forestry, and Veterinary Medicine.

The graduates of this college are entitled to call themselves *Nogakushi* (licentiate of agriculture), *Ringakushi* (licentiate of forestry), and *Juigakushi* (licentiate of veterinary medicine), according as they have taken one of the first two courses, the third course, or the last course. In the course of Veterinary Medicine the student has to undergo a graduation examination at the end of the third year instead of annual examinations in Anatomy, Physiology, Pharmacology, Pathology, Surgery, Pathological Anatomy, Horse-shoeing (practical), and Hospital Practice and Ambulatory Clinics. The college is situated in one of the suburbs of the city, and occupies extensive grounds of about 138 acres. It is well provided with an experimental farm, a nursery, botanic garden, etc. The laboratories and museums are equipped with collections of apparatus, instruments, models, specimens, etc. A veterinary hospital of the college is open to the public. Extensive training forests in different parts of the country are also attached to the college. The college forest in Chiba Prefecture covers about an area of 2,171 cho (1 cho = 2.4507 acres), and is divided into the Kiyosumi and the Okuzan Forest by the boundary-line of the provinces of Awa and Kazusa. This forest is intended to serve for the practical instruction in forestry and for the investigations undertaken by the professors and students in the Forestry Department of the college. It is hoped that it also may serve as a model of scientific forest management. The college forest in Hokkaido, established in October, 32nd year of Meiji, has an approximate area of some 23,000 cho. It is situated on the right bank of the upper course of the Sorachi River in Sorachi Gun, Ishikari Prefecture. It forms an almost perfect rectangle extending from west to east. Along the river and at the bottom of the valleys the forest consists almost exclusively of broad-leaved trees, whilst conifers are found more and more as we ascend, until these form almost a pure wood at the top. The whole forest has been left in a primeval state, the forester's axe having never been used.

The *Bulletin of the College of Agriculture* is the periodical of the college for the publication of original researches carried out by the professors. The four volumes already published are well known among the specialists of agriculture and veterinary medicine. Besides the regular course, subsidiary courses in Agriculture, Forestry, and Veterinary Medicine have been established, each of which extends over three years, and is open to the graduates of the middle schools.

The graduates of the colleges whom the faculties concerned consider sufficiently qualified to pursue further studies, may, on application, be admitted into the University Hall, where the student is required to select some subject of investigation to be undertaken, generally under the superintendence of a professor. No regular courses of lectures are given in the University Hall, and the student is free to pursue the study of the subject. At the end of the five years he may send in a thesis on the subject; and if it is found satisfactory, the second degree of Hakushi, with the prefix of Hogaku, Igaku, Nogaku, Ringaku, or Yakugaku, Kogaku, Bungaku, Rigaku, or Juigaku, according to the nature of the subject, is granted by the Minister of Education.

The tuition fee paid by the student of the University is only 25 yen (about £2 10s.) per annum, excepting in the Engineering College, where a further sum of 10 yen is charged for materials used, such as drawing-paper, pencils, etc. The fee is certainly very moderate, and some educationalists are for increasing the fee for the purpose of augmenting the University income, which is sadly too small for the great work expected of it. The other point of view is that there are a great many University students who can ill afford the additional burden on their purse, and the fee had best be left as it is.

The University needs an increase of buildings for lecture-rooms, seminaries, laboratories, hospitals, etc., and a dormitory is sadly needed. Additional ground is needed for these new buildings. It is estimated that all this can be accomplished for about 12,000,000 yen (about £1,200,000), and, further, an increase of about 50 per cent. of the present annual income would not be too much to satisfy the pressing needs of the University.

To show the inclinations of the Japanese student toward different professions, the following table is appended:

THE NUMBER OF GRADUATES DURING THE TEN YEARS TO 1900 IN THE DIFFERENT COURSES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO.

COLLEGE OF LAW.

Law	651	1041
Politics	390	

COLLEGE OF MEDICINE.

Medicine ...	334	352
Pharmacy	18	

COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING.

Civil Engineering ...	232	817
Mechanical Engineering	58	
Naval Architecture	75	
Technology of Arms	15	
Electrical Engineering	117	
Architecture ...	36	
Applied Chemistry	69	
Technology of Explosives	1	
Mining and Metallurgy	114	

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.

Philosophy	159	530
Japanese Literature	46	
Chinese Literature...	54	
Japanese History ...	87	
History	106	
Comparative Philology	12	
English Literature...	46	
German Literature	17	
French Literature ...	3	

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

Mathematics ...	20	194
Astronomy	4	
Physics	75	
Chemistry	32	
Zoology	17	
Botany	14	
Geology	32	

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture	73	192
Agricultural Chemistry	50	
Forestry	49	
Veterinary Medicine	20	

Grand Total 3,126

The percentages are as follows:

Law, 33·3; Medicine, 11·3; Engineering, 26·1; Literature, 17·0; Science, 6·2; Agriculture, 6·1.

The following table shows the number of the regular undergraduate students in the different courses, September, 1901:

COLLEGE OF LAW.—Law, 567; Politics, 409. Total, 976.

COLLEGE OF MEDICINE.—Medicine, 390, excluding those who are undergoing the graduation examination; Pharmacy, 2. Total, 395.

COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING.—Civil Engineering, 104; Mechanical Engineering, 65; Marine Engineering, 35; Naval Architecture, 62; Technology of Arms, 13; Electrical Engineering, 48; Architecture, 24; Applied Chemistry, 26; Technology of Explosives, 1; Mining and Metallurgy, 47. Total, 425.

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.—Philosophy, 92; Japanese Literature, 91; Chinese Literature, 21; Japanese History, 28; History, 48; Comparative Philology, 2; English Literature, 39; German Literature, 17. Total, 278.

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE. — Mathematics, 7; Astronomy, 1; Physics, 29; Chemistry, 6; Zoology and Botany, 11; Geology, 9. Total, 63.

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE. — Agriculture, 18; Agricultural Chemistry, 13; Forestry, 30; Veterinary Medicine, 4. Total, 65.

Full total, 2,202. The full number is 3,213, including 449 students in the University Hall, elective students, and others.

The percentages are as follows:

Law, 44·3; Medicine, 17·9; Engineering, 19·3; Literature, 12·6; Science, 2·9; Agriculture, 3·0.

These numbers, compared with those of the graduates of the last ten years, at the first glance seem to show a decrease of students of Engineering, Literature, and Agriculture. It is by no means to be taken in that sense. The following table will show the number of graduates of the colleges in 1897 and 1902:

	1897.	1902.
Law	67	141
Medicine	25	94
Engineering	78	117
Literature	62	67
Science	26	12
Agriculture	16	20
	274	451

Comparing the two columns, one sees that there is an increase in every college except in that of Science; in the College of Engineering the absolute numbers, instead of a decrease, show an enormous increase. In fact, in all the colleges except that of Science the absolute number of graduates have increased, but at different rates, so that the percentage, for instance, for the Engineering College has decreased; that is to say, the increase has been relatively small compared to those of the Colleges of Law and Medicine.

There is a great outcry among some educationalists against the length of the time spent in education. Supposing that one is always successful in all the competitive examinations, it is not till he is twenty-three or twenty-four years of age that he succeeds in finishing his education. We are, they say, a race that matures early and decays early, and so cannot afford to spend so much precious time in a mere preparation for the struggle of life. Moreover, the mean age of the graduates of the Tokyo University for the three years from 1899 to 1901 is twenty-six years and nine months, which is far too high. The divergence of the actual mean age from the minimum age is due partly to the competitive examinations and partly to failure to pass annual and graduation examinations on the part of the students. There are reasons to believe that the failures will become less frequent in the future. There is no reason

to think that we mature and decay earlier than other races; on the contrary, such facts as we are in possession of are conclusively against the belief. For example, our medical authorities have proved irrefutably that the Japanese woman does not reach puberty earlier than her European sister. The theory of early maturity and decay seems to be a favourite among some people, but there is no foundation for it whatever. Further, to finish one's liberal education at twenty-three or twenty-four may, perhaps, be too late; but our University education is professional, and to enter the professions of, say, law or medicine at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four prepared in all respects is not, surely, too late. There is something more necessary than a mere change in the system; we require more Universities, and consequently more higher schools.

IV.—Woman's Education

BY BARON SUYEMATSU,*

Ex-Minister of the Interior

The position of woman in Japan has always been different, to a significant extent, from that of the same sex in other Asiatic countries. Looking back to the history of Japan over thousands of years, we see many renowned figures of the fair sex. There have been several Empresses, some brave, intelligent, and highly cultured. There have been several heroines fighting side by side with our brave warriors. There have been numerous poetesses, novelists, artists.

In fact, in the ninth century, when the study of Chinese was in vogue, the culture of our native light literature was mainly in the hands of the other sex. It was then that we had Murasaki Shikibu, the authoress of the great 'Genji-monogatari'; Seishonagon, the authoress of the 'Makura-no-soshi'; and many others. In the latter part of the Tokugawa régime there were also many women well known for their Chinese culture, such as Kamei Shōkin, Hara Saihin, Yema Saiko, Cho-Koran. This period also produced several lady poets, as Rengetsu, Chiyo, Botoni, and others. Examples of patriotic women also abound preceding the restoration of the Imperial régime.

Women have always enjoyed a large social freedom, though not to the same degree as in the modern Western nations, and thus we have produced from time to time some conspicuous female figures in history. Even in our own days such examples are not wanting. We see ladies engaged in educational institutions in China and Siam; we even see one has gone to

* London, May, 1904.

Mongolia, where she is engaged by a native chief as instructress in his household.

Women's education, however, has always been a problem. From the very nature of the case, it is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory solution. Still, we realize the importance of it as much as do Europeans. Especially have we done so from the time of the inauguration of the new régime. Here I might cite an instance, which is not without interest. In 1871 a number of young girls were sent to America for their education, one now the wife of Admiral Uriu, whose name is well known in connection with the present war; another is the Marchioness Oyama, wife of Marshal Marquis Oyama, head of the General Staff of Japan.

I am far from speaking confidently of the problem as solved in Japan. I will but give a brief description of its present condition, basing my materials mainly on different official reports.

In Japan the system of elementary education is most extensively carried out. There is no village where a school is not provided for at the public expense. It is compulsory, every child having to be educated, though some relaxation is made under exceptional circumstances. Elementary schools are divided into two grades: ordinary elementary and higher elementary schools. Ordinary elementary are for children of the age of six and upwards for four years, and that of higher elementary education from the age of nine. In the case of the latter the period of their school education is not uniform, because some may join higher schools after certain years, and some may leave school in the middle. But in case of children who go through the ordinary course the period is four years.

In these preliminary schools boys and girls are taken in without any distinction, though, for the convenience of teaching, the classes are generally formed separately. Let me now proceed with statistics, taken from the annual reports of the Minister of Education for 1901-02. It relates to Japan proper, including the islands of Yezo and Liuchiu, but not Formosa.

The number of children in that school year was: Boys, 3,876,495; girls, 3,590,391; total, 7,466,886.

Of these, children attending the ordinary elementary schools were: Boys, 1,714,509; girls, 1,632,018; total, 3,346,527.

Those who completed the ordinary elementary course were: Boys, 1,462,977; girls, 911,422; total, 2,374,399.

The total number of children of school age receiving the prescribed course of education was therefore: Boys, 3,177,486; girls, 2,543,440; total, 5,720,926.

The total number of pupils in higher elementary schools was as follows:

Those belonging to public schools (including those attached

to normal schools) were: Boys, 705,238; girls, 230,955; total, 936,193.

Those belonging to private schools were: Boys, 4,268; girls, 3,437; total, 7,705. Thus, the total number of pupils in the higher course were: Boys, 709,506; girls, 234,392; total, 943,898.

The percentage of boys receiving instruction for 1901-02 was 93·78 of the whole eligible school population. The percentage of girls was 81·80.

I may here also mention that in populous towns there are many kindergartens established, and their benefit is so universally admitted that there is a great tendency to increase in their number. In these, children, both boys and girls, aged from three years up to the age of admission to ordinary elementary schools are taken. The subjects of training are games, singing, conversation, and handicrafts.

There were in the year under our consideration 182 public and 72 private kindergartens—a total of 254; and the number of infants attending those public kindergartens was: Boys, 10,327; girls, 8,972; total, 19,299. That of the private ones was: Boys, 2,235; girls, 2,137; total, 4,372. Aggregate total, 23,671.

After the elementary schools the education of the boys and girls take separate courses. There are higher schools for girls, and there are also higher normal schools for girls. There are many private schools for their higher education.

The relative percentage of the girls attending these schools is much less when compared with that of the boys, partly from the very nature of women's position, and partly on account of insufficient provision for admission of applicants. The courses and methods of their study also are not uniform. It would be tedious to enter upon a minute description of each. But I will try to give the general outline of them.

'The course of study in the higher schools for women,' to quote part of the annual report of the Minister of Education, 'extends over four years, but may be extended or curtailed by one year, according to local circumstances. In addition to general courses, supplementary courses not exceeding two years may be provided for the benefit of those desiring to study such arts as are necessary for women; special art courses, extending over not less than two and not more than four years, may be established, in addition to general courses. Special courses of two or three years may also be so instituted, for the benefit of those graduates who are desirous to pursue some special branches of study.'

The qualifications of applicants for admission are: age, twelve years and upwards; possession of attainments at least equivalent to those who have completed the second year's

course of higher elementary schools. The number of such schools for the year 1901-02 was: Public, including one connected with higher normal school for women, 61; private, 8; total, 69; and the number of pupils was: Public, 14,975; private, 2,240; total, 17,215; and the number of graduates was: Public, 2,778; private, 812; total, 3,590.

The regulations for the courses of instruction relative to higher schools for girls are given thus in the first article of the ordinance of the Educational Department for such schools:

'The courses of instruction in the higher schools for women should be: Moral precepts, Japanese language, foreign language, history, geography, mathematics, science, drawing, training for domestic affairs, cutting-out and sewing, music, and gymnastics.

'In cases where the period of school years be shortened foreign languages are omitted.

'The foreign language to be either English or French.

'Foreign languages may be omitted, or may be made an optional course in all cases.

'Music may be omitted for those pupils for whom the art may be deemed difficult.

'Besides the courses enumerated above, pedagogy or handicrafts, or either of them, may be added as an optional course, excepting the cases where the period of school years is shortened.'

There is a college for girls situated in Tokyo, and called the Higher Normal School for Women. The object of this college is for training instructors for higher schools for girls and for provincial normal schools. The plan of the college is divided into a Literature course, a Science course, and an Art course. The first comprises ethics, pedagogy, Japanese language, Chinese literature, English, history, geography, music, gymnastics.

The second comprises ethics, pedagogy, English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, music, gymnastics.

The third comprises ethics, pedagogy, English, physics, chemistry, domestic management, cutting-out and sewing, handiwork, drawings and designs, music, gymnastics. To the Japanese language and Chinese literature is added the practice of penmanship. The course of household management is divided into two branches, one relating to pure household management, and the other to family education. A post-graduate course, an elective course, a special course, and a training course for kindergarten teachers, are instituted as distinct courses of instruction. A higher school for women, an elementary school, and a kindergarten, are also organized in connection with the chief instruction. The course of study for

the main school extends over four years, the post-graduate course extends over two years, the elective course over four years, and the training course for kindergarten conductors over one year, the length of the special course being fixed at each admission of fresh pupils.

The number of pupils in the year we are speaking of was 311, and of graduates 86. One of the instructors of this school was Miss Yasui, who was educated in England; she has gone to Siam lately by invitation of the Queen of that country, to instruct the women pupils there. A higher women's school is attached to this school. The course of study extends over five years, a year longer than other higher schools for women.

There is a higher school for girls attached to the college. It is designed to provide the means of studying the general method of women's education, and affords the pupils of the college an opportunity of practical training in women's education.

The number of pupils in that year was 325, of graduates 91.

An elementary school is also attached to the college. It is also designed to afford the means of studying the method of general education, and to secure the pupils in the college an opportunity for practical training in teaching children. It is divided into three sections. The first section represents an elementary school in connection with a higher school for girls, and is provided with ordinary and higher elementary school courses. The second section comprises both ordinary and higher school courses. The third represents an ordinary elementary school organized as a single class school. The course of study varies from two to four, according to the sections.

The number of pupils in ordinary elementary course was 323, of whom 80 were boys and 243 girls; and that of those in higher elementary course was 139, of whom 28 were boys and 111 were girls.

This gives a total of 462, 108 of whom were boys and 382 girls.

A kindergarten is also attached to the college.

For the purpose of training women teachers, special normal schools for women are instituted in some provinces, whilst in others a section is provided for women in the ordinary normal school for males.

There is a school for women under the direct auspices of the Empress. It is under the control of the Minister of the Imperial Household, and not of the Minister of Education. It is called the Peeress' School, and, naturally, the women belonging to the noble families have the right of first entrance, though the door is not shut against the daughters of other respectable families. Here also a kindergarten is attached.

There is an Academy of Music in Tokyo under the control

of the Minister of Education. The course is divided into (1) preparatory, (2) main, (3) post-graduate, (4) normal, and (5) elective. In the Academy both men and women are admitted.

Besides Japanese teachers, there were 5 foreign teachers—2 German, 1 American, 1 Russian, 1 French.

As to private establishments for female education, the method, style, and origin are so various that it is beyond my power to attempt any clear description of them. I may, however, mention a few instances of them.

The Tokyo Jiogakkwan occupies a unique position. The idea was started by some foreign philanthropists in connection with a foreign philanthropic mission, not making any condition to teach religion, but to educate young girls of a respectable class in the Anglo-Saxon attainments. The idea was taken up by several eminent personages, contributions to the fund having been made by both native and foreign patrons. It also receives some special patronage from the Imperial Household. The number of pupils in October, 1903, was 230, according to a recent periodical on female education.

There is a college for girls in Tokyo called the Women's University. The name may be somewhat inappropriate if compared with men's Universities, but at any rate it comprises a vast number of female aspirants. It exceeds 1,000 at present, if we include all preparatory courses attached to it.

There are also various institutions where girls may study medicine, pictorial arts, technical industry, even commerce and agriculture.

There are not many women physicians practising, but I have seen some notified as passing State examination.

There are also many private schools for girls established by foreign missions in Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, and many other places. Many of them are doing praiseworthy services for the education of women.

There are in the city of Tokyo 73 schools of all kinds for female education. This includes the schools mentioned before, and also among them are included schools for midwifery and nursing; but in a vast majority of them ordinary courses of instruction are given.

A few words about the occupations of women. Men and women are pretty equally proportioned in Japan, so that the fair sex in Japan has greater chances of being married than in some other countries. When they are married, they are mostly contented with looking after their household affairs and making themselves good wives and mothers. But there are a large number of women employed in operative works, such as cotton, silk, and paper mills. As to their employment in the public

institutions, it is not great, but a considerable number of them are employed as instructors in schools; and those who are less fortunate and have fewer attainments are employed to a considerable extent in different post and telephone offices and in some branches on the railway. Many private companies of different kinds have begun to employ women clerks as an experiment, and in most cases they have already proved successful.

It seems that there is good hope for women acquiring a wider field for the display of their talents.

It might not be quite out of place to add a few words about more or less important institutions organized by ladies. There are some twenty of such in Tokyo: the Charity Hospital, under the direct patronage of the Empress, with Her Imperial Highness Princess Arisugawa as the Chief of the Council; the Japanese Ladies' Educational Society, with Her Imperial Highness Princess Kanin as President; the Special Society for Nursing the Sick, under the direct patronage of the Empress, in connection with the Red Cross Society; the Japanese Ladies' Sanitary Society, the Ladies' Society for Orphans, the Society for Nursing Infants belonging to Female Prisoners, and such-like, with eminent ladies as Presidents. Most of them are doing their work well.

A society for female charity handicraft is under the presidency of Miss Parker, of England.

There are many similar institutions in the provinces.

Proportionately, the mental capacity of Japanese women to men seems to be pretty similar to that which their Western sisters are supposed to bear to the men. We cannot, of course, predict what will be women's place in the social sphere at large in future, but one thing is certain: the educational system for women has been extended, together with that for men, to a proportion that Japan has never before known. Their emulation and aspiration increase year by year, so that the supply of educational institutions is always far behind the demand.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGION

I. BUSHIDO—THE MORAL IDEAS OF JAPAN

BY PROFESSOR INAZO NITOBE

THE straight and narrow way which Christ enjoined upon His followers indicates the moral path which each of us must observe in order to lead a blameless, consistent, and individual career. But the instant we try to survey the moral system of a whole people or race we are confronted, not by a single straight path, but by a vast plain, as it were, stretching from a dim light, far in the distance, with green, graceful hills skirting its base, to the wide plains dotted here with primeval forests, and there with gardens of daintiest flowers, and cut up by manifold paths of various breadth running in seemingly contradictory directions. How one is bewildered by a sight like this! How often one despairs of taking an intelligent view of an alien system of thought, moral or religious, and exclaims, 'This people has no morals,' or 'This race is superstitious,' and, so saying, thanks his little sky that he is better than his neighbours! But pharisaism wanes before the growth of broader sympathies and larger knowledge. Where we once only saw chaos we now catch glimpses of order.

> 'That way
> Over the mountain, which who stands upon,
> Is apt to doubt if it be indeed a road;
> While if he views it from the waste itself,
> Up goes the line there, plain from base to brow,
> Not vague, mistakable! What's a break or two
> Seen from the unbroken desert either side?
> And then (to bring in fresh philosophy),
> What if the breaks themselves should prove at last
> The most consummate of contrivances
> To train a man's eye, teach him what is faith?'

Many others than Browning have felt the same, and only the most thoughtless are denied the sight of a road threading the apparent waste. It is quite a customary remark of foreign tourists that Japanese life is as singularly lacking in morals

as Japanese flowers are in scent—a sad confession of the moral and intellectual tone of the tourists themselves! Those who associate fragrance with roses only, or morality with conventional Christianity, are sure to be disappointed in finding but little of either in Japan; but that is no proof that the *Umi* blossoms are not fragrant, or that Chivalry does not teach the best conduct of life. There is, however, good reason for the busy West to know so little of the Far East, especially regarding things that cannot be bought or sold with cash, for we have made neither the essence of the *Umi* to be bottled in flasks, like attar of roses, nor the precepts of Knighthood to be bound into a gilt-edged pocket edition like Episcopal or Methodist theology. Even the European form of Chivalry, I understand, is nowadays well-nigh incomprehensible to an ordinary English reader. A recent writer on the subject speaks of it as 'a rule of sentiment and conduct which is more remote from modern life than the rules which prevailed in the times of the Greeks and Romans' (Cornish F. Warre, 'Chivalry,' p. 10). How much more difficult must it be to make our Chivalry intelligible to Europe! Still, a little familiarity will show that a gentleman is everywhere a gentleman, much of the same type, and not very different in any respect. Read the Chronicles of Froissart or the Waverley Novels, and is there really so little in common between you and their heroes? Divest them of their armour, of their quaint manners, of their odd circumstances, or, rather, look steadfastly into them until, as Carlyle would say, they become transparent, and you see in the soul of a knight the soul of a modern gentleman. Do the same with a *Samurai* (Japanese knight), and you can easily understand our system of Chivalry and our morals.

The age of Chivalry is said to have passed away. As an institution it has disappeared, but sad will be the day when the virtues it has inculcated shall likewise disappear! Fortunately for us, like a disembodied spirit, they still live on, somewhat modified, but still, in their essence, remaining the same. The world has surely become richer by the legacy which Chivalry has left behind. Very properly has Hallam said:

> 'There are, if I may so say, three powerful spirits, which have from time to time moved on the face of the waters, and given a predominant impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind. These are the spirits of liberty, of religion, and honour.'

If it is the general law of evolution that progeny represents and combines in itself all that has preceded it, then it follows that modern England must show, as it actually does, traces of feudal institutions, and modern English traces of chivalric

sentiments. How much more must this be true of Japan, where feudalism was only abolished thirty years ago! As a matter of fact, Chivalry is still the dominant moral power amongst us. It has survived all the wrecks of feudalism, and however marred and mutilated it may be, its potency cannot be doubted. It is in its might that we live, move, and have our being.

The statement that Japan has cut off all connection with the past is only partially true. Such a statement has reference only to laws and politics, but not to moral ideas. We have put our hands to a plough 'made in Germany' or 'made in America,' as the case may be, and though we have not given them up, we have received an impulse from behind by what are sometimes called the antiquated moral notions begotten of Chivalry, and I dare say the furrows we are making will show the character of the motive power.

Let me state here, then, that whatever charges may be made against our people as immoral—and it must be remembered that the same charge can be, and is, actually made against any country, England not excluded, by travellers, since it is usually the worst, the lax, side of life to which a foreigner is first introduced, such as cafés, theatres, etc., instead of a family or church—we are far from being unmoral.

If I were to designate in English the *ensemble* of Japanese ethical ideas, I would use, as I have been doing all along, the term Chivalry, this coming nearest to what is known among us as *Bushido* (pronounced Boo-she-doh). The literal significance of *Bushidō* is Fighting-Knight-Ways, and we may more freely translate it as Teachings of Knightly Behaviour, or Precepts of Knighthood, or perhaps even the Code of Honour. Some prefer the term of *Shido*, omitting the prefix *Bu* (military), thereby extending its meaning. Whichever term is chosen, it makes little difference in substance, since gentlemen and warriors were practically identical. Warriors in times of peace were gentlemen, and gentlemen were warriors in time of war. Though *Shido* has at once the advantage and the fault of what logicians call *definiendo latior*, it may be well to use *Bushido*, if for no other reason than that it is the term most in vogue. As *Bushido* was the *noblesse oblige* of the *Samurai* class, and as this word has lately become quite domiciled in the English vocabulary, we may go so far as to coin the term Samurai-ism as an equivalent of the subject we are discussing. Though Chivalry is no doubt the most appropriate rendering of *Bushido*, it will be advisable to retain it in the original, as the two conceptions are not exactly the same. For instance, *Bushido* was not an institution, which Chivalry was, and hence the latter means more than the former; still, as *Bushido* was a moral code through and through, which

Chivalry was not, it was ethically more comprehensive than the latter. Moreover, the term, if rhetorically bad, does no violence to euphony, and bears on its face the impress of its unique origin and character.

True to its name, the morality of *Bushido* was based on manhood and manliness. As the old Romans made no distinction between valour and virtue, so was *Bushido* the apotheosis of strong manhood and of all manly qualities, which by no means exclude the tenderer side of our nature. It professes no revelation from above, and it boasts of no founder. Its ultimate sanction lay in the inborn sense of shame at all wrong-doing, and of honour in doing right. It offered no philosophical demonstration for this belief; but it accepted the Kantian teaching of the moral law in the conscience as the voice of heaven.

When I speak of *Bushido* as a code, I confess I use the term in a loose sense. Samurai-ism was never codified; or, if a few savants made attempts at it, the efficacy of the precepts was not due to their systematic treatment. Their treatises were never used as text-books in schools, nor did they usually grace our household shelves as works of reference. The power of *Bushido* was more than could be obtained from books and systems. It was carved on the fleshly tablets of the heart. Scant attention did it bestow on the *credenda* of its followers; its forte lay in controlling their *agenda*. Long before anything was written upon it, it had existed as a usage—a code of honour among the *Samurai*. Indeed, it had antedated the establishment of the military order, by and for which it was doubtless developed and named.

At first sight one gets the impression that it is an eclectic system of ethics derived chiefly from Chinese sources, because the terms used are strongly Confucian. *Bushido* borrowed its forms of expression largely from Chinese classics, from Confucius and Mencius, but even these sages were, if I may be allowed to say so, exploited more to enrich the native vocabulary than to impart, much less inspire, moral sentiments; hence, when we speak of the deep and wide influence of these Chinese teachers, we must bear in mind that their most valuable services consisted in awakening our own inborn ethical consciousness. For example, when Confucius taught of the five moral relations—viz., between parent and child, husband and wife, master and servant, brother and brother, friend and friend—and gave them names, it was the nomenclature, and not the morals themselves, that we adopted.

So much for what we owe to China. There was another source from which the *Bushido* derived no small nourishment, and that was Buddhism. The beneficent influences of this light

of Asia on our civilization consisted in introducing the metaphysical elements, teaching us to solve in part the mysteries of our spiritual nature, of good and evil, of life and death—with which the practical minds of warriors were little concerned, but into which every rational soul is wont to pry 'in times of calm weather.' We may say that this Aryan religion has supplied our minds with the act of contemplation, whereas Shintoism, in spite of its worship of nature, puts more stress on reflection. Thus, what we most gained from Buddhism in moral respects was the method of contemplation as a *modus operandi* of spiritual culture, and not so much its philosophy as its dogmas.

In this way every alien form of thought but helped to swell the volume of our ethical sentiments, without diverting their direction or changing their essential quality. The truth is that *Bushido* is the totality of the moral instincts of the Japanese race, and as such it was in its elements coeval with our blood, and therefore also with our religion of Shintoism. I am strongly inclined to believe that the simple Shinto worship of nature and of ancestors was the foundation of *Bushido*, and that whatever we borrowed from Chinese philosophy or Hindu religion was its flowers—nay, scarcely flowers even, but rather acted as a fertilizer to feed the tree of the *Yamato* race to blossom into knightly deeds and virtues.

The central moral teachings of Shintoism seem to me to be these: Know thyself; reflect into thy mind; see in thy heart a god enthroned, appointing this, or commanding that; obey his mandate, and thou needest no other gods. Consider whence thou camest—namely, from thy parents, and they from theirs, and so back from generation to generation: thou owest thy being to thy progenitors, to whom, though invisible, thou canst still be thankful. Consider also where thou art—namely, in a well-ordered state, where thou and thine are safe and well: only in such a state could thy mother give birth and suck to thee; only in such a state can thy children thrive; forget not, therefore, him thy Lord and King, from whom peace, law, and order emanate. In such simple wise did Shintoism instil moral responsibility into our own conscience, filial love to our parents and forefathers, and loyalty to our King. These threefold duties, representing respectively personal, family, and social relations, may be called the primary moral notions, in the practical exercise of which many others must of necessity follow as postulates.

Having given a rough idea of what *Bushido* is, I will proceed to present a little more detailed account of its precepts. I shall begin with those which concern the duties which one owes to one's self.

Our person was regarded, first of all, as the most precious legacy left by our fathers, wherein dwelt in its most holy of holies a divine presence, to be dedicated to the service of god, parent, or master—that is to say, to the exercise of what Mr. Reade, the author of the 'Martyrdom of Man,' calls the reverential virtues. Our body is an instrument to be used for an end higher than its tenant's interest. It was treated as something lent us for the time being to clothe our spirit with. Hygienic laws were followed, not so much because their observance was attended with pleasant results, but because our health was a source of pleasure to our parents, and because it could be useful in serving our master. It was a usual thing for one dying in youth of sickness or suicide to apologize to his sorrowing parents for his premature departure in terms something like these: 'Forgive me that I go before you. I grieve, my father and mother, that I have to leave you behind me, now that you are growing older. In your old age you will miss me. I could have done something in return for all you have done for me. 'Tis all Heaven's decree, and I must go.'

If Christianity taught us to be stewards of our wealth, *Bushido* taught us to be stewards of our health; and if Christianity taught that our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, *Bushido* learned from Shintoism that in our tenement of clay is a divine immanence. I do not mean by this that *Bushido* was deistic, much less can I affirm that it was monotheistic. It was too honest and too practical to invent a theological system. 'Man projects, as it were,' says a recent writer, 'a mighty shadow of himself and calls it God.' The strength and weakness of *Bushido* lay in its possessing no dogmatic creed. It sufficed its votaries only to feel that there was something in their mind—the mysteries of which they little cared to analyze—always active with admonitions, which, when disobeyed, heaped upon the transgressors fiery coals of shame, and which could only be appeased by implicit obedience. In the absence of any written commandments, the *Ren-chi-shin* (consciousness of shame) was the last and highest court of appeal. A man who had lost his sense of shame forfeited his humane claims.

While *Bushido* took strong cognizance of the god-like man, it did not overlook his animal nature. As said one of our poets: 'Should men speak of the Evil One, thou wilt laugh in their faces: what if thou hadst asked thy own heart?' I need not add that this belief in the dual nature of man was not necessarily self-contradictory. From the Pauline doctrine that it is the law which makes sin manifest, it follows that the more stringent and exacting the law, the more manifest the sin. The clearer one's conscience, the keener his sense of shame—

not that he indulges more in shameful acts and thoughts, but the least of sins which would escape other eyes are manifest in his sight: hence the first duty of the *Samurai*, who prides himself upon being the archetype of the race, was to be master of himself. One of the greatest warriors of the eleventh century left a verse behind him, which, roughly translated, runs:

> 'Subdue first of all thy own self,
> Next thy friends, and last thy foes.
> Three victories are these of him
> That would a conqueror's name attain.'

Self-mastery, the maintenance of equanimity of temper under conditions the most trying, in war or peace, of composure and presence of mind in sudden dangers, of fortitude in times of calamities and reverses, was exercised as one of the primary virtues of a man of action; it was even drilled into youths by genuine Spartan methods.

Paradoxical as it may seem at first appearance, this strong fortification of self against external causes of surprise was but one side of self-subjection. One of the terms of highest praise was 'a man without a *me*.' The complete effacement of self meant identification with a personality of some higher cause. The very duties that man performs are, according to our idea, not to buy salvation for himself; he has no prospect of a 'reward in heaven' offered him, if he does this or does not do that. The voice of Conscience, 'Thou good and faithful servant,' is the only and utmost reward. Impersonality, which Percival Lowell never tires of repeating is a characteristic of the soul of the Far East, may be partly explained by this precept of knighthood. From what I have said it may be seen that shame did not always imply degradation or humiliation in the sight of our fellow-creature. Our expression, *Kokoroin-hajirn* or *Ten-in-hajirn*—to be ashamed before one's own mind or before heaven—has, perhaps, a better equivalent in German than in English in the words *sich schämen*. A teaching like this was absolutely necessary as well as salutary in a small feudal community where public opinion—which may be the notions of a handful of loquacious people—wielded a stronger influence than in the modern age, and where, therefore, other people's fancies could more easily work detriment to independence of thought, and where, also, constant demands on self-abnegation could weaken trust in one's own conviction. 'As long as my mind's mirror is unclouded by all your foul breathings upon its face, all is well,' says a *Samurai;* or, as a poet has put it: 'Leaving to each beholder to think whatever thoughts her presence may inspire, the autumn moon shines clear and serene on the crest of yon mount.' It is true that to a *Samurai*, who should not be a recluse, it was not

enough just to be untarnished : in active life occasions offered themselves which required some compromise, and the story of an ancient Chinese statesman was not forgotten. This nobleman, retiring from public life full of disgust, beguiled his days with angling. One evening, while he was thus occupied, a boat passed by, and a fisherman seated therein thus broke the silence of the sea : ' Art thou not the illustrious lord of Sanyo ? Wherefore this waste of time, when the land is in great need of thy services ?' The nobleman replied : ' All the world is gone astray ; I alone walk straight.' Hereupon the fisherman took his oar, and beating time on the side of his craft as it floated away, sang : ' A superior man keeps pace with the world. When the waters of the Soro stream are as pure as crystal, then may he dip the tassels of his coronet ; when they are sullied with mud, then shall he wash his sandals therein.' A dangerous doctrine this, I own ; still, not unworthy to be pondered over.

The first requisite for a perfect *Samurai* was, as I have said, ever to keep account with himself. Conscience, called among us by the comprehensive term *Kokoro* (which may mean mind, spirit, and heart as well), was the only criterion of right and wrong. But we know that conscience is a power of perception, and the whole tenor of *Bushido* being activity, we were taught the Socratic doctrine—though Socrates was as unknown to us as X rays—that thought and action are one and the same.

Whatever Conscience approves is Rectitude, and whatever enables us to obtain the latter in conformity with the former is Courage. It is only to be expected from the martial character of *Bushido* that Valour should play an important part. In early youth the *Samurai* was put to the task of bearing and daring. Boys, and girls also—though naturally to a less extent —were trained in a Lacedemonian fashion to endure privation of all kinds. To go through the snow bare-foot before sunrise to his exercise of fencing or archery ; to visit graveyards in the small hours of night ; to pass whole nights sitting upright and ready ; to undergo severe tests which would strike as barbarous a modern ' scientific ' pedagogue, were means of education to which every *Samurai* was subjected. Wholesome, and in many respects useful, as was such a process of steeling the nervous courage of a physical nature, it was not this that *Bushido* chiefly aimed at. It was Mencius who taught the difference between the valour of villeins and what he calls ' great (*i.e.*, moral) courage,' and the man whose stamina lay in the former was given no higher epithet than ' boor-warrior.' ' Courage when it passes beyond proper bounds turns into ferocity.' Confucius taught so clearly that an act to be brave must first be right that one is almost tempted

to charge Shakespeare with translating from the Chinese sage when we see him make the Earl of Albany say: 'When I could not be honest I could not be valiant.' This Rectitude, or Justice, was considered inseparable from Courage. Rectitude was, indeed, the sole justifying condition for the exercise of Valour. Only the rightness of a cause was determined not by utilitarian argument, but solely by subjective moral judgment. It was the motive, not the end, that imparted justness to conduct. In part, as John Stuart Mill has said, the motive and the object of a moral action are hardly distinguishable. It has always seemed to me that as our thought works only in a straight line, when we treat intellectually of a moral action, we think of the motive as a starting-point of a line which terminates in another point, the object; whereas a complete moral action may be likened to a solid sphere, an orb, in which justice runs from the centre in innumerable radii, and of which the substance is love. For if Rectitude gives form to character, Benevolence imparts quality and tone to it.

Bushido held Benevolence as the crowning attribute of a noble spirit. It taught that it was cowardice to crush a fallen man, that it was manly to help the weak and show sympathy to women and children, that a man is truly a *Samurai* who feels in his heart pity. *Bushido*, at its best, even went further than this, if we can trust Bakin as our guide. In his wonderful story of 'Eight Hounds' he makes Inui (who represents the virtue of Benevolence) play the part of a good Samaritan by saving the life of his own wounded enemy with medicine and nursing, an act worthy to be inscribed in the records of the Red Cross. I confess I feel a difference, without being able to express it, between Love, as taught by Christ, and Benevolence, upon which *Bushido* never ceases from insisting. Is it in their intrinsic character? Is it in their degree of intensity? Is it that the one is democratic and the other aristocratic? Is it in the ways of manifestation? Is it that the one is eternally feminine and the other eternally masculine? Or is it that the one is of Heaven, heavenly, and the other of the earth, earthy? I know not how to answer these and other questions arising in quick succession as my pen glides over the sheets; but this I believe—that *Bushido*, grounding itself in the light that lighteth every man coming into the world, anticipated a more glorious revelation of Love.

But to return. *Bushido* regarded Benevolence as the master virtue, not only because it masters all other virtues, but because it is the first thing needful if a man would master his fellows; hence Confucius and Mencius were tireless in teaching it to princes and rulers. In fact, that single word to them covered the whole duty of kingship. A few years ago (1897) the German

Emperor, in his speech at Coblenz, reminded himself and his people of the 'Kingship by the Grace of God, with its grave duties, its tremendous responsibility to the Creator alone, from which no man, no minister, no parliament, can release the Monarch,' and the so-called medieval strain sounded as if it had the same origin as the *Bushido* conception of moral duty. Benevolence and Magnanimity, the generous virtues, were derived, says Reade in a book from which I have quoted before ('The Order of Moral Evolution'), from parental love, and hence a sovereign, who held in his hand the *patria potestas* over millions, was expected above all to prize and practise these virtues.

When a ruler is actuated by a lofty sense of the functions of his office as powers entrusted to him from above, there remains nothing higher for his subjects than to support him with all the obedience compatible with their duties to their own consciences. *Bushido* was thus like Christianity, a doctrine of duty and service. The governing and the governed were alike taught to serve a higher end, and to that end to sacrifice themselves. Did a monarch behave badly, *Bushido* did not lay before the suffering people the panacea of a good government by regicide. In all the forty-five centuries during which Japan has passed through many vicissitudes of national existence, no blot of the death of a Charles I. or a Louis XVI. ever stained the pages of her history. Did ever a Nero or a Caligula sit upon our throne? I have grounds for discrediting the story of Yuriaku's atrocities and Buretsu's brutalities.

The love that we bear to our Emperor naturally brings with it a love for the country over which he reigns. Hence our sentiment of patriotism—I will not call it a duty, for, as Dr. Samuel Johnson rightly suggests, patriotism is a sentiment and is more than a duty—I say our patriotism is fed by two streams of sentiment, namely, that of personal love to the monarch, and of our common love for the soil which gave us birth and provides us with hearth and home. Nay, there is another source from which our patriotism is fed: it is that the land guards in its bosom the bones of our fathers; and here I may dwell awhile upon our Filial Piety.

Parental love man possesses in common with the beasts, but filial love is little found among animals after they are weaned. Was it the last of the virtues to develop in the order of ethical evolution? Whatever its origin, Mr. Herbert Spencer evidently thinks it is a waning trait in an evolving humanity; and I am aware that everywhere there are signs of its giving way to individualism and egotism; especially does this seem to be the case in Christendom. Christianity, by which I do not mean what Jesus of Nazareth taught, but a

mongrel moral system, a concoction of a little of obsolete Judaism, of Egyptian asceticism, of Greek sublimity, of Roman arrogance, of Teutonic superstitions, and, in fact, of anything and everything that tends to make sublunary existence easy by sanctioning the wholesale slaughter of weaker races, or now and then the lopping of crowned heads—Christianity, I say, teaches that the nucleus of a well-ordered society lay in conjugal relations between the first parents, and, further, that therefore a man must leave father and mother and cleave to his wife. A teaching, this, in itself not easy of comprehension, as Paul himself admits, and very dubious in application, meaning, as it so often does, that a silly youth, when he is infatuated with a giddy girl, may spurn his parents!

Christ certainly never meant it, nor did the decalogue command, 'Thou shalt love thy wife more than thou shouldst honour thy father and mother.' *Bushido* contends that society —fellowship of spirits—did not begin with Adam and his wife—*i.e.*, with conjugal relations—but with Adam and his Father. Even without the help of Mark Twain's vivid 'Diary of Adam,' we can picture to ourselves the time when Eve was an utter stranger in Eden. Before this long-haired creature appeared, Adam had already often communed with his Maker, Creator, Father, so that the relations between son and Father had existed, even according to the Biblical narrative, ere those between husband and wife; in other words, as far as precedence is concerned, Filial Piety was the first of the virtues. Well-nigh unknown among the lower animals, it was perhaps the first to be felt by men. It is not impossible that the instant a four-footed creature walked erect, he called out, 'Abba, Father.' So much for the claim made by Christianity that conjugal love precedes filial.

Our idea of filial love, therefore, is, above all, gratitude for existence and for all that it involves. This we learned from Shintoism; and, though Buddhism gave us a sceptical natural-historical conception of our birth, the good sense of the people rejected it as untrue.

I mean no braggadocio when I state as my belief that at the core the Japanese race instinct was (and I hope is) sound. It grasped moral truths more directly than its intellectual teachers of the Asiatic continent. There is more than man's wit in the anecdote which follows: 'A Chinese sovereign once made a present to Japan of "The Book of Twenty-four Acts of Filial Piety," whereupon Japan sent a "Book of Twenty-four Acts of Filial Disobedience," accompanied by a letter to the effect that, whereas in China one could find only twenty-four cases of filial love, in Japan one could not discover more than the same number of men who could be charged with disobedience.'

I am far from having exhausted the subject of filial duties. It is in itself a large theme, and if we were to follow it in all its ramifications, such as the power and responsibility of parents, the worship of ancestors, the constitution of the family, the home education of youths, the place of a mother in the household, it would lead me into the regions of jurisprudence and sociology above my knowledge. Lack of time is my chief excuse for curtailing my discourse. This is, however, the right place to describe in a few words the position of woman, since it was chiefly as a mother that she received our homage. In no respect does our Chivalry differ more widely from the European than in its attitude toward the weaker sex. 'In Europe gallantry,' says St. Palaye, 'is, as it were, the soul of society.' The so-called *gai sabreur*—gay science of war and gallantry—was studied and exalted into laws more imperious than those of military honour. And what did it amount to? We see Gibbon blush as he alludes to it; we hear Hallam call it 'illicit love'; Freeman and Green use terms even more severe. Still, there was a grain of truth in it. Were it not for these, where would the ladies of Christendom have been? Cornish repeats over and over again that courtesy to women was not a feature of European Chivalry, but that it was learned from the Saracens. We on our part had no Saracens to teach us; the Chinese sages and Buddhist monks gave us only depreciatory notions of womankind. It is a matter of constant surprise to me that, with all their great influence, Confucianism and Buddhism did not degrade our women's social position. Whatever gallantry we had was our own, and this was due first of all to the teaching of manliness which enjoined upon the knights to be clement to the weak; it was due, in the next place, to the teaching of reverence for parents, making sacred the person of women as actual or potential mothers. I am neither so blind nor so partial as to assert that among the *Samurai* there existed no gaity or lax frivolity, no love of adventure; but these were side-issues, never forming part of the precepts of knighthood, as *gai sabreur* did of European Chivalry. Nothing is more erroneous than to regard the character of *Samurai* women as anything like that of the geisha type; it was, indeed, the very contrast between them that was the *raison d'être* of the latter; for the former was a sedate and even stern, earnest, 'home-made body,' with little tact for entertaining and much less for amusing, better versed in ancient poems than in the newest songs, more deft with swords and spears than with guitars and samisen. Plutarch tells us that the ambition of a Spartan woman was to be the wife of a great man, and the mother of illustrious sons. *Bushido* set no lower ideal before our maidens; their whole

bringing up was in accordance with this view. Upland's couplet that 'she thrives in sunshine, but our strength in storm and rain,' did not apply to the training of our girls. They were instructed in many martial practices, in the art of self-defence—that they might safeguard their person and their children—the art of committing suicide, that in case no alternative opened but disgrace, they might end their lives in due order and in comely fashion. Peaceful accomplishments—music, dancing, belles-lettres, flower arrangements, etc.—were not to be neglected, but readiness for emergency, housekeeping, and the education of children were considered by far the most weighty lessons to be learnt. The inuring of nerves to hardship was a necessary part of their training. Sobs and shrieks were regarded as unworthy of a *Samurai* woman. We read of a mother in whose presence her daughter was slaughtered calmly composing an ode—'The mosses growing hidden in the bottom depth of an ancient well may bring to strangers' ken the fluttering of their leaves, but never may my heart betray its emotions to human eye.'

Stoicism is a point insisted upon constantly in our self-culture; so that no sooner is our heart stirred than the will is brought into reflex motion to subdue it. Is a man angry? it is bad taste to rage; let him laugh out his indignation! Has tribulation stricken him? let him bury his tears in smiles. It is a very common remark that the Japanese are a bright-hearted, merry people, wearing a perpetual smile, and that the girls are ever simpering and giggling. As Lafcadio Hearn has in his inimitable style analyzed the Japanese smile, there is but little left to add. Suffice it to say that it is a complex phenomenon, being the result of several conscious and unconscious conflicts in the brain and in the breast. The constant endeavour to maintain serenity of mind is so closely connected with our sense of politeness and civility that I may now pass over to this trait of *Samurai* education. The underlying idea of politeness is to make your company and companionship agreeable to others. It is the first condition of good society. Bows and courtesies are but a small part of good breeding. If, however, your bows are so awkward as to offend your friend's good taste, they deserve to be studied and amended. Etiquette, therefore, may be studied as one studies music for the voice or mathematics for mental discipline. This implies as little that manners are all as that the voice is everything. Etiquette is not an end in *Bushido* culture: it is one of the many ways whereby man may cultivate his spiritual nature. In drinking tea, it is a slight affair how you handle your spoon, but it is never too small to show what you are. 'Manners make the man.' Still, I cannot emphasize too strongly that

manners and etiquette are valuable only as manifestations of a genuine culture of the soul, which pleases itself in imparting pleasure to others and in avoiding giving pain. Politeness must conform to the precept to 'rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep,' or, rather, to rejoice with those who rejoice, and not let others weep when you weep. Stoicism and politeness, apparently so far apart, are in reality brother and sister: he bears all that she may shine; without her he is stolid; without him she is trivial.

I can well imagine that, in the early days of *Bushido*, strict canons of proper behaviour had to be enforced to hold together so inflammable and ferocious a set of mortals as the two-sworded fighters. Everywhere with the bearing of weapons goes hand in hand propriety of conduct. Sir Stamford Raffles, in his 'History of Java,' attributes the courteous manners of the people to the custom of carrying the *kris*, or native knife. Whether gentility of manners is a race characteristic of the Malayans, as cleanliness seems to be, is a question not easy to answer; but certain it is that *Bushido* refined whatever courtesy we may have possessed as a Malayan element of our race. Courtliness and ceremonies are inherent in any form of Chivalry. 'Though ceremony grown stale is tedious and meaningless,' says Cornish, 'it has its origin in natural dignity.'

That loftiness of demeanour, which was called *parage* and was part of the true Knight character, was distinguished from pride as clearly as admiration was from envy, and was inseparable from ceremony. There is always danger that ceremony and politeness may belie their real nature and turn respectively into stiff mannerism or glib obsequiousness. The moment sincerity is set aside, the most gentle behaviour has no justification for being lauded. Mere empty forms and phrases were abhorred by the stern ethics of *Samurai-ism*. Esoteric *Bushido*, if I may use such a term, would not tolerate any word of or act lacking in sincerity and veracity.

It is an exceedingly superficial remark, so often heard among Europeans, that the Japanese are too polite to be sincere, or, as one missionary writes, 'They' (a usual term for the inaptly-used noun 'native.' If I am not greatly mistaken, this word, of course etymologically perfectly correct, is generally applied to the people born in a country which forms a colony of another, and not to the inhabitant sof an equal independent power; hence Englishmen may call Hindoos 'natives' in India, but it sounds strange to our ears to hear any European apply the term to the Japanese!) 'are such inveterate liars.' A girl from a missionary school gets married; her teacher asks her, 'Is your husband good to you?' The bride says 'No,' for she would not think of praising her other half more than herself, or

admitting his tenderness to her. Forthwith the bridegroom is charged with cruelly maltreating her. If, happily, it is found afterwards that the newly-married couple are really as happy as can be, it is the turn of the wife to be charged with telling a falsehood. Such is the unregenerate politeness of these benighted heathens. You ask your Japanese friends in the very depths of affliction what ails them, and in reply you get a smile and the answer, 'Nothing'; for why should they disturb the peace and serenity of their friends with their sorrows as long as they can bear them themselves? Such an answer you may call a lie—a conventional lie, at least, or, more fitly, perhaps, a lie of pride; nevertheless, is it not less blameworthy and more Christian than pouring into your neighbour's ears all the woes which may constitute the truest facts of your life? No honest hater of cant will deny the truth as stated by George Eliot. 'We mortals, men and women,' says she, 'devour many a disappointment between breakfast and dinner time; keep back the tears and look a little pale about the lips, and in answer to inquiries say, "Oh, nothing!" Pride helps us,' she continues, 'and pride is not a bad thing when it only urges to hide our own hurts, not to hurt others.'

Veracity, far from being neglected, formed an important item in the category of knightly virtues. Truth-telling is not always recommended in military life. Strategy is not outspoken honesty. Consider what Lycurgus taught. Honesty is not easily born or bred in camps; rather is it a product of markets and workshops. When Mr. Kidd so exuberantly dilates on the superiority of Western civilization as being mainly due to such a democratic and plain, everyday virtue as honesty and the like, he mistakes effect largely for cause. It requires no flight of imagination or depth of cogitation to discover in industrial dealings that 'honesty is the best policy,' whereas veracity, as known in martial ethics, attains a higher and deeper and consequently rarer form, which Lecky calls the philosophical, as distinct from the political or industrial.

The mercantile calling was as far removed from *Bushido* as the north is from the south. To a *Samurai*, trade and commerce were small concerns to which it was derogatory to his dignity to pay any attention; hence the effect of *Bushido* upon the early days of our commerce was not appreciable. This was naturally followed by a low moral tone in the industrial classes. One vulnerable point of *Bushido*, which it shares with all class morality, is that it meted out honour in unequal degrees to the various vocations of society—most of all to the *Samurai*, then to the tillers of the soil, to mechanics, and least of all to merchants. The last-named being considered by the rest as the least honourable, naturally they adjusted their moral tone

to their reputation. Still, as I have already observed, honesty is a virtue easiest learned in commercial transactions; for its reward is not laid so far off as heaven nor after death, but at the counter or else at the court, when the bills are due. Already in the last two decades we notice in our industrial circles a considerable improvement in this particular respect.

Bushido, being the morality of a certain class, had a circumscribed sphere, and so its precepts were strained to a higher pitch than would have been the case had its compass been more extensive. For instance, as they troubled themselves but little with the morality of the trades-people, they were the more strict in demanding honesty from their votaries. The punishment awaiting those who violated their code of Honour was terribly severe. Take *hara-kiri* as a type of what was expected of a *Samurai* when he disgraced himself. It is not unusual to hear this word, which, by the way, is more usually called by us *seppuku* or *kappuku*, jeeringly mentioned by foreign writers, and certainly the practice is in itself a revolting one. It is unjust, however, to look upon a practice like this from an altogether realistic point of view. To one who has never heard of the world tragedy of Mount Calvary what a disgusting sight Tissot's picture of that scene presents! Death-scenes even of the best are not always dramatic or picturesque. It is the story which casts a halo round a martyr's livid death; it is the life the dead have lived which steals from death the pangs and ignominy. Were it not so, who would associate a cup of hemlock with philosophy, or a cross with the Gospel? If *seppuku* were a form of execution confined to robbers and pickpockets, well might it deserve its literal translation, 'splitting the belly,' and then be politely dispensed with in polite society. We may say of body-ripping what Carlyle said of religious mendicancy, that 'it was no beautiful business, nor an honourable one in any eye, till the nobleness of those who did so had made it honoured of some.' *Seppuku* does literally and actually mean cutting the abdomen. It was a form of death confined to the two-sworded order. Sometimes it was a punishment imposed by authority, or it might be self-imposed; sometimes it was a sacrifice (can I call it symbolical?) of life for a cause; sometimes, also, the last resort wherein honour could find refuge. When it was administered as a punishment it amounted to this: that the guilty one admitted his own crime; it was as though he said: 'I have done wrong; I am ashamed before my own conscience. I punish myself with my own hand, for I judge myself.' If the accused were innocent he would nevertheless often commit *seppuku*, the idea in this case being: 'I am not guilty; I will show you my soul, that you may judge for yourself.' The very natural

question is often put by foreigners, 'Why was this particular part of the body selected for the operation of self-immolation?' I may say it can only be answered by referring them to a physiological belief as to the seat of the soul. Where lies the essence of life? is a query put forth and meditated upon by the wise men of all ages. The old Jewish prophets said in the bowels, the Greeks in the *thumos* or *phren*, the French in the *ventre*, the Japanese in the *hara*. Now, *hara* is a comprehensive term meaning the whole lower front part of the trunk. The large ganglionic centres in the abdomen, which are exceedingly sensitive to any psychic action, gave rise to the belief that there lay the seat of the soul. When Shakespeare puts into Brutus' mouth, 'Thy (Cæsar's) spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords into our proper entrails,' did he not put the great weight of his authority toward making such a belief plausible? To the practical and labour-saving mind of the West nothing could seem more unnecessary and foolish than to go through all this painful operation when a pistol-shot or a dose of arsenic would answer the purpose just as well. It must be remembered, however, that the *Bushido* idea of *seppuku* was not soley 'to end the thousand and one ills to which flesh is heir.' Death, as such, was not 'a consummation devoutly to be wished for.' Honour was what decided this action in life or death and honour never tolerates the idea of sneaking out of existence. The cool deliberation without which *seppuku* would be impossible was to prove that it was not adopted in haste or in a fit of madness. A clear conscience marked each step of the undertaking. The pain which it necessitated was the measure of the fortitude with which it was borne. In one word the committer of *seppuku* could say: 'Bear witness that I die the death of the brave. I shirk no requirement that is demanded of courage.' Then, too, to the *Samurai*, death, be it on the field of battle or on the mats (as we say) in peace was to be the crowning glory—'the last of life, for which the first was made,' and hence it was to be attended with full honour.

Seppuku is no longer a mode of punishment. The new criminal system code knows nothing of the time-honoured customs and institutions. A new 'enlightened' generation of jurists has risen who abhor such relics of barbarism. Youths who have never borne a sword, who have not learned what depth there is in shame and what heights in honour, and who find their standard of right and wrong only in physiology and in statute-books, are fast coming to the front. I mean no offence to Christian teachings, if indeed Christ did teach anything definite against self-murder, when I state that that day will be a sorry day for Japan when her sons shall grow

oblivious of their appreciation of honour (I do not mean *seppuku* itself) which the fearful practice implied.

That inborn race instinct of honour is the only safeguard of our public morals, the sole imperative check on our private conduct, the one foundation of patriotism and Loyalty—Honour is the only tie that binds the Japanese to the ethical world; any other moral power is still feeble, either in its infancy or in its senility, though there is no denying that numerous and attractive panaceas are being advertised at every corner of the streets. Buddhism has lost its earnest strivings, busying itself with petty trifles among its small sects. The light of Confucius and Mencius has paled before the more taking, if more variegated, light of later philosophers. Christianity has wandered far from the teachings of its Divine Founder, and as too often preached is a farce and a caricature of the original. Diabolical Nietzsche and his shallow followers are gradually making their way, assuring to still shallower youths salvation through Hedoinism, though it has not as yet gained strong foothold, if ever it can. Unitarians present us with balance-sheets of pleasure and pain, assuring us that theirs is the only scientific system of moral book-keeping. Materialism is not slack in enlisting a large following, to which it doles out in well-tasting pills such comfort as the world can give. Reactionism has on its part tried hard to build a structure of its own, based on cant, bigotry, and hypocrisy, into which it would unite the whole Japanese race, and of course excluding foreigners. But all these systems and schools of ethics are mainly confined to lecture-rooms and to loud talkers. The heart of the nation is still swayed by *Bushido*. It commands and guides us, and, consciously or unconsciously, we follow. It is through the medium of *Bushido* that the best reverence of our fathers and the noblest lore of our mothers still spring, for our flesh and blood had been imbued with it. How could it be otherwise? 'Bodykins, Master Page,' says the country justice Shallow in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' 'Bodykins, Master Page, though I now be old and of the peace, if I see a sword out my finger itches to make one. Though we are justices and doctors and churchmen, Master Page, we have some salt of our youth in us; we are the sons of women, Master Page.' We can be but the children of our parents. And when I say so I am far from advocating on the one hand the revival of old feudalism, for it was not a trait inherent in our race; nor do I mean, on the other hand, that we should preserve obsolete political or social institutions, for institutions must of necessity be ever changing with the march of time. The spirit of *Bushido* is ever ready to listen to and to adopt whatever is good, pure, and of good repute. The transformation of

modern Japan is itself the fruit of the teachings of *Bushido*. The world admits that Japan, from being a nonentity in the politics of the world, has in the brief space of thirty years raised herself into the position of a first-class Power. The explanation of this seeming miracle has been attempted from various standpoints; but those who are not acquainted with the psychology of our race and with the precepts of Knighthood have despaired of finding an adequate theory, and have summarily attributed what is really no miracle at all to an apish mimicry. It is true that in a sense we certainly possess imitativeness. What progressive nation has not possessed and made use of it? Just think of how little Greek culture has originated on Hellenic soil. Of the Romans at their best, who does not know that they imitated most freely from Greece? How much of Spanish glory and grandeur at their zenith was of Moorish origin? I need not multiply examples. It seems to me that the most original—that is, the least imitative people—are the Chinese, and we see where their originality has led them. Imitation is educative, and education itself is, in the main, imitation. Wallace, and after him many other zoologists, have taught us what a rôle imitation and mimicry play in the preservation of life in nature. We shudder to think what might have been our fate, in this cannibalistic age of nations had we been always consistently original. Imitation has certainly been a means of our salvation.

But imitation is a term of wide significance, which may mean a blind aping such as is the frequent theme in 'Æsop's Fables,' or it may mean an educative principle, a conscious following of a pattern selected with discretion and foresight. In this last instance imitation implies something more; it takes for granted a power of selecting and of acting accordingly. Such a power was *Bushido*, a teaching which, like its symbol, the cherry-blossom, was born and nurtured in the soil of our Island Realm. It breathed into our nostrils the breath of life, the *Yamato-Damashii*, the soul of Japan. Well has sung that ancient poet:

> 'Isles of blessed Japan,
> Should your *Yamato* spirit
> Strangers seek to scan,
> Say—scenting morn's sunlit air,
> Blows the cherry, wild and fair.'

And the popular ballad responded 'as among flowers the *Sakura* (cherry) is queen, so among men the *Samurai* is lord.'

But the *Samurai* is no more, and *Bushido* will follow in his steps; as his pride is swallowed up in the wide glory of an enlightened populace, so will the teachings of *Bushido* be merged into a larger, higher code of morals. Whatever

evangel the coming age may reveal to our nation, it can but be in fulfilment of the law which *Bushido* has taught us for past centuries. In the meantime it becomes us to remain loyal to the best that we have inherited and that has been entrusted to us.

II. Ancestor-Worship

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In Europe and America ancestor-worship has long ceased to exist, even if it was ever practised. In Japan—where at the present time a Constitutional Government is established; where codes of laws modelled upon those of Western countries are in operation; where, in short, almost every art of civilization has taken firm root—the worship of deceased ancestors still obtains, and exercises a powerful influence over the laws and customs of the people. The practice dates back to the earliest days, and has survived through hundreds of generations, in spite of the many political and social revolutions which have taken place since the foundation of the empire. The introduction of *Chinese civilization* into the country was favourable to the growth of this custom, by reason of the fact that the morality, laws, and institutions of China are also based upon the doctrine of ancestor-worship. *Buddhism*, which is not based upon this doctrine, but is, on the contrary, antagonistic to it, was compelled to yield to the deep-rooted belief of the people, and adapt itself to the national practice; while the introduction of *Western civilization*, which brought so many social and political changes during the last thirty years, has had no influence whatever in the direction of modifying the custom. Thus, it will be seen that the three *foreign elements*—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Western civilization—all of which have had immense influence upon our laws, manners, and customs, and two of which were diametrically opposed to ancestor-worship, could not make way against, nor put an end to, the widespread and persistent faith of the people.

The Origin of Ancestor-Worship.

The origin of ancestor-worship has been ascribed by many eminent writers to the *dread of ghosts* (Sir John Lubbock's 'Origin of Civilization,' 4th edition, p. 318; Jhering's 'Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropaer,' S. 59; Fustel de Coulange's 'La Cité Antique,' chap. ii.), and the sacrifices made to the souls of ancestors for the purpose of *propitiating* them. It appears to me more correct to attribute the origin of ancestor-

worship to a contrary cause. It was the *love* of ancestors, not the *dread* of them, which gave rise to the custom of worshipping and making offerings of food and drink to their spirits. Respect for their parents may in some cases have become akin to *awe;* yet it was *love, not dread,* which caused this feeling. A Chinese philosopher, Shiu-ki, accurately summarizes the origin of ancestor-worship when he says, in his 'Book of House Ceremonies,' that 'the object of worship is nothing less than performing all that is directed by a *feeling of true love and respect.*' Confucius says, in the 'Book of Medium,' that 'it is the highest filial piety to serve the dead as they would serve the living, and to serve the departed as they would serve the present.' We celebrate the anniversary of our ancestors, pay visits to their graves, offer flowers, food, and drink, burn incense, and bow before their tombs, entirely from a feeling of love and a respect for their memory, and no question of 'dread' enters our minds in doing so. Moreover, in the records and traditions of our country there is nothing that suggests that ancestors were worshipped with a view of propitiating their souls.

Ancestor-worship was the primeval religion of Japan from the earliest times of our history, which dates back more than 2,500 years, and it is universally practised by the people at the present moment.

There are three kinds of ancestor-worship in vogue: the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor by all the people; the worship of the patron god of the locality, which, as will be shown later, is the remains of the worship of clan-ancestors by clansmen; and the worship of the family ancestors by the members of that household.

There are two sacred places in every Japanese house: the *Kamidana,* or 'god-shelf'; and the *Butsudan,* or the 'Buddhist altar.' The first-named is the Shinto altar, which is a plain wooden shelf. In the centre of this sacred shelf is placed a Taima or O-nusa, 'great offering,' which is part of the offerings made to the Daijingu of Ise, or temple dedicated to Amaterasu Omi-Kami, the *First Imperial Ancestor.* The Taima is distributed from the Temple of Ise to every house in the empire at the end of each year, and is worshipped by every loyal Japanese as the representation of the First Imperial Ancestor. On this altar the offerings of rice, saké, and branches of sakaki-tree (*Cleyera japonica*) are usually placed; and every morning the members of the household make reverential obeisance before it by clapping hands and bowing, while in the evening lights are also placed on the shelf. On this shelf is placed, in addition, the charm of Ujigami, or the *local tutelary god* of the family, and in many houses the charms of the other Shinto deities also.

In the Shinto household there is a second god-shelf, or Kamidana, which is dedicated exclusively to the worship of *the ancestors of the house*. On this second shelf are placed cenotaphs, bearing the names of the ancestors, their ages, and the dates of their deaths. These memorial tablets are called 'Mitama-shiro,' which means 'representatives of souls,' and they are usually placed in small boxes shaped like Shinto shrines. Offerings of rice, saké, fish, sakaki-tree, and lamps, are made on this second shelf, as on the first.

In the Buddhist household there is, in addition to the Kamidana, a Butsudan, on which are placed cenotaphs bearing on the front posthumous Buddhist names, and on the back the names used by the ancestors during their lifetime. The cenotaph is usually lacquered, and is sometimes placed in a box called 'Zushi,' while family crests are often painted both on the tablet and on the box. Offerings of flowers, branches of shikimi-tree (*Illicium religiosum*), tea, rice, and other vegetable foods, are usually placed before the cenotaphs, while incense is continually burnt, and in the evening small lamps are lighted. The Butsudan take the place of the second god-shelf of the Shinto household, both being dedicated to the worship of family ancestors.

The Worship of Imperial Ancestors.

Of these three kinds of ancestor-worship, the worship of the Imperial ancestors, and especially of the first of them, Amaterasu Omi-Kami, or 'the great Goddess of Celestial Light,' may be styled the national worship. The places set apart for the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor are three in number: the Temple of Daijingu at Ise, the Kashikodokoro in the sanctuary of the Imperial palace, and the Kamidana, which is to be found in every house. In the two first named the divine mirror represents the Imperial Ancestor. This is the mirror which, according to old histories, Amaterasu Omi-Kami gave to Ameno Oshiomino Mikoto, accompanied by the injunction that her descendants should look upon that mirror as representing her soul, and should worship it as herself. The divine mirror, called 'Yata-no-Kagami,' was worshipped in the Imperial household down to the sixth year of the reign of Sujin (B.C. 92), when the Emperor, fearing that familiarity with it might engender disrespect, ordered Princess Toyokuwairihime-no-Mikoto to set up a temple in the village of Yamato, and decreedthat the mirror should be honoured and worshipped there. This temple was afterwards removed to various localities, until Ise was finally chosen as its permanent site. The Emperor further caused a duplicate of the mirror to be

made and placed in the sanctuary of the palace, in order that he and his descendants might worship as heretofore. Thus, the true mirror is now in the Temple of Daijingu at Ise, and the duplicate in the Temple of Kashiko-Dokoro in the Imperial sanctuary. At the present time, not only does every loyal Japanese worship Daijingu in his own house, but many look upon it as a duty to make a pilgrimage to Ise, or 'Ise-Mairi,' at least once during a lifetime. Thousands of people, high and low, rich and poor, yearly throng the Temple of Daijingu from all parts of the country, and offer holy music and dances, called 'Dai-dai-Kagura,' in honour of the Imperial Ancestor.

In the sanctuary of the Imperial palace there are three temples—Kashiko - Dokoro, Kworei - Den, and Shin - Den. Kashiko-Dokoro occupies the central position, and is where the divine mirror is placed, and is dedicated to the worship of the First Imperial Ancestor. Kworei-Den stands to the west of Kashiko-Dokoro, and is dedicated to the worship of all the Imperial ancestors since Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor and the founder of the empire. The third temple, Shin-Den, stands to the east of Kashiko-Dokoro, and serves to honour all the other deities.

At the present time eleven 'great festival days' are observed as national holidays. All these, with the exception of two—one of which is the birthday of the Emperor, and the other the banquet of the New Year — relate to the worship of the Imperial Ancestors. The first holiday is New Year's Day, on which the Emperor performs the ceremony of 'Shihohai,' or 'worship in four directions.' This ceremony takes place in the palace at four o'clock in the morning of the first day of the year. He begins by worshipping the First Imperial Ancestor in the direction of the west, and after in the directions of the respective graves of the first Emperor Jimmu Tenno, and the Imperial Father Komei Tenno, and other deities.

At the termination of this ceremony, the Emperor and the Empress receive New Year's congratulations from the members of the Imperial Family, foreign Ministers, officials, nobles, and other dignitaries; and thus the first ceremony of Court may be said to begin with the worship of Imperial Ancestors.

The second festival takes place on the 3rd of January, and is called 'Genshi Sai,' meaning 'sacrifice to the origin.' On this occasion the Emperor personally performs the *sacra* in the three temples of the sanctuary, attended by the members of the Imperial household and all the high officials of Shin-nin and Chioku-nin rank. In the afternoon the nobility and all officials down to those of the lowest rank, attend the sanctuary to worship the three temples.

The third national festival, called 'Shinnen Yenkwai,' or the

'banquet of the New Year,' takes place on the 5th of January, and is one of the two national holidays which has no relation to ancestor-worship.

The fourth festival day is 'Komei Tenno-Sai.' This is the anniversary of the death of the august father of the Emperor, and is observed on the 30th of January. The ceremonies on this and other festival days being similar, it is unnecessary to give any further description.

The fifth festival, on the 11th of February, is called 'Kigen-Setsu,' or the anniversary of the accession of the first Emperor and the foundation of the Empire. After the ceremonies are performed at the sanctuary, a grand banquet is given in the palace to the Princes, foreign Ministers, high officials, and nobles.

The sixth festival occurs on the 20th of March, and is called 'Shiunki-Kworei-Sai,' or the 'spring sacrifice to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors.' The ceremony of worship is also performed both in Kworei-Den and Shin-Den by the Emperor in person, attended by all the high officials of State.

The seventh festival day, 'Jimmu-Tenno-Sai,' is the 3rd of April, which is devoted to the worship of Jimmu-Tenno, for this day is the anniversary of the death of the first Emperor.

The eighth festival day is 'Sgiuki Kworei Sai,' or the 'autumnal sacrifice to the spirits of Imperial Ancestors,' which takes place on the 23rd of September. This corresponds to the 'spring sacrifice,' and the ceremonies are nearly identical.

The ninth festival, on the 17th of October, called 'Shinsho-Sai,' or 'Kan-Name-Matsuri,' has as its principal ceremony the offering of the first crop of the year to the First Imperial Ancestor.

On this occasion also the Emperor performs the ceremonies at the Imperial sanctuary, besides the ceremony called 'Yo-hai,' or the 'distant worship' of the First Imperial Ancestor at Ise. With the new crops, 'the sacrifice of the first tribute,' or 'Nino-sakino-Nusa,' the offering of silk, is made. This is the relic of the ancient practice of selecting the best portion of the 'first cargo' of the taxes, in kind, and offering it on the graves of the Imperial Ancestors.

The tenth festival day, 'Tencho-Setsu,' is the birthday of His Majesty the Emperor, and is the other of the two festivals not founded upon the worship of Imperial Ancestors.

The eleventh and last festival is 'Shin-sho-Sai,' or 'Nii-Name-no-Matsuri,' which takes place on the 23rd of November. The chief feature is the offering of new crops to the Imperial Ancestors, but this festival will be more fully dealt with in speaking of the accession of the Emperor to the throne.

All the festival days are annually observed as national holidays. National flags are hung from all the houses, women don their best attire, and the streets are thronged with holiday-

makers; while children go to their schools and assemble before the portraits of the Emperor and the Empress, and His Majesty's famous speech on education is read and explained to them by the schoolmasters.

From the foregoing it will be readily seen that *worship of the Imperial Ancestors is the national worship.*

The Worship of Clan Ancestors.

The population of Japan was originally divided into *three classes:* Shin-betsu, the divine branch which consisted of the descendants of the gods; Kwo-betsu, or the Imperial branch, comprising the descendants of the Imperial families; and Ban-betsu, or the foreign branch, comprising the descendants of naturalized foreigners. Each of these three branches was divided again into many clans, each section having a distinctive clan name, 'Uji' or 'Kabane.' The word 'Uji' denoted the clan name, or the common appellation of the descendants of the same ancestor, and sometimes the clan itself. The word 'Kabane' was more usually employed to designate titles of honour, but was also sometimes employed in the sense of a clan name. In the course of time each 'Uji,' or clan, was subdivided into smaller clans. The 'Uji' thus became divided into 'O-uji,' the great clan, and 'Ko-uji,' or small clan. Each 'O-uji' consisted of a number of subordinate bodies, and usually certain words were added to great clan names to distinguish them from the parent community.

Each clan had a clan god, or 'Uji-gami,' who was the eponym of that particular community. In early times it seems to have been customary to render homage to the clan god every month at the house of each individual clansman; but afterwards this practice declined, and festivals in honour of the clan ancestor were substituted, and these were held three times a year in the temple. All clansmen took part in the ceremony, and records still exist which show that Court officials were permitted to set out on a journey to attend the *sacra* of the clan god or ancestor, which were performed in the temples far away from the capital, without first obtaining leave of absence. Sometimes lands were presented by the Emperors to the temples of clan gods of high officials, in order to mitigate the heavy expense of festivals. The offerings submitted on the occasion of festivals consisted usually of food, drink, and clothing.

The word 'Uji-gami' is now used in another sense, meaning local tutelary god, or the patron god of a man's birthplace or domicile. The change in the use of the word 'Uji-gami' from *clan god* to *local tutelary god* possibly rose from the fact that in early days clansmen usually lived together in the same locality, and erected

a temple for the worship of their ancestral eponyms, with the result that the clan god and local patron god meant one and the same deity. But subsequently, the means of communication gradually developing, the members of the various clans began to disperse and to live in different parts of the country. Moreover, the administrative departments of the empire, from being *tribal*, gradually became local and territorial; but facts combine to show that the worship of 'Uji-gami,' or local patron gods, is a relic of the worship of clan ancestors.

The Worship of Family Ancestors.

The occasions for the celebrations of the worship of the ancestors of a house may be classed under three categories—the *sacrifice days*, the *sacrifice months*, and the *sacrifice years*. The sacrifice day, or 'ki-nichi,' is the day in each month corresponding to the day of the ancestor's death. The sacrifice month, or 'sho-tsuki,' is the day of the month corresponding to the day and month of an ancestor's death. The sacrifice year, or 'nen-ki,' is the day of the month in certain years corresponding to the day of the month of the death of an ancestor, the ceremony of worship in connection with it usually taking place among Shintoists on the first, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, and fiftieth year.

Among Buddhists these anniversary ceremonies are usually observed on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, thirty-seventh, forty-third, forty-seventh, fiftieth, and hundredth year, after which year they are held every fiftieth year, as in the case of the Shintoists.

In accordance with an ancient custom, sacrifices are made and ceremonies of worship are performed by Buddhists after a man's death, every seventh day until the seventh seventh day—that is, the forty-ninth day from the date of death—these sacrifice days being respectively designated the 'first seventh day,' the 'second seventh day,' and so on. Among Shintoists these sacrifice days are usually commemorated every tenth day after death, and end with the fiftieth or hundredth.

As a rule, on the sacrifice days, or 'ki-nichi,' of each month, after the seventh seventh day among the Buddhists, and the fiftieth or the hundredth day among Shintoists, only members of the family and near relatives take part in the proceedings; but on the occasion of 'shotsuki' and 'nenki' feasts are provided, and relatives and descendants of ancestors invited to participate in the worship. In both the Shinto and Buddhist religions, priests officiate at the ceremonies, but among Shintoists the ceremonies are held in their own houses, while among

Buddhists they sometimes take place in the temples as well as in their own homes.

The respective rituals of worship differ somewhat in the Shinto and Buddhist religions, and there are also some variations observable in the rites of different Buddhist sects. Shinto offerings consist of rice, saké, fish, game, vegetables, and fruits, for food and drink, and pieces of silk and hemp for clothing, while branches of sakaki-tree and flowers are also frequently offered. The priests who perform the ceremony clap their hands before the altar, and the chief priest pronounces the prayer, or 'norito,' the words of which vary on different occasions, although at the commencement of the recital the spirits of the ancestors are almost invariably informed that the head of the family, with the other members and connections, are assembled for the purpose of celebrating the particular anniversary, reverently offering to the sacred soul 'lucks of sea and mountain,' meaning thereby fish, game, and so on, that the house is in a peaceful condition, and that the descendants are prosperous. The prayer usually ends with the supplication that the spirit may protect and watch over the family, and accept the offerings dutifully submitted. After this each of the assembled party, commencing with the head of the house, takes a 'tamagushi,' or small branch of sakaki-tree, to which is attached a piece of paper representing 'nigo-taye,' or fine cloth, places it on the altar, and then claps hands and makes obeisances. With regard to the significance of the hand-clapping, three explanations have been given. Some consider it a sign of joy, others as an invocation, and others, again, as a sign of admiration. The last-named is the opinion of the late Professor Konakamura, and is the most widely-accepted explanation. At the termination of this ceremony all the relatives are invited to a banquet, concerning which the late Professor Kurita, in his treatise on the 'Ritual of Worship,' writes: 'The relatives assembled partake of the sacred saké, which has been offered to the ancestor, and talk about his meritorious deeds, while each person present gives voice to a resolve not to degrade in any way the name of the ancestor.'

In the ceremonies of the Buddhists the offerings usually consist of tea, rice, fruits, cakes, and flowers, either artificial or natural, the most usual being the lotus. Fish and meat form no part of the sacrifice, because of the doctrine of abstinence from flesh embodied in Buddha's commandments not to kill any animate being. Whether the ceremony takes place in the temple or in the house, priests officiate and recite sacred books. When it is performed in the temple, sacred music generally accompanies the prayer recitals. The assembly in turn burn incense and prostrate themselves before the altar, the order of

precedence being the same as in the case of Shinto worship. The feast which is held in the house on the preceding evening does not differ in its general features from that of the Shintoists, except that the food consists of vegetables only.

In addition to the ceremonies performed on the three occasions referred to, there are three appointed times in the course of a year when people offer sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors, both at home and at the graves. These are the weeks, respectively, of the spring and autumnal equinox, which are called 'Higan,' and the festival of 'Urabon-ye,' or 'Bon,' which continues from the 13th to the 16th of July. In 'Higan' the family graves are visited, and flowers and water offered upon the tombs. In 'Urabon-ye' the festival for the 'invitation of spirits' is held in every Buddhist's house. On the day previous to the Bon festival, 'Kusachi' or 'Bon-ichi' are held in many places for the sale of articles used in the decoration of altars. On the 14th of July visits to the family graves and offerings of flowers and lanterns are made, and shelves are erected in the house called 'Shoryo-dana,' or 'the shelf for the spirits,' which are decorated with various kinds of vegetables and large lanterns called 'kirikodoro.' In the evening of the 13th the 'mukai-bi,' or 'reception fire,' is kindled before the door of the house or in the garden; and on the evening of the 16th 'oquri-bi,' or the 'farewell fire,' is lighted. During these four days the spirits are supposed to come and stay in the house. Priests are invited to recite prayers, and many offerings of rice, water, fruits, cakes, and vegetables, are made on the spirit shelf, the most curious among the offerings being oxen made of egg-plants, and horses fashioned from white melons, the legs being represented by hemp-stalks. Elaborate rules regulate the nature of the offerings of this festival, but it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here. The extent of the sacrifices made on the occasion of the periodical service described, and the number of priests who conduct the ceremony, as well as the size and decorations of the ancestral graves, vary in accordance with the rank and fortune of the people. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a new law was enacted by which the number of priests was limited to two or three hundred, the number of sacred books to be recited to one thousand volumes, and the duration of the festival to three or four days. This reform is said to have reduced the expense to one-tenth of the original amount. This fact demonstrates the importance attached to the worship of ancestors, and the worship of ancestors is not limited only to the festival times mentioned. When a young student goes to Europe to pursue his studies, when a soldier sets out on a campaign, when an official is sent abroad on some Government service, or when a merchant undertakes a long

journey on business, he invariably visits the graves of his ancestors in order to take leave of them. When they live in places distant from their ancestral graves, they very often make long journeys in order to visit the tombs and make sacrifices to them. In many Shintoists' houses the offerings of saké and sakaki-tree are offered every day, and incense is continually burnt in Butsudan. In fact, the worship of the spirits of ancestors forms a part of the everyday life of the people.

Ancestor-Worship and Law.

The relation of ancestor-worship to law is now to be considered. That the foundation of our government was the worship of ancestors is shown by the word for 'government,' 'Matsurigoto,' which means *the affairs of worship*. The ceremony of 'Seiji-hajime,' or 'beginning of the affairs of State,' which takes place on the 4th of January, consists of the Emperor receiving from his Ministers the reports of the affairs of the Temple of Daijingu, the First Ancestor of the Emperor. Thus, the business of our Government begins every year with matters relating to ancestor-worship. Even after the introduction of Chinese civilization in ancient times, and the great reform of the Taikwa era in A.D. 645-649, the Department of Divine Worship was given precedence over all other Government departments, even over 'Da-Jo-Gwan,' or the Great Council of State, which was afterwards reorganized and established as the Cabinet. And although the affairs of Divine Worship are now administered by bureaux of the Home Department and the Imperial household, motions are brought forward in almost every session of the Diet to make representation to the Government to revive the Department of Divine Worship.

The most minute regulations with respect to rituals of worship are to be found in the old books of law, such as the Taiho Code and Yengi Shiki; and all great affairs of State, like the promulgation of the Constitution, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, and the revision of treaties with foreign Powers, are usually reported to the Temple of the First Imperial Ancestor at Ise, and sometimes to the tombs of other Imperial Ancestors.

The Constitution.

The present Constitution of the Empire of Japan was promulgated by the Emperor on the 11th of February, 1889, that day being the national festival of Kigensetsu, or the anniversary of the foundation of the empire by the first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno. In the framing of this Constitution, the Constitutions of Western countries were examined, and most of the principles which

find a place in the component elements of constitutional governments have been adopted, in so far as they are consistent with the fundamental principles of the form of Imperial government that has existed from the beginning of our empire. That fundamental principle is clearly stated in the first article of the Constitution: 'The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a *line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.*' That the foundation of the Constitution is the worship of Imperial Ancestors is definitely set forth in the preamble of the Constitution, which runs thus: 'Having by the virtues of Our Ancestors ascended the throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; remembering that Our beloved subjects are the *very same* that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors, and desiring to promote their welfare and give development to their moral and intellectual faculties; and hoping to maintain the prosperity and progress of the State, in concert with our people and with their support: We hereby promulgate . . . a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point to what Our descendants, Our subjects and their descendants are for ever to conform. *The rights of Sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our Ancestors,* and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor They shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.'

In the course of the Imperial speech made on the occasion of the promulgation of the Constitution, His Majesty said: 'The *Imperial Founder of Our House* and *Our Other Imperial Ancestors,* by the help and support of the *forefathers* of Our subjects, laid the foundations of Our Empire upon a basis which is to last for ever. That this brilliant embellishes the annals of Our Country is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their Country, and their public spirit.'

His Majesty further took an oath to the Imperial Ancestors at the sanctuary of the palace, to observe the provisions of the fundamental law, the terms of the oaths including the statements that the Constitution was the 'exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the Government bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors,' and that the new Constitution was intended to 'give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, in consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs, and in order to keep in line with the advance of civilization.'

When Jimmu Tenno founded the empire and ascended the throne, the ceremony of coronation consisted in the worship of the Imperial Ancestors on the Hill of Torimi Yama. At the accession of every Emperor there is a ceremony called 'Daijo-Sai' or 'Oname-no-Matsuri,' usually on the first festival day of Shinsho-Sai, the eleventh festival day already referred to, in which the newly-crowned Emperor offers the first-fruits of the year to his ancestors. Article 11 of the Imperial House Law says: 'The ceremonies of Coronation shall be formed, and Daijo-Sai shall be held at Kyoto.' Article 10 of the same law provides that 'upon the demise of the Emperor the Imperial Heir shall ascend the throne, and *shall acquire the Divine Treasures of the Imperial Ancestors*.' These divine treasures consist of the mirror before mentioned, a sword and a precious stone which have been bequeathed by the First Imperial Ancestor, Amaterasu Omi Kami, to her descendants as symbols of the Imperial power.

The foregoing facts relating to the Constitution of the empire will suffice to show that the sovereignty of Japan is the heritage of Imperial Ancestors, and that the foundation of the Constitution is ancestor-worship.

The People.

That the worship of Imperial Ancestors is our national worship has already been stated. They are worshipped, not only because they are the ancestors of our august Sovereign, but because they are the Sovereigns of our ancestors. Formerly, as has been stated, the people of Japan were divided into three branches, or 'three bodies,' and each branch was divided into many clans. Each individual subject had a 'Uji,' or clan name, which was the mark of descent from a certain ancestor. Each clan, whether great or small, had its chief, called 'Uji-no-kami,' who was usually the oldest male descendant of the eponymous ancestor. He was obeyed and honoured by the clansmen as the representative of their common ancestor. He was the head of their worship, their leader in time of war, and their governor in the time of peace. Small clansmen were governed by the 'Uji-no-kami' of the clan, who was himself subject to the 'Uji-no-kami' of the great clan. The Emperor was the supreme authority over them all, and laws and proclamations of the Imperial Government were transmitted to the 'Uji-no-kami' of great clans, who in turn transmitted them to the 'Uji-no-kami' of the small clans, and thus each clan, which was *a body founded on the community of blood and worship*, formed an administrative division of the country, corresponding to the present administration divisions, such as provinces, cities, towns, districts, and

villages. Since the great reform of the Taika era, in spite of the fact that the clan system of government continued for a long time afterward, the bases of administration division of the country gradually changed from being personal to being territorial.

THE HOUSE.

In the Middle Ages clans began to gradually disintegrate, and households took their place. This transition may be illustrated by the history of our Law of Registration. The development of this law can be divided into three epochs: (1) The epoch of clan registration; (2) of house registration; and (3) of personal registration. In those early days, when the clan formed the unit of the State, it was of the utmost importance that each person's clan name should be kept sacred. As only those who belonged to certain clans could fill high official positions or join the Imperial Bodyguard, and as several other privileges were enjoyed by particular clans, attempts were often made to forsake original clans and surreptitiously adopt the names of some influential clans. In order to put a stop to these abuses, an 'ordeal of hot water,' or 'kuga dachi,' was held, in obedience to an Imperial proclamation in the fourth year of the Emperor Inkyo (A.D. 415), to test the truth or falsehood of the clan names borne by the people. This ordeal consisted in plunging the hand into hot water before the temple of a god, and it was claimed that those who had assumed false clan names would suffer injury, whilst the innocent would escape unhurt. In the fifth year of the era of Tempei Hoji (A.D. 761) an office called 'Sen Shizoku Jo' was founded for the compilation of a clan registry, and a Commission was appointed which numbered among its members the most distinguished scholars of the time. The work of the Commission was, however, not completed. Since this time Imperial proclamations were frequently issued ordering all clans in the empire to send their genealogical records to the Government, in order that they might be included in the Imperial archives. It was ordered that in these records the name of the first ancestor, and also the name of the ancestor from whom the small clan branched out, should always be given, and the records of those claiming to belong to noble clans had to be attested by the signature of the head of the whole clan. In the reign of the Emperor Saga, in the sixth year of the era of Konin, the 'Register of Clan Names,' or 'Seishi Roku,' was compiled, a part of which is still in existence to-day. This register consists of thirty volumes, and contained 1,182 clan names. In that year 'Kan Kei Jo,' or the Bureau of Genealogical Investigation, was established. The preservation of genealogical records and their accuracy

were considered to be matters of the utmost importance in those times, and their loss or forgery used to supply abundant material to the writers of novels and dramas, just as the subject of the loss or forgery of wills is frequently resorted to by Western writers.

The introduction of 'ko-seki,' house-registry, dates back as far as A.D. 645, first year of the era of Taika, when great reforms were made in the system of government.

It was only in the year 1898, the 31st year of Meiji, that the history of our law registration began to enter upon the third stage of the development. The present law, which was promulgated in 1898, and which replaced the previous law of 1871, still retains the name of 'Koseki Ho,' or the 'Law of House Registration,' but the character of the law has undergone a change, necessitated by the progress of the social condition of the country, for it provides for the registration of *individual status*, or 'mibun-toki,' as well as of house registration.

So it will be seen that until recently a house was a corporation and a legal unit of the State. But ever since the Restoration of 1868 the family system has gradually fallen, until at present the house has entirely lost its corporate character. Formerly it was the head of the family *only* who could fill an official position, serve in the army, and hold property. But with the reform in the system of government the members of a house were permitted to fill public positions, and with the reforms of the law of military conscription both head and members are liable to military duties; while with the progress of commerce and industry the younger members of the house were entitled to hold public bonds, stocks, and shares, which the law now recognises as their separate property. Although the house has thus lost its corporate existence in the eyes of the law, it still, nevertheless, retains its character as the unit of society. The new Civil Code, which came into operation in 1898, allows members to secede from a household, and to establish a new 'branch house' with the consent of the head of the family (Article 743, Civil Code); for the law recognises the tendency of social progress towards individualism, but at the same time it makes careful provision for the continuity of the house.

It is provided in Article 744 that 'the legal presumptive heir to the headship of a house is not permitted to enter another house, or to establish a new one, except in cases where the necessity arises for the succession to maintain the main branch of the house.' A legal presumptive heir is *heres necessarius*, as to him falls the duty of succeeding to the headship of his house and of upholding the continuity of its worship. For that reason he or she cannot become a member of another house

by marriage, adoption, or any other cause, nor found a house of his or her own except where the more important duty of preserving the continuity of the worship of the main branch of the house renders such a step necessary.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage, as an institution, must seek for the original cause of its recognition by law in ancestor-worship. The State recognised wedlock, and began to make rules for its protection, because it was regarded as a *means of perpetuating the worship of ancestors*. In the eyes of the old law it was essential that a family should perpetuate itself for ever, and marriage represented the union of man and woman for the purpose of obtaining a successor to maintain the continuity of ancestor-worship. It was a means to an end, and that end was the continuity of the *sacra*. It was considered one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall a man, to die without leaving a son to perpetuate the worship of his ancestors and himself. Mencius says: 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to leave no posterity is the greatest of them.' In the 'Book of Filial Piety,' Confucius says: 'There are three thousand acts which are punished by the five punishments, but no crime is greater than filial impiety.' Therefore to die without male issue was regarded as the greatest sin a man could commit against the doctrine of Chinese philosophy, which has been taught in our country for more than a thousand years. The reason of this doctrine is obvious. The posthumous happiness of the ancestors of a family depended on the proper performance of the family *sacra*. It was therefore the *duty* of every head of a house to marry, for the purpose of avoiding the calamity of the family sacra becoming extinct. It was the established principle of our customary law, which is maintained with some modifications in the Civil Code (Article 750), that a member of a house must obtain the consent of the head of the family for his or her marriage. The House Law ('Ko-riyo') of the Taiho Code also required the consent of grandparents, parents, and other relatives, before the marriage could be celebrated. According to Article 751 of the New Civil Code, if a member of a house marries without the consent of the head of the family, the latter may, within one year from the day of the marriage, exclude him or her from the household, or, if he or she has entered another house by the marriage, forbid his or her return to it in case of dissolution of marriage. As to the consent of parents, the first clause of Article 772 provides: 'For the contracting of marriage, a child must obtain the consent of the parents who are *in the same house*. But this rule does not

apply if the man has completed his thirtieth year or the woman her twenty-fifth year.' The consequences of a marriage without the consent of the parents are stated in Articles 783 and 784. The parent may make application to a court of law for the annulment of the marriage within a period of six months from the time when he or she first became acquainted with the fact of the marriage, or within two years from the date of its registration.

Another rule which existed before the Restoration of 1868 clearly shows in what light marriage was regarded by our old law. Formerly, among the Samurai, or military class, only the oldest son, who was the presumptive heir to the house-headship, or his eldest son, who would become the presumptive heir after him, was allowed to contract marriage, and the younger sons could not lawfully marry. It was the duty of every house head and his presumptive heir to marry; but there was no necessity for the younger sons, who had no apparent hope of ever becoming the head of a houshhold. They were consequently called 'heyazumi,' or 'dwellers in apartments.'

Although Chinese laws and philosophy were introduced into Japan in ancient times, the famous Chinese law prohibiting *marriage between persons bearing the same clan name* was not adopted in those of our old codes which were modelled upon the Chinese digest. The reason for this remarkable deviation from the ordinary course seems to be this: that an ancestor only *receives the sacra of his blood descendants*, and the marriage between persons belonging to the same clan—that is, between persons descended from the same ancestor—was, perhaps, rather to be favoured than the alliance with a person of another clan, for the issue of the marriage would be of the unmixed blood of the ancestor. This exception to the general adoption of the Chinese laws appears the more remarkable by reason of the fact that the prohibition against the adoption of a child from a different clan, which has existed and still exists in Chinese law, was included in our old codes, almost without any modification.

Some of the articles of the 'Ordinance relating to the Marriages of the Imperial Household,' published on the 25th of April, 1900, and given below, show also the close relationship between marriage and ancestor-worship:

3. When the agreement of the Imperial Marriage is made, it shall be reported to Kashiko Dokoro (the temple of the First Imperial Ancestor, Amaterasu Omi Kami), Kworei Den (the temple of the other Imperial Ancestors), and Shin Den (the temple dedicated to the worship of other deities); and the Imperial Messenger for offering sacrifices shall be sent to Jingu (the Temple of the First Imperial Ancestor at Ise)

and to the Graves of Jimmu Tenno (the First Emperor), the late Imperial Father and the late Imperial Mother respectively.

6. The Imperial Marriage shall be reported to Kashiko Dokoro, Kworei Den, and Shin Den on the day when the ceremony takes place.

7. The ceremony of the Imperial Marriage shall be performed before the Temple of Kashiko Dokoro, according to the forms specially prescribed.

9. The Emperor and the Empress shall present themselves to the Temples of Kworei Den and Shin Den when the ceremony of the Imperial Marriage is finished.

12. The Emperor and the Empress shall present themselves to Jingu and to the respective Graves of Jimmu Tenno, the late Imperial Father and the late Imperial Mother, after the ceremony of the Imperial Marriage is performed.

15. The ceremony of marriage of Kwo Taishi (the Imperial son who is Heir-apparent), Kwo Taison (the Imperial grandson who is Heir-apparent), Shinno (Imperial male descendants, from Imperial sons to Imperial great-great-grandsons), or Wo (Imperial male descendants from the fifth generation downwards), shall be performed before the Temple of Kashiko Dokoro, according to the forms specially prescribed.

Divorce.

In the House Law (Ko-riyo) of the Taiho Code are enumerated the famous Seven Grounds of Divorce. The Code says 'for abandoning a wife there must be one of the following seven grounds of divorce: First, sterility; second, adultery; third, disobedience to the father-in-law or the mother-in-law; fourth, loquacity; fifth, larceny; sixth, jealousy; seventh, bad disease.' If any of these grounds exist the wife may be abandoned, the husband signing the necessary deed, which must be countersigned by the nearest ascendants. If any of these persons cannot write the mark of the thumb may be made in place of the signature. The enumeration of the causes of divorce shows plainly that the *object of marriage was the perpetuation of worship*. The reason for sterility being made the first ground of divorce scarcely needs explanation. The commentators of the Taiho Code say that sterility here does not mean actual barrenness, *but the failure of male issue*. The marriage being contracted for a special object, and that object failing, it was justifiable to dissolve the union. A man was, in fact, under a moral obligation to his ancestors to do so.

Adultery is recognised by most nations as a ground of divorce; but the reasons of its recognition differ considerably in ancient and modern legislations. In the eyes of the Taiho

Code, it was not the immorality of the act itself, but rather the apprehended danger of the confusion of blood, whereby a person not in reality related to the ancestor might succeed to the worship.

The last grounds mentioned in the Taiho Code may be attributed to a similar cause. The hereditary nature of some diseases seems to have been early known, and the fear of ancestors' blood becoming polluted was the chief cause of incurable disease being recognised as a ground of divorce.

According to the new Civil Code, two kinds of divorce are recognised, consensual and judicial, the former being effected by the arrangement of parties, while the latter is granted by law on various grounds which are specified in Article 813 of the Code. The majority of the grounds mentioned in the Taiho Code do not find a place in the new Code, and bigamy, adultery, desertion, cruelty, or gross insult, condemnation to punishments for certain offences, such as forgery, theft, embezzlement, sexual immorality, disappearance from residence, etc., are the principal grounds of divorce specified. Besides the grounds already mentioned, a judicial divorce is allowed in a case in which an adopted son has married the daughter of the persons who have adopted him, and they, for some reason, break off the adoption. Under such circumstances the man is entitled to dissolve the marriage.

From the comparison of the grounds of divorce mentioned in the Taiho Code and those enumerated in the new Civil Code, it will be seen that the law of divorce has undergone a great change, except the last ground, and the present law has only a slight connection with ancestor-worship.

Adoption.

Perhaps in no department of jurisprudence is the relation between ancestor-worship and the law more clearly shown than in the law of adoption. Failing male issue, it was considered the duty of a house-head to acquire a son by adoption, that being the most general method of providing for the continuity of ancestor-worship.

Many of the European legislatures which allow adoption limit the *age of the adopter*, the majority of them, such as the French, Italian, Australian, and German codes, fixing the lowest limit of an adopter's age at fifty. The House Law of our Taiho Code provides that a person '*having no child*' may adopt one from among his *relatives within the fourth degree of kinship* whose age does not exceed that which might have been attained by a son of the adopter's own body. As long as a hope of having a male issue of blood—that is, the direct descendant of

his ancestor—existed the head of a house should not permit a person of more distant relationship to become the successor to the *sacra*. This rule took another form during the Shogunate of the Tokugawa family. In order to prevent the extinction of a house by the sudden death of a house-head who had no son, any man over the age of seventeen years was allowed to adopt a son. A person between the age of seventeen and fifty years could even adopt a son on his death-bed, and this event was called 'Kiu-yoshi,' or 'quick adoption.' But if he failed in his duty of providing for the continuity of his house until after he had attained the age of fifty, he was threatened with the dire, dreadful consequences of the extinction of his house in the event of his dying without male issue, for 'quick adoption' was not permissible after that age. The prohibition of death-bed adoption is not in force to-day, and has not, therefore, been incorporated in the new Code. On the contrary, Article 848 allows a person to make an adoption even by testament. The old and the new law seem on this point to contradict each other, but the spirit of both is the same. They both had the perpetuation of house for their object, and the difference between them consists in this: that the one wished to make people provide for the succession early in life by attaching severe penalties to the neglect of that precaution, while the other desired to avoid the chance of a house-worship becoming extinct by freely countenancing adoption.

With regard to the lowest limit of the age of the adopter, both the laws of the Tokugawa Shogunate and our new Civil Code agree in giving the widest scope to adoption. The Taiho Code fixes the limit at sixty, but the laws of the Tokugawa Shogunate allowed and encouraged any childless person over the age of seventeen, and even, by special permission, heads of houses under that age, to adopt a successor; and Article 837 of the new Civil Code allows any person who has obtained his majority to adopt another person. As to the difference of ages which must exist between the adopter and the adopted, the Taiho Code required that the adopter and the adopted should be 'fit to be father and son.' In the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate the adopter was only required to be older than the adopted; but frequent deviations were made to this rule by special permission—notably, a decree allowing a house-head under seventeen years of age to arrange an adoption, and another by which even an older person might be adopted as a son. Article 838 of the new Civil Code provides that a person cannot adopt one older than himself, although he may adopt any person who is younger than himself.

As to the age of the adopted, no limit has been fixed in our law. Article 843 of the new Civil Code runs as follows: 'If

the person to be adopted is under fifteen years of age, the parents in the same house may consent to the adoption on his or her behalf.

That the object of adoption was the perpetuation of ancestor-worship may be also inferred from the old strict rule that only a kinsman could be adopted as a son. The Taiho Code limited it to within the kindred of the fourth degree. From the remains of the Taiho Criminal Code, which have come down to us, we know that a penalty of one years' penal servitude was inflicted upon anyone who adopted a son from a different clan, and one of fifty floggings for anybody who assisted him. This prohibition against the adoption of a person not related in blood seems to have been observed till the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It derives its origin from the belief that 'the spirit does not receive the offerings of strangers.' There is a law, enacted in the first year of Genna, A.D. 1615, that adoption must be made from persons of the same clan name—that is, from the descendants of the ancestor of the adopter. This rule, as well as the prohibition of 'quick adoption' before mentioned, was so strictly enforced that many feudal lords' houses became extinct on account of the failure of heirs; and in consequence their estates were forfeited, and thousands of their vassals, or 'Samurai,' lost their feudal salary. The result was, that those 'Ronin,' or members of the military class who have lost their feudal position, and could not, and would not if they could, earn a living by agriculture or commerce, became seditionaries, and often excited insurrections and joined in civil commotions, which were very frequent in the beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate. That Government soon saw that the relaxation of this strict law of adoption was necessary in order to maintain the peace of the country. In A.D. 1651, the fourth year of Keian, soon after the famous plot of Yui-no Shosetsu to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate, an important modification was introduced into the law of adoption. From that time adoption from different clans was not strictly forbidden, but the amended law enjoined that a man who had no son should adopt one from the same clan, although in case of failure to find a suitable person permission might be obtained to adopt a person of different clan. Although the law of adoption was revised and amended several times, this rule remained substantially the same for more than two hundred years, till the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The rigorous rule of limiting an adoption to persons of the same clan name practically lost its force by the introduction of the just-mentioned proviso, and it has not, therefore, been adopted in the new Code.

Another requirement of adoption is the absolute failure of male issue. The House Law of the Taiho Code only allowed

adoption provided that a man had no son. This rule has been uniformly observed from ancient times down to the present day, and the new Civil Code also retains that rule, with, however, certain modifications. Article 839 provides that 'a person having a male child who is the legal presumptive heir to the headship of the house is not allowed to adopt a son. But this rule does not apply in the case of adopting a son for the purpose of making him the husband of a daughter of the adopter.'

There is one form of adoption called 'Muko-yoshi,' or the adoption of a son-in-law. As has been already stated, the law considered a man childless even though he had a daughter. Males were the only continuers of worship, for formerly it was a strict rule that only males could become house-heads and perpetuators of the cult. Those who had daughters only, therefore, were obliged to adopt a son; but it was necessary for the blood of the ancestor to be, if possible, *continued in the house.* In such cases, a house-head selects a person as his adopted son who is fit to be his daughter's husband. If adoption and marriage take place at the same time, it is called 'Muko-yoshi.' This form of adoption is very common, and is recognised by the new Civil Code (Article 839), and Article 102 of the Law of Registration.

But the marriage of the adopted son with the daughter of his adopter may take place subsequently to the act of adoption; for, although Article 769 of the Civil Code prohibits marriage between collateral blood relations within the third degree of kinship, collateral blood relationship of brothers and sisters *by adoption* is no bar to their marriage. A person who has a daughter frequently adopts a son with the expectation that the adopted son should marry his daughter when they grow up, and in most cases the parents' wishes are fulfilled. In cases where the parties do not wish to marry dissolution of adoption very often takes place, either because the adopted son thinks it is his duty to leave the house, so that the daughter may remain in it and marry a second adopted son, thus preserving the blood of the ancestor in the house, or because the adoptive father desires the dissolution from the same motive.

The effect of adoption is that the adopted son acquires the same position as a natural-born, legitimate child (Article 860, Civil Code). He relinquishes the original house and worship and enters into the house of the adopter, taking the house name and clan name of the latter (Articles 860, 861, Civil Code). The consequence of his acquiring the status of an actual son and entering the house of the adoptive parent is that he becomes the legal presumptive heir to the headship of the house.

From what I have stated it may, I think, be laid down as a

general rule that adoption had its origin in ancestor-worship; and the stronger the belief in that practice among the people, the wider is the scope allowed for adoption by the law. The dissolution of adoption shows the same. Two kinds of dissolution are recognised by the Civil Code: the one, dissolution by consent; the other, dissolution by judicial decree.

Adoption may be dissolved for any cause, provided that the parties mutually agree; but for its compulsory dissolution an action must be brought by one of the parties on the basis of one of the grounds specified in Article 866 of the Civil Code. I will only mention the two grounds for dissolution which have a direct bearing upon ancestor-worship. One of them is that, 'if the adopted person commits a grave fault of a nature to *disgrace the family name* or ruin the house property' *of the adoptive house*, the adoptive parent may bring an action for dissolution of the adoptive tie, the reason for this rule being that the name of the ancestor's house is sacred; and it is not only his legal right, but his moral and religious duty, to dissolve the tie. The adoptive house is not the house of the adopter alone, nor is it the house of the adopted, but it is the house which the adopter *inherited from his ancestor and will leave to his descendants*. It is the duty of every house-head to preserve it, and leave it unblemished.

Another ground for dissolution mentioned in the Code has reference to 'Muko-yoshi,' or adoption of a son-in-law, and in the case of the marriage of an adopted son with 'kajo,' or the 'house-daughter.' If the adopted son marry the daughter of his adopted father, and divorce or annulment of that marriage takes place, an action for the dissolution of adoption may be brought by one of the parties (Article 866, Civil Code). The reason for this last rule is that, if the adopted son, who is in most cases the legal presumptive heir, remains in the adoptive house, and perhaps takes a second wife from another family, the true blood of the ancestor will not be continued in the house. The 'adoption of a son-in-law,' as I have said before, was a custom based on the desire to retain the true blood of the ancestor in the family; and if the marriage of the house-daughter with the adopted son be dissolved, the intention of the adopter is thereby thwarted.

Succession.

The law of succession seems to have passed through three stages of evolution: Firstly, the succession of *sacra;* secondly, the succession of status; and thirdly, the succession of property. Each stage of development did not form a distinct period in itself, but the later was gradually evolved out of the

earlier by the process of differentiation. In ancient times the duty of performing and continuing the worship rested on the head of the house, and the property of the house belonged exclusively to him. He exercised authority over the members of his house, because he was the continuer of the ancestral *sacra*, and in one sense the representative of the ancestor. He owned his property because it was left by the ancestor; and the authority and property of a house-head rested on the worship of ancestors. In those times the continuation of house-worship formed the sole object of inheritance. But in the course of time the authority of the house-head, which at first comprehended both power over the members of the house and rights over house property, came to be considered by itself in law. Afterwards the two constituent elements of the authority of the house-head gradually began to be separately considered, until at last property came to be regarded as a distinct object of inheritance.

Now, in the Succession Law of the Taiho Code, A.D. 701, there is a provision that, if a presumptive heir of a noble family is not fit to succeed to the 'important duty' owing to the committal of crime or to disease, he may be disinherited, and another presumptive heir may be substituted. The official commentary to this Code, 'Riyo-no-gige,' says: 'To succeed to the important duty' means to 'succeed a father and inherit the *sacra*, for the matter of worship is the most important.' It appears that at this time the continuing of ancestor-worship was the principal object of succession. Since the Middle Ages, the word 'Katoku-Sozoku,' or 'the succession to house authority,' was used for succession; and in the feudal system period, especially in the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate, succession represented the continuity of the *status of house-headship*. In later times 'Katoku,' which literally means 'house authority,' was very frequently used for 'house property,' which formed the object of inheritance, just as the word *familia* in Roman law was often used to designate property. This transition of the use of the word 'Katoku' indicates that the law of succession was gradually passing from the second stage to the third stage referred to.

Our present law represents the stage of transition from the period of the succession of status to the succession of property. The new Civil Code recognises two kinds of succession—succession to house-headship, or 'Kotoku-Sozoku'; and succession to property, or 'Isan sosoku.' But there are many rules still remaining, which show that the foundation of the succession to house-headship is the necessity of continuing the worship of ancestors. Article 987 contains the following provision: 'The ownership of the records of the genealogy of the

house, the articles used for house-worship, and the family tombs, constitutes the special right of succession to the headship of a house.'

This important provision means that those things which are specified therein form the special objects of inheritance. They cannot be bequeathed away, nor can they be seized for debt. Four kinds of heirs to the house-headship are recognised by the new Civil Code: the 'legal heir,' the 'appointed heir,' the 'chosen heir,' and the 'ascendant heir.' The legal heir, who comes first in the order of succession, is the lineal descendant of a house-head, who is at the same time a member of his house. Among *lineal* descendants, nearest kinsmen are preferred to remote, males to females, and legitimate children to illegitimate, seniors in age being accorded priority when they are equal in other respects (Article 970, Civil Code). Modern writers on law usually give as a reason for the preference of nearer to remote kinsmen, that the order of succession is determined by the degree of affection which the deceased is presumed to have entertained towards his relatives, and also by the presumed intention of the person who dies intestate as to the disposition of his property. For the preference of males over females, feudal reasons are given. These reasons also form the principal basis of our present law. But here, again, the reasons for the existence of the rule and its origin are not the same. Originally, the nearest in blood to the ancestors worshipped, and their male descendants were preferred, because they were considered to be the fittest persons to offer sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors.

'The legal heirs' are heirs *necessarius*, and are not allowed to renounce the succession, whilst other kinds of heirs are at liberty to accept or renounce the inheritance, or to accept it with reservation, that they shall not be liable for the debts of their predecessors. It is the bounden duty of descendants who are legal heirs to accept the inheritance and continue the *sacra* of the house. The house-heads cannot bequeath away from them more than one-half of the property (Article 1,130, Civil Code), nor can they disinherit them unless there exists one of the grounds mentioned in Article 975 of the Civil Code. The causes especially mentioned are: (1) Ill-treatment, or gross insult to the house-head; (2) unfitness for house-headship on account of bodily or mental infirmities; (3) sentence to punishment for an offence of a nature disgraceful to the name of the house; and (4) interdiction as a spendthrift.

For these causes the house-head may bring an action against his legal presumptive heir, with a view of depriving him of the rights of succession. All of the grounds mentioned in the Code relate directly or indirectly to ancestor-worship, and the

necessity of maintaining intact the reputation and property of the house.

In case there is no legal presumptive heir to a house-head, he may appoint an heir, either in his lifetime or by his will. But this appointment ceases to be valid when he obtains a child, in the course of nature or by adoption, for the latter will become his legal presumptive heir (Article 979, Civil Code).

If at the time of the death of the house-head there is neither legal presumptive heir nor an appointed heir, the father of the deceased, or if there is no father, or if he is unable to express his intention, the mother, or if there are no parents, or both are unable to express their intention, the family council chooses an heir from among the members of the house according to the following order: (1) The wife, if she is a 'house-daughter'; (2) the brothers; (3) the sisters; (4) the surviving wife, who is not a 'house-daughter'; and, finally (5), the lineal descendants of brothers and sisters (Article 982, Civil Code).

Now, in this also the desire for preserving the blood of ancestors will be seen from the order in which the heir is chosen. The surviving consort of the last house-head comes first in the order of succession provided that she is a 'house-daughter,' but fourth if she is not the descendant in blood of an ancestor of the house. If there is neither legal nor appointed nor chosen heir, then the nearest lineal descendants of the last house-head succeeds, males being always preferred to females between persons in the same degree of relationship (Article 984, Civil Code).

If there are no heirs above-mentioned, the family council must chose one from among other relatives of the last house-head or members of principal or branch houses. If none of the persons above-mentioned be existing, or able to succeed, then, as a last resort, the family council may chose an heir from among other persons (Article 985, Civil Code).

From the foregoing enumeration of the various kinds of heirs, it will be seen that the law takes every precaution against the contingency of a house becoming extinct, for with the extinction of the house the worship of its ancestors would come to an end.

CHAPTER XV

FINANCE*

I. History of Financial Development

BY COUNT INOUYE†

To properly understand the economic and financial condition of Japan it is necessary to look back to the beginning of the present era, and trace the growth of the various causes which finally resulted in the situation of the present day. Before the restoration of his full power to the Emperor the country was under the *de facto* rule of the hereditary feudal chief Tokugawa, the Emperor having only nominal executive power. In those times the taxes were paid in rice, and the value of land and all other property was estimated at so many *kokus* of rice. Copper coinage was only used for the payment of dues upon land unproductive of rice, such as forest land, and for similar purposes. The feudal chiefs of each province subordinate to the supreme rule of Tokugawa owned much land, and received dues in rice from the people entrusted to their respective protection and government. They also issued paper-money each in his own locality.

When the Emperor had been restored to his full power, the financial state of the country was not at all an enviable one. There was no ready-money at the disposal of the new Government, and paper-money was of necessity issued to defray the expenses of administration. The taxes were still paid in rice, and as the price of rice varied very much there was no stability of the revenue. On the other hand, the leaders of the new Government were principally men who had been accustomed to regard war and the use of arms as a profession. These naturally had no great idea of economic and financial questions.

The feeling of the leaders of the nation before the Restoration was strongly anti-foreign, and the firing upon foreign

* The text of the Finance Bill is given in Appendix D.

† Count Inouye has filled most of the high offices of State, and is one of the greatest authorities on finance and economics in Japan.

vessels by the southern chiefs was but an outward sign of the feeling of the people as a whole. After the Restoration, however, it was realized that it would only be possible to successfully contend with the foreigners by adopting their own methods. The former anti-foreign feeling was principally due to the teaching of the Chinese philosophers. The revulsion of feeling was very great, and the Europeanizing of everything took place with a rush. Formerly, under the Tokugawa Government, it was even forbidden to any Japanese subject to leave the country. In company with the present Marquis Ito and three other young men, however, I managed to reach London some forty years ago, four years before the Restoration. When we returned we spoke strongly in favour of the introduction of foreign methods. Little by little, as time passed on, the reaction set in, and everything was modelled upon the European plan—education, courts of justice, the army and the navy, etc. The peculiar situation then arose that the upper classes of public life moved much more rapidly along the path of progress than did the lower, and that the outward skeleton and framework of a modern civilized and complicated State system was adopted before the muscles and sinews had time to develop themselves correspondingly. Thus, courts of justice were established while yet the Civil Code and the penal laws were unrevised. Such was the peculiar condition of the country at the beginning of the new era.

If we return to the financial side of the situation, we note at first how very unsatisfactory was the method of the collection of the revenue. Each feudal lord had his own methods and his own taxes. Besides this, as has been said before, the taxes were paid in rice. It was quite natural that under such circumstances much expense was incurred on the one hand, necessitated by sudden and wholesale reforms, and the revenue was so uncertain, on the other, that the finances were in a most unenviable state. The various paper-moneys in circulation also added to the difficulties of finance. Now, various departments having been modelled upon European lines, the expenditure became a fixed and tangible amount. And this had to be met by an ever-varying and uncertain revenue. This was a state of things that could not last long, and in the third year of Meiji (1870) the feudal system was abolished, and the lands of the feudal lords placed under the immediate control of the Government. The various paper-moneys were also all gathered in and centralized under the Imperial Government.

The Financial Department at that time was under the direction of the late Marquis Okubo, while I and Baron Shibusawa were Vice-Ministers. The expenditure continued to grow

rapidly, and the Government was disinclined to adopt the necessary measures to meet these expenditures, and to regulate and moderate the progress and development of the country. Everybody was revelling in the luxury of European ideas. Such was the state of affairs at that time, when I and my colleague had quite an opposite opinion that some radical step must be taken before it was too late. Finally, in 1873, we resigned our offices, leaving a memorandum of what we thought necessary to be done to set the financial situation in order.

Count Okuma then assumed control of the Financial Department, and made great efforts to maintain the convertibility of the paper-moneys issued by the State. All hope of success was, however, removed by the outbreak of the Kagoshima Rebellion, which necessitated still further issues of paper-money. In 1881 Count Matsukata became Minister of Finance, and it was then found absolutely necessary to take decisive steps towards the redemption of the paper-money. This was agreed to by all parties, so apparent was the danger. In that year the silver yen was worth 1 yen 80 sen of paper-money. It was determined that all the paper-money should be made convertible within six years, and by the end of the fourth year already—in 1885—this work was accomplished, and the financial situation was improved.

The Europeanizing of the higher strata of public life while the lower ones were unchanged caused much disturbance and unquiet. The people at large began to clamour for some say in the Government, and in 1880 a Constitution was promised them. Marquis Ito was sent on a special mission abroad to study the different forms of governments and constitutions. On his return he drew up the present Constitution of Japan. This was inaugurated in 1889, but was not very successful at first, and cannot at present be described as working successfully, owing principally to the unpreparedness of the people for such unprecedented a share of power and authority. Thus, with many of the deputies local interests or self-interest outweighed national concern. There has constantly been friction between the Government and the Parliament, and the consequent frequency of changes of Cabinet have rendered it difficult to ensure the adoption of permanent and far-seeing measures for the good of Japan. At this time the question of organization, and of course of constitution, was in the foreground, and there ensued almost a craze for legislation on every conceivable subject. For example, a system of municipal government was introduced from Europe, and all other branches of national life were framed out in new forms. This period was also that in which the lower classes of society

desired to progress more rapidly than did the higher. The result was that various laws, or sets of laws, were introduced from various countries, and put into operation with the assistance of French, German, or English lawyers. This had as a necessary result inconsistency, and even discord, between the different parts of the legal system.

The Europeanization of the country having progressed very rapidly, the foreign Powers might have been expected to have been ready to consent even earlier to a revision of treaties, but as a matter of fact this was not so. When the first conference of the representatives of the foreign Powers bound by treaty to Japan was held, I was Foreign Minister, and it was my earnest desire to restore tariff autonomy to Japan. It seemed to me to be most necessary that we should have the power to protect our industries should it be found necessary. On looking at the systems in force throughout the world, I found that the universal tendency was in favour of protective tariffs. England was the leading exception, and it is well known why she is an adherent to the principles of Free Trade. Thus it seemed to me that it was only just to Japan that she should be allowed to follow the example of other nations, and erect tariff walls if she should so desire. The foreign representatives, each bent upon obtaining as much advantage for his own country as possible, refused to restore autonomy to Japan in her tariff affairs. I therefore resigned my office, since it was impossible for me to arrange matters for the highest good to Japan.

In 1894 came the war with China, which must be regarded as a very victorious one, when we consider the action of the army and navy, and also the fact that 350,000,000 yen were paid as an indemnity. It is a curious thing that the very magnitude of the indemnity produced such effects as to make one imagine that a victorious war may be almost ruinous to the victor. Up to the time of the payment of the indemnity there had been no occasion to use the phrase hundreds of millions of yen in the financial government of the country. The revenue had only reached 80,000,000 yen. Thus the idea of 350,000,000 yen coming into the country produced a feeling of illimitable riches both in Government circles and to the private individual. All branches of the Government were enormously expanded, the unproductive as well as the productive. The vast sum of money brought into the country did not benefit it at all; indeed, it did more harm by causing a mushroom growth of industries. The fact was that all the hard cash went out of the country very rapidly, both through Government and individual action. The industries that were established were dependent upon outside assistance, and only

in very rare cases did they develop any of the natural resources of the country. It may be noted that of the expenditure upon railways and upon weaving industries, 40 per cent. and 70 per cent. respectively represented hard cash sent out of the country for the purchase of machinery, etc. Thus, not only did the indemnity drain out of the country itself, but much more money left the country as a result of the victorious war.

I was in London during the Franco-Prussian War, and visited Berlin soon after the declaration of peace. There I found everything most wonderfully prosperous as far as outward signs went. The price of a room which before the war was 5 yen had risen to 25 yen. The enormous indemnity had produced the same effect in Germany as did the Chinese indemnity upon Japan. Four years later there came the depression in Germany, with the failing of numbers of the banks and other concerns which had grown up as a result of the war. Soon most of the indemnity had left Germany, and much returned to France. In the case of Japan, the money went to four or five Powers instead of to one, otherwise the parallel is exact. But there was a great difference between the action of the Germans during the depression and that of the Japanese. This difference explains why it was more easy for Germany to bear the hard times than it was for Japan. Germany had been ground down under the oppression of Napoleon I., and reduced to poverty so severe as to teach the inhabitants the strictest economy of living. The prospect of the length of the war with France and its certain cost also encouraged, if it did not enforce, economy. The German system of education was also very severe. Thus the Germans were able to pull themselves together at the end of their prosperity, and return to their old economical habits. Also during the prosperous times in Germany factories and other productive works which had utilized the resources of the country as well as developed them had been established. Thus in many ways it was easier for Germany to recover from the effects of the fictitious prosperity resulting from the indemnity than it was for Japan.

Germany was, and is, able to protect her industries by tariffs, and thus assure their even growth. Japan has been denied this right for several more years, owing to the action of the foreign nations at the time of the revision of the treaties. This lack of tariff autonomy has prevented the proper and even development of Japan's resources, and has tended to the importation of the raw materials from abroad to supply the various manufacturing industries. And this although in many instances the raw materials could be obtained in Japan. This fact reminds us how much the new Japan has been made

by the laws. When municipal government was introduced, and the necessary laws framed, the districts framed themselves upon the new laws, and did not shape the laws to suit actual conditions. Thus also, by the practical prohibition of tariff autonomy, and the consequent inability to protect her industries, Japan was forced to import her raw materials from abroad. Such action must naturally lead to the draining of money from the country.

It seems to me that Japan's position is so necessary to the Great Powers in maintaining the balance in the Far East that they should be prepared to amend the revised treaties, and grant Japan power to protect her industries. By such action they would enable Japan to set her trade upon a firm basis. Owing to the great importations subsequent to the war, and owing to the impossibility of changing the tariff rates, the balance of trade was for many years adverse to Japan. Thus the original imperfections of Japanese finance, the rapid Europeanization of the country, with its necessary expenditure, the craze for business expansion after the victorious war, the inability to protect our industries against foreign competition, and many other causes cursorily mentioned, contributed to bring about the great financial depression of 1900.

I will not, however, dwell upon the details of such depression, but rather, having shown the causes, will give the broad outline of a plan to steady the financial situation permanently. Foreign capital is absolutely necessary to Japan's consistent progress. Such capital may be introduced either by the investing of money by foreign investors in Japan, or else by the raising of loans by the Government abroad. The danger of the latter plan is that the money thus obtained would be spent without bringing real benefit to Japan and Japanese industries. Also there is the danger that large loans would produce similar effects to those of the indemnity. In my opinion, there would be considerable difficulty in raising a large foreign loan simply upon the credit of the country, there being considerable distrust of Japan as an investment. I would propose the nationalization of the railways of Japan, paying the present shareholders in Government bonds. With these nationalized railways as a security, it should be easy to raise a loan abroad. Full particulars of the revenue of the railways being brought to the notice of foreign nations, the security would be recognised as sound, and favourable terms would be obtained. The money raised in this way should be employed in the redeeming of the Government bonds issued to the holders of railway shares at the time of the nationalization. In this way the loan would pay off the debt upon the security upon which the loan was raised. But the most

valuable result of the gradual repayment of the bonds would be the distribution of a great quantity of actual money about the country in small amounts, which would be most easily reinvested in home industries, thus developing Japan's resources to a very high degree. This method of utilizing a loan would keep the money in the country, whereas ordinary methods do not.

It is also very necessary that there should be economy introduced into all branches of the Government. There is at present a decided tendency towards extravagance in the carrying on of the national concerns. This extravagance is due chiefly to the haste with which the expansion has taken place in the past. The same necessity for economy exists in the case of private businesses, which labour besides under the disadvantage of their disinclination for union and mutual confidence.

But, everything being taken into consideration, it cannot be said that the financial condition of Japan is unsound. Just before the war with China, assuming that the national wealth of the Empire was £50,000,000, now it is more than £150,000,000, and that without taking into account non-productive works. The value of productive works has practically trebled since the war (1895). Thus, considered as property, Japan is much more valuable than ever before, and this being the case, she ought to be easily able, if the above circumstances were accurately known to the business world, to raise favourable loans upon her productive works, or at least upon some of them.

II. Financial and Economic Problems

BY COUNT INOUYE

Industry must be promoted, and any step for that development is worthy of hearty encouragement. But one thing is necessary, and that is that it must be developed systematically. With regard to railways, I may say that, according to my own investigations, of late years even the lines presenting the fewest difficulties in construction have necessitated the use of imported materials to the extent of 20 per cent. Taking an average of lines, 35 to 40 per cent. would be nearer the mark. Taking, then, the average at 35 per cent., it follows that no railway can be completed in Japan without much specie being taken abroad. How many years will suffice to bring it back to the country? Ten or twenty years will hardly be long enough. In the case of spinning companies, from 70 to 80 per cent. of the materials are brought from abroad. The ratio, at first sight, appears extraordinary, but

the money thus spent returns to Japan much more quickly than in the other case. It was on that account that I have endeavoured to save the spinning establishments from ruin —because the future interests of the economic community were largely bound up in their success. These establishments have led to a great reduction in the import of yarns. In 1889 the import of yarns aggregated 120,000,000 to 130,000,000 yen, but the figures had decreased in 1893 to 7,284,243 yen, and by 1901 to 4,870,000 yen. We at first obtained coarse yarns from India and fine from England. At present the former are not imported at all, the latter alone being brought into the market, and as factories are now in existence in Osaka and Tokyo for the manufacture of the so-called *gasu-ito*, a decrease in that item is to be contemplated. In short, the development of the spinning industry has stopped the exodus of gold to a certain extent, and has indeed helped to bring specie into the country from China. I want to draw attention to the gradual increase in the number of blanket and cloth manufactories, which has tended to decrease the imports in these lines and so to reduce the outflow of specie. The encouragement of manufactories which supply substitutes for imported articles is absolutely indispensable.

Japan must devise some scheme that will make her industrially and economically self-supporting. Unless that is done the outflow of gold will remain permanent. The Bank of Japan or the Specie Bank, or the Legislature itself, may take steps to palliate the present evil, but the effect of such steps will be only temporary. Investigations I have made lead me to the conclusion that the manufactures which may be profitably undertaken by Japanese amount in value to 51,000,000 yen approximately. But how are they to be organized? The rates of interest are high, and there is a difficulty in obtaining capital. Some industries can hardly be carried on at a profit except on a small scale, or by the amalgamation of capital, and others, established on a great scale, suffer from undue foreign competition. According to the present arrangements the Government, in the case of purchases of blankets, cloth, and other commodities, advertise for competitive tenders as prescribed by the Law of Accounts. So-called competitive tenders outwardly look fair and just, but are really full of abuses. When domestic manufactures are concerned things may be arranged smoothly, but when articles that require special processes of manufacture are wanted it may be advisable that contractors should be able to obtain from Government special terms to prolong contracts for a period, say, of five or ten years. Such a concession would, indirectly, be the means of promoting industry. Without a boon of this kind

no industry can possibly make progress. Again, the Law of Accounts to which I have alluded may have been suitable to the time at which it was framed, but subsequent changes have necessitated some alterations. Considered as a whole, in its present form, it has a tendency to encourage the importation of supplies from abroad. Fifty million yen a year can be secured to native enterprise. Even half the amount will do for the present to retard the exodus of gold. This consideration induces me to urge the necessity of a systematic development of industry. It is advisable to suspend all railway enterprises for two or three years hence, inasmuch as the Government, having established an iron foundry in Wakamatsu with an outlay of 14,000,000 yen in specie (in addition to expenses incurred in harbour building), will probably soon be in a position to supply rails. The inconvenience resulting from delaying certain railway enterprises for a few years will not, I am confident, be so great as to counterbalance the advantage of using the iron foundry's rails. It is necessary to stop the spirit of speculation in railways and such enterprises, and nothing will achieve this but an attitude of moderation on the part of capitalists and enterprising men; even laws and ordinances would be comparatively ineffectual. The aggregate total of exports and imports from the 1st to the 31st year of Meiji shows an excess of 225,960,000 yen in favour of the latter. To that amount, therefore, specie must have gone abroad. Against this remark some may point to the indemnity of over 350,000,000 yen from China and to other sums, making a total of 365,000,000 yen approximately. Out of this amount appropriations were made for the extension of the navy and army, and for the establishment of an iron foundry, while considerable amounts were included in special accounts, and also in general accounts for the 30th year of Meiji, as well as in the grants to the Imperial household. A portion was also set apart as a capital fund for education, a natural calamities reserve, and a fund for war vessels and torpedoes, while, again, other sums were carried to the general account for the 31st year of Meiji, the remainder being reserved for liquidation of industrial liabilities.

Attention to the Chinese markets is also as necessary as the adjustment of domestic industrial conditions. Japanese business men are very little in evidence in China. This is not because of the inefficiency of our diplomacy, but to the want of enterprise on the part of our commercial classes. Our merchants in China are unworthy to be called merchants; their transactions are petty. In the case of England, the efforts of merchants precede action by the Government. Representations are made to the Government by business men or corpora-

tions, such as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, or the China Association, or Jardine, Matheson and Co., urging the Government to secure railway and mining concessions, etc. The English Government then gives instructions to its representative in Peking to open negotiations with the Chinese Government for attaining the object in view. But in the case of the Japanese no such representations have ever been forwarded. If Japan wishes to keep pace with other nations her business community must prove more alive to its opportunities.

The idea was formerly entertained that the revision of the treaties and the opening of the country to mixed residence would have the effect of inducing foreigners to come to Japan to engage in various industrial enterprises and to buy land. Yet since the revised treaties came into operation no single instance of the purchase of land by foreigners has come to our notice. It was expected also that foreign money would flow into the country. The fact, however, has proved the contrary. Specie needed in the interior has had to be borrowed from abroad. The recent loan amounted to 100,000,000 yen, for which 4 per cent. interest has to be paid annually. Four million yen in the form of such interest is therefore destined to go abroad irrespective of the balance of trade. There are, besides, Consols and war bonds aggregating on which interest to the amount of no less than 6,000,000 yen must also flow out of the country in specie every year. While such is the case views are still expressed by a majority condemning the foreign ownership of land and shares as detrimental to the interests of the country. The narrow-mindedness of the Japanese has prevented foreigners from investing their capital in industrial enterprises with any sense of security; their disinclination to invest seems to be owing to their inability to acquire full rights over land in this country. The only way of introducing foreign capital, therefore, in the present condition of affairs is by a loan. The abolition of extraterritoriality has really militated against the inflow of foreign funds. The interests of Japan demand that efforts should be made to secure intimate relations between the Government and business community with a view to allowing foreigners to engage in any enterprise in the interior with the utmost confidence and safety. Unless such an arrangement be made in future native capital alone cannot achieve much. The Russian Minister of Finance, at a recent meeting of the Cabinet, showed in his speech that conditions in parts of Russia are somewhat analogous to those in which Japan is now placed. In the abundant production of petroleum English capital is invested to a considerable amount. With unfriendly feeling towards the English, some of the Russian

Ministers attempted to put restrictions upon them with a view to preventing them engaging in any enterprise whatever. These steps, however, were vehemently opposed by Mr. de Witte, who insisted that Russia could not develop herself without having recourse to foreign capital. Some time ago a certain Englishman wished to establish a factory in Nagoya for refining sugar-cane from Formosa, but he was deterred from doing so by his inability to acquire land. If this factory had been established Japan would have benefited to the extent of the outlay incurred in connection with it and the employment it afforded to labour. So long as the only means of introducing foreign capital is by obtaining a loan it is hardly possible to strengthen the foundations of the national economy or to secure the systematic development of commerce and industry. The adoption of a more liberal policy is absolutely indispensable.

III. Financial Administration

BY COUNT MATSUKATA MASAYOSHI

The war of 1894-95 produced remarkable changes in the financial condition of Japan, the annual State expenditure, which used to be about 80,000,000 yen before the war, suddenly rising to more than 200,000,000 yen in the year subsequent to it. How this novel situation has been met by the Government is stated in detail in the 'Report on the Post-Bellum Financial Administration' (published both in Japanese and in English) which I presented to the Minister President of State in March, 1900, when I held the office of Minister of Finance. My letter to the Minister President may be quoted here, because the whole work is summarized in it:

In March of the 28th year of Meiji (1895), when the war with China was not yet brought to its close, and the whole nation was overwhelmed with joy and wonder at the glorious news of victory, His Majesty the Emperor being deeply concerned about the future financial policy of the country, ordered me especially to his presence at his military headquarters in Hiroshima, and conferred on me his gracious words, at the same time entrusting me with the task of administering the national finance with the view to its *post-bellum* rearrangement. I was most deeply touched with all this, and, at once accepting the Portfolio of Finance, laboured day and night, earnestly hoping that I might prove myself worthy of the great trust imposed on me. On entering upon my duties, I saw immediately that the first thing to do was to fix upon a scheme of financial policy to be pursued, which should be in harmony with

the changed status of the country, and with the particular state of affairs at home and abroad. Such a scheme was accordingly drawn up, and presented not long after to the Cabinet Council. I felt indeed the gravity of my attempt. For it was evident that, in view of the greatness of the war expenditures, as well as of the immense expensiveness of the unavoidable *post-bellum* undertakings, such a scheme would have to be drawn up with the greatest care; otherwise, through some piece of mistaken policy, not only the whole result of our victorious war might have been destroyed, but the roots of future calamities might have been left to the country for centuries to come. Such, no doubt, were the ideas in the mind of the Emperor, which led him to take so much concern, and I felt that I was acting in union with these feelings of our august master in putting forth my best efforts to perform my duties at this important stage in the nation's history. The main points in the financial policy now adopted, at my humble suggestion, were to increase the national revenue so far as necessary, and practise economy in expenditure as much as possible. With regard to the sources of revenue for meeting the increased expenditures on account of the *post-bellum* undertakings, it was decided to depend on increased taxation for the ordinary class of expenditures, and for the extraordinary class of expenditures to look to the Chinese indemnity and the public loan. At the same time measures were taken with the object of developing the resources of the country, so that the growth of the country's wealth might keep pace with its increased expenditures. For it was clear from the very start that the true *post-bellum* financial measures should consist, not only of the rearrangement of the national finance, but also of the measures taken for the economical development of the country; thus only would the measures now adopted by the Government prove to be no temporary makeshift, but something lastingly beneficial to the nation. These two lines of policy—the rearrangement of finance and the development of resources—were therefore both equally emphasized in the new scheme adopted by the Government. The main items of the programme presented to the Cabinet Council were as follows:

Part I.: A scheme for meeting the increased expenditures of the Government, beginning with 1896-97.

1. To meet the ordinary class of the increased expenditures, on account of the *post-bellum* undertakings, by the increased revenue from the saké tax, business tax, registration duties, and the leaf-tobacco monopoly.

2. To pay for the expenses of the military and expansion, and of establishing the iron-foundry, from the Chinese Indemnity Fund.

3. To find the revenue needed for defraying the expenses of making improvements in the Government railways and of expanding the telephone service by issuing public loans.

Part II.: A scheme concerning the extraordinary war expenditures, the Chinese indemnity, and the annual estimate for the administration of Formosa.

1. To close up the special *comptabilité* of the extraordinary war fund on the last day of March, 1896, and transfer its remaining business to the General Account of the Government to be thereby transacted.

2. Since the Chinese indemnity was to be received in partial instalments covering a number of years, it was thought more reasonable to spend it for the class of expenditures covering a number of years. It was therefore proposed to spend the said fund for the redemption of the war expenses, for the military and naval expansion, and for the establishment of the iron-foundry, as well as for the extraordinary reserve fund, and for subsidizing a portion of the capital of the proposed local industrial banks.

3. To separate the annual account of Formosa from the general account of the Government at home, and set up a special *comptabilité* for Formosa, with the object of adopting a scheme of self-supporting financial administration for that island.

Part III.: A scheme of expansion concerning the public organizations for communication and for monetary circulation.

1. To bring about the improvement and the extension of railways and telephone service by issuing a public loan.

2. To expand the business of the Bank of Japan and of the Yokohama Specie Bank, and to establish the central industrial bank and local industrial banks.

Now, the *post-bellum* national measures being no other than the undertaking of various enterprises, made necessary on account of the expansion of national affairs, it is but reasonable that all plans for such measures should be extensive and far-reaching, and that every step to be taken for the realization of such plans should be well considered and accurately thought out. It was with these ends in view that I thought it necessary to look to an increased taxation for the increased revenue needed to meet the enlarged expenditures, so that a financial basis might be securely laid; to determine beforehand upon a line of policy to be pursued in regard to the uses of the indemnity money, so that in this way all future disputes and troubles concerning the matter might be avoided; and, lastly, to make provision for developing national industry—all these with the view to the collateral development of the country in

both finance and economy, so as to successfully bring about results aimed at by the *post-bellum* measures. Before, however, these suggestions of mine were carried into execution, in August of 1895, I felt it my duty to tender my resignation; but my successor in office, Viscount Watanabe, largely shared my views, and proposed, in the ninth session of the Imperial Diet, measures for the improvement and extension of public organizations for transportation, communication, and monetary circulation. These measures being adopted by the Diet, it must be said that the first important step was taken in a general way in the great work of *post-bellum* financial and economical rearrangements.

In September of 1896 I was again appointed Minister of Finance, and I immediately took steps to bring about the adoption of the gold standard, through the enactment of the Coinage Law—a scheme which had been a long time in maturing—and I succeeded further in bringing about the setting up of a special *comptabilité* for Formosa, thus making it independent of the General Account of the Government, as well as the adoption of measures for the second period of military and naval programme expansion—these measures all forming parts of the scheme for adjusting the *post-bellum* financial affairs.

A remarkable state of affairs produced through the impetus given by the late victorious war was the sudden uprising of industrial enterprises of all kinds; so that, in the matter of shipping and navigation, for instance, such great and rapid strides were made by the nation that the amount of navigation subsidy paid by the Government to private companies had to be at once increased from 1,000,000 yen to 5,000,000 yen. One of the results of this sudden industrial expansion was the rise of prices and wages, which necessarily helped to increase the deficit in the State revenue; added to this, the cost of administration of Formosa came to grow more and more heavy. All these things combined to create a deficit of some 21,000,000 yen in the Budget of 1898, notwithstanding the fact that the greatest economy was practised in certain lines of expenditure, and that in the matter of revenue the rates of the saké tax and some other Excise duties were increased. Now, it seemed to me that in these circumstances no half-measures would suffice, and that, unless some thorough-going steps were taken to make good this deficit, it was clear as daylight that a great disorder of national finance would be the result. I could only think of an increase of land tax as surely calculated to lay firm financial foundations. For this reason, although the measure was very unpopular and difficult to carry through, I had a scheme of increased land tax drawn up. I felt somewhat encouraged to do so, since, on account of the adoption of the gold standard

in the previous session of the Diet, the land tax had come to be practically reduced, so that if the rate was somewhat raised, it would not very greatly increase the burden of the land-owners. But, unfortunately, the Diet was dissolved before the Bill for the measure could be passed; and soon after, in January, 1898, I was relieved of my official charge.

My successor in office, Count Inouye, laboured hard to keep up the equilibrium of the economical body politic and the balance between the receipts and the expenditure in the State finances; and with this end in view he greatly reduced expenditure, by postponing the carrying into effect of certain predetermined measures concerning national enterprises. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there was still found in the Budget of 1898-99 a deficit of some 20,000,000 yen. More than that, there came to prevail a great stringency in the money market as a result of reaction from the recent sudden expansion of industry, and it was found impossible to issue, as was expected, a public loan in the home market; so that the deficit, temporarily made good from the Chinese indemnity, came to amount altogether to an immense sum of some 70,000,000 yen. For this reason the Government decided to resort to increased taxation, and presented, in May, 1898, to the twelfth session of the Diet, a Bill for increasing the rates of the land tax, the income tax, the saké tax, etc., which would raise the amount of revenue by some 35,000,000 yen, hoping in this way to keep up the balance between the receipts and the expenditures of State.

But, unfortunately, the Bill was rejected, and the Diet was subsequently dissolved. The Cabinet also resigned. In July of the same year Mr. Matsuda Masahisa became the Minister of Finance, but the new Cabinet lasted only a few months, resigning before the meeting of the thirteenth session of the Diet, which had been convened to meet a few days afterward.

Now, it is needless to repeat that all these financial difficulties were due to the great change wrought by the late war on the position of Japan, which necessitated the expansion of the State expenditures for various measures connected with the armament, diplomacy, education, communication, industry, etc. This expansion was so sudden and so great that immediately a large deficit was created in the revenue of the country; while at the same time great distress came to prevail among the industrial classes, owing to certain unavoidable causes. For these reasons the relief of the financial and economical distress of the country came now to assume the greatest importance.

In November of 1898 the economical distress of the country was at its last stage, the greatest uneasiness prevailing among all classes.

Twice had the Imperial Diet been dissolved in succession, and the national treasury was almost empty. The state of affairs evidently demanded the adoption of some thoroughgoing measures of relief; otherwise things would have reached such a pass that the *post-bellum* enterprises would have had to be given up before completion, the national progress and development stopped, and the political machinery of the country would have ceased to move altogether. I saw immediately, on examining the Budget for 1899-1900, prepared by the previous Financial Minister, that there would be a deficit of about 37,600,000 yen. No other course was now possible to pursue but to resort to an increased taxation, if we would restore the parity between the receipts and the expenditure of the Government, and hope for the healthy growth of national finance.

I drew up a Bill for increasing the rate of saké tax, as well as for revising the rate of income tax and registration duties, as also a Bill on tonnage dues and on the tax on the net profit of the Bank of Japan. These Bills, together with a Bill for the increased land tax, which was accompanied by a Bill for revising the legal valuation of lands, were presented to the thirteenth session of the Imperial Diet.

Then, further, the Government was obliged to resort to some public loans for paying back the sum of about 70,000,000 yen which had been temporarily borrowed from the Chinese Indemnity Fund in order to fill up the gap created by the difficulty in raising loans, as had been intended; otherwise it was clear that the enterprises already set on foot with the expectation of applying those 70,000,000 yen toward their expenses would have had to be stopped. Besides, there was the need of issuing another public loan of about 20,000,000 yen set down in the Budget of 1899-1900. Since, however, the condition of the money market at home did not permit of the issuing of so large a loan altogether, it was decided to resort to a foreign loan; and accordingly a Bill for the issuing of a foreign loan was presented, together with the increased taxation Bills, to the thirteenth session of the Diet.

Most fortunately, the Imperial Diet adopted the measures proposed by the Government. The result was an increase of the national revenue by about 40,000,000 yen, and the raising of a foreign loan in London, in June of 1899, of the sum, according to the face value of the bonds, of £10,000,000. Thus was at last attained the object aimed at, of relieving a most distressing condition of national finance.

The Government was now at last enabled, in preparing the Budget for 1900-01, to abandon the habit of employing temporary makeshifts, and, instead, to depend on revenues resting on a secure basis; and, moreover, to balance all ordinary

expenditures with the ordinary receipts, and also take proper steps toward obtaining a revenue needed for meeting the extraordinary expenditures. The parity between the receipts and the expenditures was restored, and the national finance at last brought back to its normal path of progress.

When the Bill for increased taxation was first brought before the thirteenth session of the Diet—a Bill which, when passed, would suddenly increase the burden of taxation as has never happened since the Restoration—a great confusion of opinion prevailed, not only among members of both Houses of the Diet, but also among members of different political parties. Even among those who adhered to the positive programme of national expansion and supported the Bill, there were not a few who were afraid that the practical working of the Bill might not be as satisfactory as was expected. The country is to be congratulated, however, that scarcely a trace has been found since then that the people found the increased burden unbearable, that the result of collecting the taxes has proved as good as was expected, and that one important stage has been finally passed in the normal development of the *post-bellum* programme.

I cannot hide from myself the confidence that, with the foundations thus laid by the *post-bellum* financial adjustment, if the future policy of the Government is determined in accordance with the lines thus laid down, all the benefits of the victorious war will be finally gathered in.

As may be seen from the foregoing, the main points of the *post-bellum* administration were that the increase in the ordinary expenditures should be met by increased taxation, and that the extraordinary expenditures should be met by appropriating the Chinese indemnity and raising public loans. Owing to the unexpected rapidity with which the expenditures increased, as well as to certain differences of views between the Government and the Diet, temporary makeshifts had sometimes to be employed; but, thanks to the adoption of the two excessive measures of increased taxation, the financial equilibrium was properly maintained in the Budget of the fiscal year of 1900-01. The estimated revenue and expenditure in 1900-01 were as follows:

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
Ordinary	193,730,000 yen	152,408,000 yen.
Extraordinary	60,819,000 „	102,141,000 „
Total	254,549,000 yen	254,549,000 yen.

My report carries the account of the financial administration to the time when this satisfactory state was attained. I shall now add a few facts of importance in order to bring my account up

to date. But, as I retired from office in October, 1900, I can state only my private views with regard to what has taken place since then.

The Boxer disturbances and the consequent despatch of our forces to China necessitated an unexpected expenditure on the part of the Japanese Government. The estimated outlay on this account for the fiscal year ended March, 1901, amounted to 28,600,000 yen, and no inconsiderable expenditure continued to be made in the following fiscal year. The financial equilibrium was not affected by this unexpected expenditure, because, out of the Chinese indemnity, a sum of 50,000,000 yen had been set apart, on which the Government could draw to pay the expenses connected with the Boxer disturbances. But in view of the prolongation of the Chinese complication, and of the necessity of replenishing the emergency fund, a measure for increased taxation was adopted once again in the session of the Diet, March, 1901. An increase of 21,000,000 yen in the annual revenue was expected to accrue from the said measure, which consisted of increasing the saké tax and the Customs duties on certain articles, imposing a new tax on sugar and on beer, and raising the price of leaf tobacco monopolized by the Government. Thus, in spite of the troubles connected with the Chinese disturbance, the financial equilibrium was maintained in the Budget for 1901-02 in the same satisfactory manner as in the Budget for 1900-01. The figures for the fiscal year 1901-02 were as follows:

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
Ordinary	207,540,000 yen	164,675,000 yen.
Extraordinary	69,956,000 „	111,212,000 „
Total	277,497,000 yen	275,887,000 yen.

Both in 1900-01 and in 1901-02 the excess of the ordinary revenue over the ordinary expenditure amounted to about 40,000,000 yen, and I venture to say that this state of national finances is not to be stamped as unsound. Now, the impression generally entertained, that the political troubles which led to the resignation of the Ito Cabinet on the 2nd of May, 1901, and the formation of the Katsura Cabinet just a month later, were caused by a financial question, is very misleading, if not entirely mistaken. If a Cabinet fell in consequence of financial troubles, and another was formed only after almost unexampled delay and difficulty, it would seem that the basis of our national finances was dangerously insecure. But such is far from being the case. It seems at first sight that the Ito Cabinet was embarrassed by a financial question; but the question only related to the extraordinary public undertakings, such as the extension of railways and other means of communication, for

which the necessary funds had to be provided by public loans. The Minister of Finance was of opinion that the economic condition of the country was not favourable for raising public loans, and proposed temporarily to curtail the public undertakings. Other Ministers objected to this proposal at first; but, a compromise having been effected, the expenditure for extraordinary public undertakings was reduced by about 9,000,000 yen, by postponing the execution of some of the projected works. When, however, the general line of policy to be adopted in drawing up the Budget for 1902-03 came to be discussed, an untoward disagreement arose again between the Financial Minister and other Ministers with reference to the execution of the public undertakings, and this led to the resignation of Marquis Ito. The so-called financial question was nothing more than this. Whatever may be the difficulties in connection with the carrying out of the extraordinary undertakings, the normal financial equilibrium is hardly affected by them. In fact, the members of the Ito Cabinet seem not to have been in perfect harmony from the outset, and the financial question was probably not so much the cause as an incident of the political trouble.

If the execution of the public undertakings projected for the purpose of facilitating the economic progress of the country had to be postponed, it would certainly be a cause for regret. But the normal financial equilibrium is not affected by it. Besides, the execution of public undertakings is simply a question of time. With a considerable excess of the ordinary revenue over the ordinary expenditure, the public undertakings may be carried on steadily. The Chinese trouble being over, and the emergency fund replenished, the revenue accruing from the last adopted measure of increased taxation may be employed for carrying on the public works, because in Japan the imposition of taxes is provided not only in annual Budgets, but in statutes, so that a tax, once imposed, remains effective until it is repealed by another statute. As to the burden of the taxation imposed upon the people, there may be some who doubt if it has not become too heavy in consequence of the remarkable increase after the war of 1894-95; but if a broad view is taken of the situation, it will be seen that the national financial burden is by no means out of proportion to the general progress of the country. While the national wealth has steadily grown with remarkable rapidity since the inauguration of the present régime, the increase of taxation did not keep pace with it before the war of 1894-95. As that struggle was an occasion for the manifestation of our accumulated national forces, the changes subsequent to it may appear sudden and abrupt. The increase of taxation is one of the instances. But if comparison

is made with the state of things thirty years ago, the present burden is not to be considered unreasonably heavy. The reasons for the opposition in the Diet to the successive measures of increased taxation have been political rather than financial. It may be safely asserted that in maintaining the equilibrium of State finances after the war with China the tax-paying capacity of the people has not been unduly strained.

It is true that great economic distress prevailed in the country in 1901; but it was the reaction of the expansion of enterprises that came about after our victory over China. That a period of expansion is followed by a period of depression is not an uncommon economic phenomenon; only in this case the reaction had been aggravated owing to the lack of experience on the part of the promoters of business enterprises, and to their refusal to listen to the warning of prudent and far-seeing men. It is only of recent date that commercial notes came to be widely used among us, and those who have not quite realized the conditions of this system have succumbed to the temptation of abusing their credit. The failure of a number of banks produced an undue sensation in certain quarters. As a matter of fact, the failing banks were all small ones that had been recently established, and whose organization and management had been defective from the outset, and there was not one instance of the failure of a bank of long standing and established credit. All this shows that the distress of 1901 was the result not so much of the exhaustion of economical vitality as of the imperfection of method. Thus, the general economic situation was never so grave in reality as a cursory observer might conclude from the apparently alarming symptoms. This distress will have served to eliminate unsound elements from the economic world. If the lesson furnished by it is taken to heart by business men, as it will certainly be, a healthier development of the abundant national resources may safely be looked to in the future. The depression has passed the culminating point, and the balance of foreign trade has been turned in favour of our country. We need not, therefore, entertain misgivings about the carrying out of our financial programmes, even if they have had to be postponed for a time.

To establish gold monometallism in place of a *de facto* silver standard is indeed a thoroughgoing change, and the influence of that change on the future economy and finance of the country will doubtless be great and far-reaching.

The coinage system in vogue at the time of the Restoration (1868) was based on the system that was first established in the 6th year of Keicho (A.D. 1600), and since that time, for more than 260 years, no change has ever been introduced into the system. Yet, owing to growing financial distress, the Shogunate

Government frequently resorted to recoinage as its invariable relief measure, which in every case, excepting the solitary case of Kioho time (A.D. 1715 to A.D. 1734), brought out coins of lighter weight and poorer quality. The coinage system was thus, though nominally kept intact, practically destroyed in the end through successive debasement. Besides, some of the Daimios (feudal princes) often took the liberty of secretly coining money, while the practice of issuing paper-money for circulation within their separate jurisdictions had become well-nigh universal. In a word, the currency system of the country at the end of the Shogunate period was in a most disordered condition.

Soon after the Restoration the Imperial Government saw the necessity of reorganizing the existing system of coinage on a sound basis, and in May, 1871 (4th year of Meiji) a new Coinage Law was promulgated, which opened the way for the final establishment of the gold standard system. This is a fact that must be particularly noted in order to clearly understand the monetary history of modern Japan. However, the gold standard could not yet be thus at once established. In those days the universal medium of exchange in the Far East was the Mexican dollar, and the Government thought the interest of foreign trade would be best served by issuing, besides the standard gold coins, the silver one-yen (or trade-dollar), equal in size and quality to the Mexican dollar, and by making it legal tender only within the limits of the treaty ports. So the provision was made in the new Coinage Law of 1871 for the coinage of the silver yen to be called *Boyeki ichi yen gin* (or trade silver dollar). At the same time, the disordered condition of finance, especially the issuing of inconvertible paper-money, drove gold coins out of the country with enormous rapidity. Under these circumstances, situated as the country was in the midst of the silver countries of the East, it was found impossible to maintain the gold standard. These reasons, as well as the inconvenience of maintaining the two kinds of money, one for foreign and the other for home trade, led the Government to issue Imperial Ordinances Nos. XII. and XIII. in May, 1878 (11th year of Meiji), which made the trade dollar legal tender throughout the country side by side with the gold coins. Thus we no longer maintained a gold standard, but a gold and silver bimetallic system. This change must be regarded as one deviating step in the development of our monetary system.

The Government of that time should not, however, be too severely judged. The expenses of the revolutionary wars were very heavy, and the financial need most pressing. Almost the only resort of the Government was the issuing of paper money. Moreover, when feudalism was abolished in 1871 (4th year of

Meiji), the Imperial Government was obliged to take over all the paper money which had been issued by different *Daimios*, and for the adjustment of this class of paper money the Government was again obliged to issue further a large amount of paper currency. All these causes combined to raise the amount of inconvertible paper money to an enormous figure.

The credit of these notes was at first exceedingly bad. This was doubtless due largely to the lack of credit of the Imperial Government itself, but also to the fact that the people could not free their minds of the sad experiences of the losses they had incurred on account of the various inconvertible notes of feudal times. The new paper money was shunned by the people, even at a large discount, so much so that the Government felt compelled to take steps to reduce its amount by exchanging it for Government bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest, which were issued under the Kinsatu (literally, gold note) Exchange Bond Regulations. Through these measures, as well as owing to the increase of the Government's credit, the hatred of paper money gradually wore off, the people finally even coming to prefer it to specie, because of the convenience of handling.

Matters were progressing favourably when, in 1877 (10th year of Meiji), a rebellion broke out in the south-western provinces. The Government was again forced to resort to the issuing of a large amount of inconvertible notes, which brought on an inflation, and consequent depreciation, of these notes. There was also another cause for this result—namely, the increase after 1876 of the amount of the national bank-notes, due to the increase in the number of national banks, owing to certain amendments in the National Bank Regulations, which took place through Imperial Ordinance No. CVI. The effect of this depreciation was felt in various directions: for instance, prices rose rapidly, gold and silver left the country, the imports came to exceed the exports, the farmers contracted habits of luxury, the industrial classes became overexcited with vain hopes of speculation. Thus was brought about the great financial distress of 1880-81. That disastrous results would inevitably follow if inconvertible paper money were made the standard of value might have been foreseen by mere common-sense; but the measures adopted by the Government at this crisis seemed to show that the authorities did not grasp this simple truth. They regarded the difference in price between silver and paper as an indication, not of the depreciation of paper, but of the appreciation of silver. They attempted, therefore, to stop the rise of the price of silver by increasing the amount of its circulation. The Government sold silver coins, opened places for the exchange of Mexican dollars, and established the Yokohama Specie Bank, in order to call forth the

coins hoarded by the people. But the more these measures were resorted to, so much more rose the price of silver. The Yokohama Specie Bank finally became almost bankrupt, and no one knew how far the paper currency would go down in the scale of depreciation.

At last, however, the true method of relieving the financial distress began to dawn on the minds of the men in authority. From September, 1880, the Government began to take steps to redeem a part of the paper money in circulation. The depreciation, however, still continued, without a sign of abatement. It was at this crisis, in October, 1880, that I received the Portfolio of Finance. It occurred to me, as I studied the case, that in order to effect the object in view the Government should, side by side with the redemption of a portion of the paper money in circulation, take steps to increase the specie reserve of the Government preparatory to the resumption of specie payment. Moreover, in order to put the country's finance on a sound basis and relieve the pressing distress of the time, I felt the need of a central bank, having the sole privilege of issuing convertible notes. I submitted a scheme for the establishment of such a central bank to the consideration of my colleagues. In the Cabinet Council which followed my suggestions were approved, and in June, 1882, by Imperial Ordinance No. XXXII., the Nippon Ginko (Bank of Japan) was established. Two years later, in May, 1884, by Imperial Ordinance No. XVII., the Bank of Japan was empowered to issue convertible notes. After the necessary foundations were in this way laid, the Government used every means in its power to raise on these foundations a sound financial superstructure. The methods of receiving and disbursing the Government revenue was changed, and the strictest economy was practised in the expenditures of the different departments. One-half of the surplus obtained in this way was devoted to the redemption of paper money, while the other half was added to the specie reserve of the Government. Besides, after the latter part of 1881 this reserve fund was employed for discounting foreign bills of exchange, with a view to encourage the export trade of the country, which in its turn would lead to the importation of the specie. Thus, the Government took every possible measure, and left no stone unturned for the establishment of a convertible notes system.

Thus took place on the one hand the gradual redemption of paper money, and on the other hand the increase of the specie reserve of the Government, so that not long after, about the close of 1885, the credit of the Government rose so much that the difference between the value of silver and that of paper almost disappeared. The opportune moment seemed now to have arrived to effect the substitution of the convertible notes

for the inconvertible. The Government, therefore, gave notice by Imperial Ordinance No. XIV., of June, 1885, that specie payment would be resumed after the 1st of January, 1886. Thus at last was overthrown the system of inconvertible paper money, together with all the evils resulting from that system.

Previous to this the Government saw that the notes of the national banks were also in need of adjustment, and through the Imperial Ordinance No. XIV., of May, 1883, certain amendments were introduced in the National Bank Regulations, the main point in those amendments being a method of conjoined redemption of the notes of all the banks. Thus, the redemption of the bank notes began to take place, as also that of the Government paper money. The circulation of both ceased altogether on the 31st of December, 1899.

While the evils of inconvertible paper currency were thus swept away, on the other hand, however, one effect of all these reforms was to make Japan a *de facto* silver standard country. This was, perhaps, an inevitable step the country had to take to arrive at last upon a sound financial footing. The authorities knew, of course, that, to ensure healthy financial development, Japan would have to enter sooner or later the international economic community, and that in order to do this she would have to adopt a gold standard. That the Government pursued a policy which led to the inevitable result of making Japan a *de facto* silver country was owing mainly to the great difficulty of at once accumulating a large gold reserve necessary for the establishment of gold monometallism. It was thought advisable, therefore, to leave the latter, as the second end to be aimed at, to some more favourable time.

The first cause of the recent rapid depreciation of silver we must attribute to Germany's adoption of a gold standard in 1873, in consequence of which she began to sell silver. Among other main causes may be mentioned the limitation and final cessation of the coining of silver in the countries of the Latin Union, and the discovery of the rich silver-mines of North America. When, however, in 1893, India, the greatest silver country in Asia, took steps to reorganize her currency system, the sudden fall in the price in silver was exceptionally noticeable. At that time, Japan being a *de facto* silver country, the effect upon her of this sudden fall was very great. Fluctuations in foreign exchange now became exceeding frequent and unreliable. Business men lost a constant standard of value, and became compelled to pay constant attention to changes in the money market, so that foreign trade tended to become largely a matter of momentary speculation. It became more and more hopeless to expect to see the healthy growth of trade, both home and foreign. Thus was impressed

most clearly upon the minds of the financiers of the country the necessity of adopting gold as the standard coinage in Japan, that metal being least subjected to changes in its price, and most fitted for use as the medium of exchange.

The reform so necessary was, however, very difficult to undertake. Unexpectedly the reception of the Chinese indemnity seemed to offer the desired opportunity. Now, according to the terms of the treaty of peace, Japan was to receive her indemnity in kuping taels. It occurred to me then that, on account of the inconsistency in the past of silver, as well as in view of the possible adoption of a gold standard by our country, it would be greatly to our advantage to receive the payment of the indemnity in British, instead of Chinese, money. The Minister President of State, Marquis Ito, acting on my suggestion, negotiated with the Chinese authorities, which led to our receiving the indemnity money in pounds sterling.

Not long after, on my appointment to fill the post of Minister President of State, my efforts were immediately directed toward making preparations for adopting the gold standard. In February, 1897, the Bill for effecting the reform was drawn up. There was, however, no little opposition. Some said the fall in the price of silver would rather encourage trade with the gold standard countries, while the adoption of a gold standard by Japan would decrease the amount of our exports to those countries. Others said Japan, situated as she was in the midst of the silver countries of the East, would be placed in a position of much disadvantage in her trade with these countries if she adopted gold monometallism. Some others said Japan did not produce a sufficient amount of gold to be able to maintain permanently a gold standard system. Yet again, others said the silver yen exported to foreign lands exceeded 100,000,000, and if all these coins came back for exchange, as might possibly be the case, the national treasury would have to suffer an immense loss. In the midst of all this opposition the Government stood firm in its purpose, and the Bill was introduced into the Imperial Diet in March, 1897, which, after being passed by both Houses of the Diet, was sanctioned by the Emperor, and promulgated as Law No. XVI. on the 29th day of the same month.

The Government had to find some proper method of disposal of the silver coins now suddenly brought in. They amounted to the sum of 75,093,822 yen. This large sum was disposed of as follows: 27,567,012 yen were recoined into subsidiary coins between the 30th and 32nd fiscal year of Meiji (1897-1900); 40,786,662 yen were sold in Shanghai,

Hong Kong, and elsewhere; 6,740,148 yen were taken over to Formosa, Corea, and elsewhere, and expended in those countries. The whole amount was thus disposed of in just one year and three months after the new Coinage Law was promulgated.

It is possible that the state of coinage in Formosa may act as a disturbing factor in the successful working of gold monometallism in Japan. Much as it was desired to establish a pure and simple gold standard in the island of Formosa, it was found impossible to do so, in view of the great difficulty of changing the uses and customs of the Chinese population in that island, and also because of the exceptionally close commercial relationship that is maintained between Formosa and the mainland. For these reasons, while gold is made the standard of value, yet for a limited period of time the silver yen is to be allowed to circulate as legal tender at a value fixed by the Government from time to time.*

It is plain, however, that, in order to strengthen the foundations of the gold standard system now established, it will be necessary that efforts be made in the future not only to keep up, but to increase, the gold reserve of the Bank of Japan. It will also be necessary that efforts be increasingly directed toward the development of the agricultural and industrial enterprises of the country, and the consequent growth of foreign trade.

IV. Financial Policy†

BY MR. SAKATANI,

Vice-Minister of Finance

THE business of the Finance Department proceeds very evenly, whatever may be the changes occurring in the Cabinet. The working out of the details and minutiæ of the financial estimates and accounts must necessarily proceed without interruption. The organization of the Finance Department is such that this will always be the case.‡

As might be imagined, the Finance Department is the vital heart of the Government, since it is to it that application has always to be made for funds to carry out any schemes or programmes. Of the three bureaus of the Finance Department, the Account Bureau is the most important, as in it all the work of the Department originates and is put into action. The Cash and Debt Bureau and the Tax Bureau are the two wings of the

* Since the beginning of the war with Russia steps have been taken to place Formosa under the gold standard.

† This was written before 1904.

‡ Diagram illustrating the relation of the different bureaus in the Finance Department to each other will be found in the Appendix.

Account Bureau. The first has charge of the actual spending of the money, and has attached to it a Cash Office, or, rather, a series of Cash Offices of varying importance and size. The second has two offices attached to it, and has as its duty the gathering in of the taxes and other financial resources of the Government. These two offices are the Collection Office and the Custom House. The work of the Central Cash Office is performed by the Bank of Japan, which attends to the issue of notes and of loans.

The procedure in the Financial Department is as follows with regard to the Budget, which is prepared in the Account Bureau: The various departments of the Government send their estimates to this office, and from them I construct the Budget, and also the methods and means by which the various charges are to be met. This Budget is sent to the Cabinet, and from the Cabinet to the Emperor, after whose sanction it returns to the Cabinet and is presented to the Parliament. The Budget, having passed the Parliament, returns to my office. I authorize the Cash Offices, through the Cash Bureau, to pay to the various departments the respective sums necessary for their work, and at the same time notify the Tax Bureau how the money is to be raised. All through the financial year I am receiving the accounts of the actual revenues and expenditures as contrasted with the estimated. Finally, when the accounts have been received from all the departments, the total revenue and expenditure is made out and submitted to the Cabinet. Hence it goes to the Audit Bureau for examination, and is afterwards returned to the Cabinet. Then it receives the Imperial sanction, and is presented to the Parliament. In the case of extraordinary expenditures, the Cabinet consults the Account Bureau as to how these are to be met, whether by increased taxation or by loans, etc. To take the case of the recent North China expenditure. There was a general desire to rely upon an indemnity from China, and raise a loan to defray the expenses of the expedition. I objected to this because of the uncertainty of the payment of an indemnity, and also because it was an extremely unpropitious time to float a loan. I therefore recommended increased taxation upon articles of luxury, such as saké, beer, and tobacco. These new taxes were only adopted by the Government after much discussion. It was my hope that when the Chinese indemnity should be paid to utilize the sum, which would be so much free money, in doing away with the bad taxes—that is, such taxes as are levied upon the necessities of life, as opposed to those levied upon the luxuries. As it is now, the taxes upon what may be called the luxuries of life are not very high in Japan to what they are elsewhere in the world. The

financial conditions of the Japanese Government are quite sound, there being always an excess of revenue over expenditure. The question in the Cabinet which has caused so much talk of financial peril simply resolves itself upon inspection into this—the immediate fulfilment or the postponement of the projected Governmental works, such as railway construction, river improvements, etc., and does not in any way demonstrate financial weakness.

I will explain here the exact position of our financial arrangements, as I believe it is not only essential for our own people, but equally important for those who are the holders of Japanese bonds. I might compare the Diet which sits to discuss Japanese financial affairs to a shareholders' meeting, in which is discussed the financial position of a company. So I think it well to set forth the real situation as to Japanese finance for the benefit of our creditors at home and abroad. To clear away any misunderstandings is my duty. In the Diet of 1902 the land tax and financial and administrative reform questions were undoubtedly the two great subjects upon which the House was unable to agree with the Government. But these differences of opinion did not arise from any troubles in our finances, in which there were no difficulties whatever. The discussions chiefly confined themselves to the economic result of the land tax increase, and to what extent the reforms should be carried out. Foreigners, however, might have thought that the recent dissolution of the Diet pointed to the existence of something grave in our financial system. Briefly, all the Government sought to do was to provide funds for naval expansion. If, therefore, the Government had abandoned the scheme, there would have been no necessity to increase the land tax. The question of reform in administrative expenses can hardly be considered as one imperilling the safety of the national existence. As I have often repeated, such a thing as the struggle of political parties is not a matter of the slightest importance to those concerned in the management of our national finance, whose sole object is nothing but the sound development of it. There need be no difficulty in our finances if they are managed so as to guarantee a little surplus of revenue over expenditure by curtailing the sphere of national undertakings. It must, however, be kept in mind that the question of national development cannot always be viewed from the financial point of view alone. There are various important problems to be taken into consideration for the furtherance of national strength, and according to these our financial programme must be inevitably drawn up. If we regard the matter from the financial point of view only, there is, as a matter of fact, nothing more essential than strict

economy. Having regard to the present state of politics, naval expansion must be considered as a matter of the utmost urgency; but, from the financial point of view, any scheme tending to increase our burdens should not be encouraged. If, however, it has once been settled that certain expenditure is necessary, we must be prepared to meet the outlay in such a way as to involve the least possible trouble. In the year 1896, when we drew up the present financial programme, in accordance with an entirely different condition of things resulting from the war with China, it was generally acknowledged that the strain on our resources would be an extremely severe one. For, according to the plan then adopted, the annual expenditure, which had been only 80,000,000 yen in the previous year, was to be more than doubled, and in course of time to be increased to the enormous amount of 300,000,000 yen. With a view to giving freer scope and greater activity to our future financial operations, which were to be undertaken under entirely new conditions, we introduced the gold standard, and also adopted the system of a Government tobacco monopoly. Whilst the new programme was in progress under efficient management, the money market unfortunately began to present very depressed conditions, as the result of which many complaints were heard amongst the general public. Consequently, when Marquis Ito formed his Cabinet, with Count Inouye as Minister of Finance, it was decided, in view of this depression of the money market, to modify the financial programme. In order to relieve the money market, Count Inouye purchased Imperial bonds to the amount of 30,000,000 yen, with the money held by the Imperial Treasury as a reserve; and also lent to the Industrial Bank an amount exceeding 3,000,000 yen, from which fund the Bank gave financial assistance to those industrial companies at Osaka and other towns which were in difficulties. Finally, various undertakings started after the war were postponed. The policy of the Financial Minister was at the time criticised as being unprogressive. But as his policy was no more than a slight modification of the original plan, necessitated by the bad economic condition of the country, it could hardly be possible to justify the criticism. The Bill for increasing the land tax—proposed by the same Minister in 1888 as a part of his scheme—was not approved by the Houses, and Parliament was dissolved, followed by the resignation of the Ito Cabinet.

Then Count Okuma's Ministry came in. The policy of the new Cabinet, which further increased military expenditure, caused severe criticism, principally on account of its inconsistency, the Ministry having previously opposed the very scheme of military expansion. But this could easily be explained by the Government. Count Okuma practically made no

fresh increase in expenditure, but, as the result of a general rise of prices, the original estimates for such items as the purchase of land, the construction of barracks, and other matters, were simply altered accordingly, thereby causing an increase of about 5,000,000 yen. The Okuma Cabinet collapsed after a brief period of three months, and was followed by the party of Marquis Yamagata. The new Ministry was successful in carrying through the increase of the land tax, by which about 40,000,000 yen was added to the annual revenue. In the meantime the money market began to improve. The Bank had to lower its rate and to increase the maximum limit of note issue uncovered from 85,000,000 to 120,000,000 yen. The so-called backward policy of Count Inouye was gradually replaced by the former progressive principles embodied in the *post-bellum* financial scheme. Owing to the heavy excess of the imports over the exports, however, the depression of the money market was again acutely felt. Consequently a re-organization in the financial and administrative systems came to be considered as imperative for alleviating the suffering in industrial circles. In 1900, on account of the Boxer outbreak in China, which compelled the despatch of our troops to that country, a sum of 20,000,000 yen had to be raised by increased taxation. On this account the necessity for the reforms referred to was all the more strongly felt. In the Diet of 1901, when the Government had a great controversy relating to financial affairs with the Upper Houses, Marquis Ito declared for the first time that the Government intended to carry out these reforms at all cost, and, at the same time, the idea that private as well as public undertakings must not be conducted on too large a scale began to become more general. Since then the Government started inquiries into matters relating to the question of reforms. The present Katsura Cabinet, which succeeded the Ito Cabinet, made another movement by appointing, with the consent of the two Houses, a special Commission for the purpose of examining into administrative affairs. In view of the decision carried out in connection with the thorough reorganization of our financial system, the Ito Ministry was compelled, as soon as the Diet was closed, to modify the Budget Estimates, which were passed by both Houses. Because, if the original estimates for 1901-1902 were put into operation, there would have been the necessity of raising a sum of 100,000,000 yen, consisting of the amounts to be obtained from the floating of a loan, from a temporary borrowing for the Boxer accounts, and from the issue of Exchequer bonds. The opinion of Mr. Watanabe, then Minister of Finance, was that the original programme would, if carried out, again seriously endanger monetary

conditions to the detriment of the economic progress of Japan. He therefore proposed to abandon some of the Government undertakings, and, as the first step towards this end, to postpone the floating of the loan referred to. The Government discussed Mr. Watanabe's policy. Some of the Ministers urged that to stop the loan, which had been sanctioned by a Diet, would be too inconsistent an action on the part of a Government who had originally proposed it in the Budget Estimates. Although it was at last agreed upon to reduce the proposed loan by 9,000,000 yen, the suggested exclusion of any loan from the Budget Estimates for the following years was not decided upon, and this disagreement of opinion amongst the Ministerial members led, as might have been seen, to the immediate downfall of the Ito Cabinet. After this, as I have already stated, the Katsura Cabinet came into power. As regards financial matters, the difficulty was equally felt by the new Ministry. The Government, however, saw that if they really intended to carry out the reforms, solid and far-reaching principles by which such reforms should be guided must, in the first place, be laid down. Considering that the essential object of public finance is nothing but the economic prosperity of the country, and that if the general economic condition is prosperous, the public finance will be equally so, the Government decided to pay special attention to the improvement of the money market. At this time there was the sum of about 50,000,000 yen of the loan already arranged to be raised. The Government resolved not to float any further amount except the sum mentioned. In order to accomplish the compilation of the Budget Estimates for the year 1901-1902 on principles of strict economy, 9,000,000 yen were deducted from the arranged loan, and 30,000,000 yen were saved from the abandonment or curtailment of the public undertakings, amounting in the aggregate to 39,000,000 yen. When the present Ministry was formed a meeting of the Prefectural Governors was summoned, and the importance of provincial finance in relation to the national finance was explained, and they were advised to refrain from increasing local expenditure through indulging in extravagant works, and particularly to put a stop to the custom of raising local loans. Next, the Government paid attention to the evils resulting from the establishment of small banks, which were becoming too numerous. With small capital and less experience in banking business these banks only encouraged the fixing of capitals in industrial enterprises to an extent which could never be justified, considering the actual state of things, and the money thus disbursed mostly did not return to the banks for profitable employment. The results of this were the expan-

sion in currency circulation, the abnormal fixing of capitals, and, worst of all, the failure of these petty banks, which brought about frequent disturbances in the money market. In the belief that, while discouraging the fresh establishment of these banks, if an effort was taken towards rearranging the business of the banks already existing, there would be ample room for improving the economic conditions of the country, the Government considered measures should be taken in regard to this matter. As, however, it was not desirable, from the legal point of view, to entirely suppress the creation of banks, it was proposed to impose on them a restriction by fixing a minimum amount of their capital, and the establishment of banks whose capital was under 500,000 yen was forbidden. This measure was so successful that, while petty banks of suspicious character immediately disappeared, the reorganization of those whose business had been in disorder was effected, and the floating of local loans was stopped by degrees. These regulations relating to the banks, combined with the postponement of public loans, began to tell favourably on our money market. The principal feature of the Budget for the year 1902-1903 was strict economy, which was manifested in the curtailment of any expenditure which was not absolutely necessary. All the funds available were employed for the purpose of redeeming the public debt. Some efforts have also been made for the encouragement of thrift among the people. In connection with the matter the Prefectural Governors were instructed to use every possible means within their powers for carrying into effect this idea. The result obtained so far seems very promising, as may be seen from the steady increase in the public deposits of the post-office savings-banks. The results of the measures thus taken by the Government for the furtherance of the economic prosperity soon began to manifest themselves. For since then prices and wages have been declining. The adverse condition of our foreign trade has been remedied. The rate of the Bank of Japan has come down, and, excepting a trifling amount issued towards the end of last year, we have not seen any important over-issue of notes, which had hitherto been rather an ordinary feature. As to the condition of the money market, it may be mentioned that the money deposited without interest at the Bank of Japan by other banks reached the considerable sum of 20,000,000 yen. This is an unusual state of things never seen before in the history of the Bank, which, on the contrary, used to lend to these banks. Again, the trade returns for 1902 show at a glance an excess of the imports over the exports amounting to 13,000,000 yen. But it has been ascertained that, if the method of calculation with regard to imports is applied to the case of exports, and if

various expenses are included in the values of exports, this adverse condition would be totally reversed. In 1902 it was found that the value of the exports was really in excess of the imports to the extent of about 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 yen. While these symptoms of economic prosperity might, indeed, be a matter of congratulation for our financiers, it is very wonderful to see how rapidly the economic conditions of the country have been developed.

Now let us proceed to the discussion of the question of financial and administrative reorganization which largely bulked in the session of Parliament in 1902-1903. To deal with this most complicated problem the Government ordered, in 1902, a Special Commission, of which I am a member, and to which allusion has already been made. The Commission was subdivided into three different sections, namely, finance, administrative, and official organization, and I have been entrusted with the control of the financial section. As I have been, therefore, personally concerned in this matter, I may say that I can dwell in full detail on the result of the inquiries which have been undertaken since then in relation to the subject of financial reform. Seeing that so far our financial system had been partially reorganized and placed in somewhat safer conditions than formerly, our thoughts naturally turned to the question of what measures should be taken in the future. We felt the necessity of enlarging the scope of our inquiries, so that we might gain an insight into everything happening in foreign countries as well as at home which may be utilized for our own purposes. The first and most important matter which engaged our attention was the growth of our relations with the Asiatic continent, which was taken into full consideration when the *post-bellum* financial scheme was first drawn up. With the steady development of the national strength our operations, political and commercial, much increased in activity in these countries. Under the circumstances that the future augmentation of national expenditure was unavoidable in view of our ever-increasing influence in that continent, inquiries were made to ascertain what sources of revenue were available to meet future requirements of expenditure. It was found that the land tax was not a very promising source of revenue, as it was not practicable to increase it beyond a certain point, and, besides, any attempt to increase it has always been the cause of political disturbances. We found, however, that the best sources of revenue were liquor (saké) and tobacco, which, if properly managed, would make a considerable addition to our revenue. Customs duties may be thought by some to be an equally promising source of filling the public coffers. But we must be careful not to conclude that after the lapse of twelve

years the Customs duties can be raised without any disadvantage to ourselves. It is not so easy a matter to raise tariffs, because in dealing with other nations the principle of reciprocity is essential, and we cannot raise our duties freely lest we should incur retaliation under disadvantageous circumstances. Besides the liquor and tobacco taxes there is another good source of revenue in the sugar excise.

Although we have not had enough time yet to see the results of this tax, still, it may be safely said, if we do not wish to encourage the development of our sugar industries, there is room for increasing the tax; on the contrary, if we intend to do so, it is not advisable to increase it. As the Government adopted the latter view, it was decided to leave the tax at its present rate.

In addition to the sugar excise, an excise duty on silk piece-goods has been discussed as a possible source of revenue. But on making inquiries, however, it has been found that all the methods contemplated as to how the tax should be levied are impracticable under the present conditions of the industry.

Amongst the future sources of revenue it may be mentioned that forestry is one having a good prospect of development. Much public discussion having been started on the question of forest exploitation, the Government established a committee, of which I am a member, to superintend the administration of forests, and the work of improvement is now in progress.

Now let us turn to the examination of the two best sources of revenue—namely, liquor and tobacco—which will always afford interesting items of economic study to any Ministry that may come into power in the future. Hitherto the subject of saké brewing has been studied by the Government from a revenue point of view alone. Seeing, however, that an enormous quantity of it, amounting to 4,000,000 koku (a koku is equal to 39·7 English gallons), has been annually brewed, the Government also felt the necessity of treating the matter as one of the largest national industries capable of further development. Saké resembles in many points beer, which is an important article for export in several foreign countries. The only significant difference between the two is in the material used, which is rice in one and malt in the other. In England there are about 200 breweries which turn out more liquor than 15,000 breweries in our country do in the form of saké. This fact shows very clearly that there must be some defects in our brewing industry, which is no doubt very primitive. If, therefore, our system is thoroughly improved by scientific methods, we are of opinion that there must be a good prospect of its being produced with considerably smaller cost than at present, and that at the same time it will be practicable to increase the

tax on the industry. As to the tobacco tax, the matter still remains a question to be solved in several countries. In Europe the tobacco industry is mostly monopolized by the Governments. In England and America it is a private enterprise. But if the industry entirely falls into the powerful hands of a company or of a trust, it will, in fact, become a monopoly. The time will soon come to decide the question whether the industry should be made a Government monopoly or should be managed by a trust. There will be, however, only two courses open for adoption—namely, either that the whole industry should become a Government monopoly, as it is in France, Austro-Hungary, and Italy, or that it should be controlled by means of a heavy tariff, as practised in England. At any rate, as tobacco is an article of great home consumption, and, besides, as the industry can be very easily controlled in Japan, it will doubtless become a highly promising source of revenue in the future, although there will arise various complicated problems to be dealt with in connection with the operation of monopoly systems, in case the entire industry should be made a Government enterprise. After all, it is clear that it will be impossible to find better sources of revenue which admit of further development than the aforesaid taxes on saké, tobacco, and sugar, and the Customs duties, of which the first two are the most promising.

When we next turn to the item of expenditure, it should be taken into consideration that there are a great many undertakings to be accomplished in the future in connection with the development of the national interests and with the progress of civilization. These are, amongst others, the improvement of railways, roads, and harbours; undertakings in China and Corea; the establishment of educational institutions; and the construction of lighthouses, waterworks, drainage works, etc. But by far the greatest and most important question to be dealt with is that of naval expansion—namely, the 'Third Naval Expansion Scheme.' That the necessity of increasing our navy would arise must have been no doubt foreseen by some people. We who were associated with the management of the finances, however, did not expect such a necessity would arise at such a juncture, yet it has come, and at the same time has come the difficulty of providing funds for this expansion scheme. Of the various undertakings planned in the *post-bellum* administration scheme which was formed directly after the war with China, the most important was the naval and army expansion, which we have treated since then as the vital question of our national welfare and development. This scheme of military expansion was so arranged as to be finally completed at the end of ten years—that is, between 1903 and 1904.

As regards this matter, it may be mentioned that the Powers have adopted the policy of accumulating gold in their chief banks. France has 1,400,000,000 francs in gold kept in the Bank of France, and Russia and Germany have as well an enormous amount of gold hoarded up in their banks. That the chief object of this step is to provide for emergencies is only too clear. In the case of Japan, there are 100,000,000 yen in gold held by the Bank of Japan as a specie reserve; and, besides this, there is a special war reserve amounting at present to 50,000,000 yen. This latter fund is solely devoted to the expenses of possible war. The only Power besides Japan which has a similar reserve is, if I rightly remember, Germany. In the manner above referred to, we had been preparing for the maintenance and mobilization of our army and navy, and the preparation had nearly reached the stage of completion when the necessity for again increasing our naval force became imminent, as already noticed. The total expenditure for this new expansion scheme is estimated at 115,000,000 yen, of which the cost of warships forms, as a matter of fact, by far the largest part. The sum includes, besides the cost of ships, expenses required for the enlargement of naval stations and additional maintenance and reserve funds, which are inevitable from the increase in our fleet. And when this expansion scheme is completed, the sum of 6,000,000 yen will be required annually for the purpose of maintaining the additional ships arranged for under this scheme. The reasons which induced us to spend such a huge sum on naval expansion are well known, and need no explanation from me. Briefly, however, the scheme was simply elaborated in accordance with the development of international politics, and from the fear that the predominance of Japan's sea power would be in danger in the near future if things were left alone. In order to secure our national progress and safety, it was considered indispensable to extend our influence far into the Asiatic continent. We could not endure to sacrifice our interests already acquired beyond the sea. This was the reason for the third naval expansion scheme. As it was impossible to defray all the expenses of the scheme from the sources of revenue then existing, we had to look for another suitable source. After careful investigation, it was found that there was no better source of revenue available at that time than the land tax, which, if simply kept at the rate then in operation, instead of restoring it to the original lower rate, would be able to fulfil our objects excellently, without causing any unnecessary trouble and without putting any fresh burden on the people. However, it is not advisable to stop other useful undertakings contemplated by the Government simply on account of the naval expansion. Some say that it will be impossible to do both at the same time, and that to accomplish one the other must be abandoned. My

opinion is that, in the present age of keen commercial competition all over the world, it is unwise to devote all our means to the construction of warships, to the sacrifice of undertakings intended for the economic progress of the country. If there is any means by which we can attain our object of commercial supremacy without increasing our fleets, there will be nothing so fortunate for the nation; but, unfortunately, it seems that, under the present state of affairs prevailing in the Far East, it will be impossible to find such a means. From the political and commercial points of view, we can never allow our sea power to diminish, which, if once lost, will never be regained. Under these circumstances, we cannot but express the fullest sympathy with the naval expansion scheme in question, notwithstanding that we fully understand that the economic progress of the empire may be hindered to a certain extent by indulging in military activities, and by curtailing the sphere of remunerative undertakings throughout the country.

V. The Financial System

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

As the revolution of 1868 was an event necessitated by the force of circumstances, besides being the restoration of a legitimate authority, it was accomplished with comparative ease so far as the transfer of the political power was concerned. Japan had then to enter on a new course in her national and international existence. It was necessary for this hitherto secluded nation fundamentally to remodel its institutions in order to equip itself for the intercourse with the Western countries, and for participation in the general progress of the world. The fall of the Shogunate and the revival of the Imperial rule was thus only the beginning of a difficult and complicated task—the making of a new Japan, of which the establishment of the financial system was an important aspect.

It is not surprising that a Government emerging from the throes of a revolution should be financially embarrassed at the outset. But the case of the Imperial Government just after its return to actual power was a peculiar one owing to the nature of the Government it had replaced. How chaotic were the finances of the new Government may be imagined from the fact that in the first year of its existence the revenue accruing from the taxes was little more than one-tenth of the expenditure, and that the deficit had to be met principally by the issue of inconvertible notes. The items of the revenue in 1868 were as follows: Taxes, 3,157,310 yen; issue of notes, 24,037,390 yen; loans and miscellaneous receipts, 4,732,482

yen. Nor was this state of things confined to the year immediately following the revolution. One of the most pressing needs of the new Government was, therefore, to secure sufficient resources for the Treasury by establishing a proper system of taxation, and in doing this care had to be taken for making the new system consonant with the policy of facilitating and encouraging the economic progress of the nation.

It is a known characteristic of the feudal system that under it there is not a clear distinction between administrative power and proprietary right, and Japan under the Shogunate was no exception to the rule. The lords not only governed, but held a sort of proprietary right over their respective territories, with the result that the right of the people over their estates was restricted in more than one way, and that the land-tax had much the nature of rent. The land-tax in the form of rice was invariably the principal source of the lords' revenue, though, in the absence of a fixed and common system of taxation, its rate varied in different fiefs, and other miscellaneous duties were imposed, according to the industrial conditions of the different localities. Hence the burden of the agricultural population was unduly heavy, the rate of the tax on land ranging between 30 and 70 per cent. of its produce. As to the people in general, their position as taxpayers was ill-defined, because they were liable to the arbitrary imposition of extra contributions in money and personal service. In fact, the feudal system under the Shogunate was a military organization in which the welfare of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial people was wantonly sacrificed to maintain the warrior class retained by the lords and clans. While the position of the people as tax-payers was thus ill-defined, the position of the Shogunate as the central Government was financially also a peculiar one. The Shogunate exercised a supreme authority over all the fiefs, but the whole country was not under its direct government. The lords of the fiefs, holding their territories by grant or recognition of the Shogunate, were required in case of need to put their military force at its disposal, and to render it certain other services. Contributions, not very great in amount, were also made by some of the fiefs to the revenue of the Shogunate; but no direct tax was to be imposed by the central Government upon the people of the fiefs. The ordinary revenue of the Shogunate was raised principally from the territories reserved as its own distinct from the fiefs held by the lords. It would seem, therefore, that in this respect the Shogunate was merely the largest of the fiefs. Now it will be easy to understand how the financial difficulties of the newly-restored Imperial Government were aggravated by the peculiar nature of its predecessor. The central authority was transferred to the Imperial Govern-

ment, but the resources of the whole country were not yet under its command. It was not enough for the new Government simply to take the place of the old, but the social and political organization had to be changed radically so as to meet the requirements of the novel situation. Before anything like a sound financial adjustment could be hoped for, it was essential to effect the complete abolition of the feudal system with the fiefs and the undue privileges of the warrior class.

The impulse for unification, conscious in certain sections of the nation and unconscious in others, was indeed one of the most potent causes that brought about the revolution, and by the time it was effected the centralization of authority was almost universally perceived as an indispensable antecedent to the establishment of the new order. Thus, in 1869, the second year of the revolution, all the lords of the fiefs surrendered of their own accord their domains and people to the Imperial Government, and in 1871 a prefectural system was instituted for the administration of the whole country, putting it under the direct control of the central Government.* The feudal privileges of the lords and their retainers were thus abolished, and the country could be henceforth governed by uniform laws, before which all sorts and conditions of people were to stand on the footing of equality. One of the important results of the abolition of the feudal system was that it became possible to make a clear distinction between the administrative power and proprietary right over lands which were united in the lords of the fiefs. In the petition of the lords for permission to surrender their domains and people to the Imperial Government, it is given as a reason of their decision that, 'since all domains and people belong to the Emperor, we, subjects of His Majesty, must not own them privately.' In confirming the territorial sovereignty over the domains thus put under its command, the new Government retained the administrative power according to the modern principles of public law, while the proprietary right over land was granted to private persons. Herein was laid the foundation for a stable financial system calculated to secure sufficient revenues to the Government, and to put the tax-paying duty of the people on a well-defined basis. The first step toward giving full effect to the new principle was the reform of the land tax law, which is to be counted among the most important events in the annals of new Japan.

* Even after surrendering their domains and people to the Imperial Government in 1869, the lords of the fiefs were appointed governors of the respective districts, and allowed to retain the powers formerly exercised by them. The change at that time was therefore only nominal; the real abolition of feudalism dates from the establishment of the prefectural system, under which the position of governors was filled by the agents of the central Government.

Of the fundamental principle of the new régime, as announced in the famous five articles of the Imperial Oath which were promulgated on the morrow of the revolution, three features may be noticed as standing out most prominent, viz., active participation in the progress of the world, respect for public opinion in the direction of State affairs, and the social emancipation of the whole populace.*

As the respect for public opinion culminated in the establishment of a representative system, and the active participation in the general progress led to the acquisition by Japan of a perfect international status by the revision of treaties, so the emancipation of the people prepared the way for a remarkable display of economic activities. Of course, no definite time can be pointed to as marking the consummation of the last of these eventualities, as in the case of the other two. If, however, it were to be commemorated in association with a particular event, the land-tax reform would be the most fitting one. The abolition of the fiefs doing away with the privileges of the warrior class was the destructive side of the emancipation; but the land-tax reform, confirming the most important form of private property, was the greatest legislative measure on the constructive side.

The reform of the land tax was proposed in 1879, the fundamental laws relating to it were promulgated in 1873, and its execution was completed in 1881. Though the measure was called a reform, it was in reality nothing less than the genesis of a uniform system necessarily following from the unification of the country. The salient features of the new system may be epitomized as follows:

1. The proprietary right of private persons over land was definitely recognised and confirmed. In Europe there seem to have been cases in which feudal domains were retained as private possessions, either by the Crown or by the Princes, even after the political system of overlordship ceased to exist. Consequently the conversion of the feudal tenure into perfect proprietorship had sometimes to be effected by means of purchase. But the case was different in Japan, all the feudal tenants being at once, and without any transaction of a personal character, recognised as owners of the respective lands actually held by them. For giving up their domains the feudal lords and their retainers were indemnified by the grant of Government loan bonds.

2. Restrictions on the people's right over their land were taken away. This is but a corollary of the recognition of their perfect ownership. Under the Shogunate the sale and purchase of land was forbidden, though various fictions were not un-

* The third article of the Oath says that all the people should be allowed to have full play of their will.

known. The feudal tenants also had not the absolute liberty of deciding for themselves what products to raise from the land they cultivated. Since each fief aimed at being self-sufficient so far as possible in its supplies, and the production of rice was everywhere considered all important, official interference was exercised sometimes in disregard to the aptitude of the soil. But the full proprietorship confirmed by the land-tax reform included as a matter of course the right of alienating or exploiting the land according to the free choice of the owner, so that the resources of the country might be developed and utilized to the best advantage.

3. As the basis of taxation, an official assessment of the value of land was made throughout the country. This accounts for the fact that rather a long time was required for completing the land-tax reform. Under the Shogunate the produce of land was the basis of taxation, so that the annual crop had to be officially examined from time to time. Not only was the process highly embarrassing to all concerned, but it was not calculated to insure a steady public revenue. The adoption of a new basis of taxation was therefore to be desired from all points of view, only the undertaking was one of tremendous magnitude, as may be imagined from the fact that the cadastration of land has not been finished or even attempted in certain countries of Europe. But the Government of Japan, impetuous for reform and progress, was strongly determined to overcome every obstacle in accomplishing it. In assessing the value of land, the annual amount of its net average produce for five years was first converted into money value according to its average price for the same period of time, and then the money value of the produce being considered as interest, the estimated amount of capital necessary for yielding it was regarded as the value of the land.* By this method the official assessment of the value of land was completed in 1881, and it was revised in 1899 with a view to removing certain unfair inequalities, so that Japan has at present a cadaster of tolerable perfection.

4. The land tax was made payable in money, whereas under the Shogunate it had to be paid in rice and other produce. With this change the quasi-rental character of the land tax entirely disappeared, and its rate was fixed at a percentage of the officially assessed value of land. The burden of the agricultural population was also considerably lessened, for the tax on land was at first fixed at 3 per cent. of the assessed value, and in 1877 reduced to 2½ per cent., at which latter rate it remained till the recent slight increase of taxes as a part of the *post-bellum* financial programme.

* The standard rate of interest ranged between six and seven per cent., according to localities.

The significance of the land-tax reform is manifest from the preceding summary. Land being, after all, the basis of our material life, there can be no question about the importance of a radical change in the system of land tenure. Indeed, the land-tax reform ushered in social conditions under which a free play of the economic forces of the country became possible. The general principle that the tax-paying duty of the people should be regulated by proper laws was also implied in and exemplified by the land-tax legislation—a principle afterwards guaranteed by a provision of the Constitution.

As regards the revenue of the Government, it was natural in the early years of the present era that by far the largest portion of it should come from the land tax, because Japan of old was essentially an agricultural country, and other industries on a large scale were yet to be started under the new régime. Even in 1881, the year in which the land-tax reform was completed, the yield of the land tax, which was then the sole direct national tax, amounted to 42,000,000 yen in the totality of tax revenues of 60,000,000 yen. A fundamental source of the national revenue was thus furnished by the land tax. But, to meet the increasing needs of the rapidly progressing country, it was necessary to seek, besides the comparatively stationary land tax, such sources of revenue as would automatically augment in proportion to the growth of national wealth. Hence the new Government, sifting the miscellaneous taxes that had existed under the Shogunate, imposed certain indirect taxes, and in 1887 introduced the income tax as a new direct tax. Among the indirect taxes, the saké tax has always occupied the foremost place, though in former times there was no fixed system of taxing alcoholic drinks. The adoption of the present basis of taxation—the amount of saké brewed in the measure of koku*—dates from 1878. The rate of the saké tax, which had been gradually raised since then, stood at four yen per koku before the carrying out of the *post-bellum* programme.

After the war of 1894-95 the national expenditure increased by leaps and bounds in consequence of the various schemes purposed to equip the country for facing the new situation in the Far East. The extraordinary expenditures were to be met by the war indemnity and public loans, but to meet the increase of the ordinary expenditures there was no other choice but to increase the taxes, which means has been thrice resroted to—first in 1896, then in 1899, and lastly in 1901. The increase in the annual revenue resulting from the *post-bellum* augmentations of taxation is estimated at 95,000,000 yen.

Thus, while *post-bellum* the programme included the impo-

* One koku is equal to 39·7 gallons.

sition of new and the increase of old taxes on the one hand, certain taxes have been abolished on the other hand, with a view to simplifying the system of taxation.

Looking back over the development of our system of taxation, we may notice that the basis of national finances has widened proportionately to the growth of economic activities. It is a gratifying fact that, whereas the land tax was at first the only substantial source of revenue, other taxes, particularly indirect ones, have gradually gained in importance, so much so that one of them (tax on alcoholic drinks) has virtually gone ahead of the land tax.

During the first few years of the present era the fiscal administration was in a most imperfect condition, each department of the Government managing its fiscal affairs with a large degree of independence in absence of fixed rules. In 1872, the year following the political unification of the country by the establishment of the prefectural system, a first step was taken towards the management of fiscal affairs by the Minister of Finance, and in 1873 a 'procedure of receiving and disbursing' was determined which contained the germ of a budgetary system. The law of financial administration which was enacted in 1881 provided, among other things, for the formation of a Board of Audit directly responsible to the Emperor. By this time it was established in principle that the Government's fiscal affairs should be managed by the Department of Finance subject to the examination of the Board of Audit. But the carrying out of the principle in practice was attended with great difficulties, owing to the practice of allowing the various departments to keep in their hands the respective funds appropriated to them—a practice which originated in the financial chaos after the Restoration, and which was for long a fruitful source of abuses. The year 1883 is memorable for the final abolition of this practice. The receiving, keeping, and disbursing of public money was entirely and effectively centralized in the Department of Finance in that year, and afterwards was entrusted to the newly established Bank of Japan. A fundamental reform of far-reaching consequences was thus accomplished in the system of financial administration. Another important advance was made in 1886, whence dates the practice of publishing the annual budgets and settled accounts in Imperial ordinances. With the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889 the law of financial administration was revised, and the system of financial administration was given the present shape. The Budget is now prepared by the Minister of Finance, and has to be voted annually by the Diet, to which the settled accounts, as attested by the Board of Audit, are also presented. Before the establishment of the Diet, all reforms in the system

of financial administration were directed to unification and regulation within the Government, and, when this was fairly accomplished, the Constitution provided for political restraints from the outside over the management of the public purse. It will be seen, therefore, that our present system is, on the whole, in accordance with accredited principles of financial administration that prevail in the Western countries.

The reform of the monetary system forms one of the most important chapters in the financial history of new Japan. One yen in gold, which is the new unit of coinage, was made approximate in value to the old unit in silver so as to avoid an abrupt change in the price of commodities and a disturbance of the relation between creditors and debtors.

VI. Taxation*

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

In 1897-98 and the following years five of the principal taxes levied by the central Government were abolished. These were the confectionery tax, the tax on vehicles, the tax on vessels, the fishery dues in the Hokkaido, and the tobacco tax. This last-named was removed on the institution of the tobacco monopoly.

The land tax was instituted in 1873. The earliest law was directed to the substitution of the former system of collecting land tax in grain, according to the area of rice-fields and farms, by a system of collecting the tax in cash, according to the value of land, and for this purpose an elaborate general assessment of the value of the land of the whole country was commenced in 1873, and was completed in 1882. As, however, the conditions of land were constantly changing, repeated readjustments have been made since 1882 by comparing the actual conditions of land with the official registers of land.

The rate of land tax was at first fixed at 3 per cent. of the assessed value of land, and in 1877 reduced to 2½ per cent.; but subsequently, owing to financial necessity, the tax was increased for five years, from 1899 to 1903, to the rate of 3·3 per cent. of the value of land on rice-fields, farms, building sites in Gun (districts) and Son (villages), hills and plains, and 2½ per cent. on building sites in Shi (cities). In 1903 it was reduced to 2½ per cent. Owing to the rise in the price of the produce of land, notably rice, the real value of land has been at least trebled on the average since its legal value was fixed as the basis of taxation, so that there is at present a wide discrepancy between the real and legal values. Therefore, even with the

* The Organization of the Revenue Administration Bureau is given in Appendix K.

above-said increase, the rate of the tax on land is not much more than 1 per cent. of its real value. In fact, increase on the land tax to 3·3 per cent. was only a partial offset for the relative reduction of the burden of landowners that has automatically come about since the time of the land-tax reform. In 1873 the receipts from this tax were 60,604,242 yen; in 1882-83 they were 43,342,188 yen; in 1892-93, 37,925,243 yen; and in 1903-04, 46,996,212 yen.

The business tax, which was created in 1896, is imposed generally on commerce and industry. As the commerce and industry had hitherto often been taken as the sources of local taxation, businesses of smaller scales are exempted from the new business tax and reserved for local taxation. For the purpose of taxation all kinds of business are classified in nine categories, and for each of these classes different bases of assessment and different rates of tax are established, so as to maintain equality of burdens among different kinds of business.

The importance of the business tax as a national tax lies in its bearing on the distribution of franchise, for the payment of a certain amount of direct national tax is one of the qualifications of a voter for the members of the House of Representatives. While the payers of the land tax are mostly of the agricultural class, the payers of the business tax are mostly of the commercial or industrial class. The introduction of the business tax, therefore, was calculated to counteract the political preponderance of the agricultural population in some measure.

The following are the principal businesses specially dealt with. The rate of the tax varies considerably: Sales of wood; banking, insurance, money-lending, and letting of goods; warehousing; manufacturing, printing, and photographing; transport, exploitation of canals, piers, docks, wharfs, etc.; contracting for engineering works or for supplying labourers; letting of chambers and salons for special occasions; restaurants; innkeeping; public intermediation, agencies, commission business, brokerage, etc. In 1902 railway business was also taxed. In 1897-98 the business tax brought in 4,416,249 yen, and in 1903-04, 6,792,818 yen.

The income tax was created in 1887, and is imposed upon incomes above 300 yen derived from property, trade, or business or other sources.

The rates of the tax were revised by the Income Tax Law of 1899 as follows:

Class I.—Incomes of juridical persons, $\frac{25}{1000}$.

Class II.—Interest on public loan bonds or companies' debentures payable in places where this law is in force, $\frac{20}{1000}$.

Class III.—The rates on incomes not belonging to the two

preceding classes range from $\frac{55}{1000}$ on incomes of, or over, 100,000 yen to $\frac{10}{1000}$ on incomes of, or over, 300 yen.

The important points of the revised law are:

The tax is imposed upon juridical persons. As the result of the treaty revision, the tax is imposed, not only upon the subjects of the empire, but also upon foreigners domiciled or residing for more than one year in places within the empire where this law is in force. Persons not domiciled or residing within the empire, but having property or trade, business or occupation, in places within the empire, are liable to pay income tax, but in respect only of the income derived therefrom. Incomes derived from agricultural land are calculated upon the average of the incomes for the three preceding years.

No income tax is levied on the following incomes:

1. Salaries of persons belonging to the army or navy while engaged in war.
2. Pensions to wounded or invalids.
3. Money received for travelling expenses or educational expenses, and legal allowances granted to widows and orphans, etc.
4. Income of juridical persons, the object of which is not to make a profit out of their business.
5. Occasional incomes not derived from undertakings conducted for profit.
6. Incomes realized from property, or from a trade, business, or profession in a foreign country, or in places where the law is not in force, except the income of a juridical person having its head office in a place where this law is in force.
7. Dividends receivable from a juridical person upon whom the income tax is imposed under this law.

In 1887-88 the revenue from the income tax was 527,724 yen; in 1897-98 it was 2,095,092 yen; and in 1903-04 it was 7,412,801 yen.

The tax on saké has undergone considerable changes since it was created in 1871. There are the following five varieties of saké specially dealt with under this tax. These are *Seishu* (refined saké), *Mirin* (sweet saké), *Shirozake* (white saké), *Meishu* (a sort of mixed saké), *Dakushu* (unrefined or muddy saké).

In 1901 the rate of tax was as follows:

Seishu, *Dakushu*, *Shirozake*, or *Mirin*, containing less than 20 degrees of alcohol, and *Shochu*, which is made from sweet potatoes, and contains less than 30 degrees of alcohol - -	15 yen per koku
Shochu, containing less than 45 degrees of alcohol	16 „ „

In the above table the quantity of alcohol is denoted by the percentage of alcohol of a specific gravity of 0·7947 contained in the original fluid at a temperature of 15° C.

A tax shall be levied at the rate of 75 sen for each 1 per cent. of pure alcohol contained in 1 koku of the original fluid. In no case, however, shall the rate of this tax fall below 16 yen per koku.

In 1874 the receipts from the saké tax were 1,683,530 yen; in 1883-84, 13,490,730 yen; in 1893-94, 16,637,436 yen; and in 1903-04, 66,535,404 yen.

The *soy* tax was first imposed in 1885 and in 1899, and the rates of the tax were: Brewing tax on soy, 2 yen for each koku of Moromi (grounds for making soy); and for Tamari (soy before it is pressed), 2 yen for each koku manufactured. In 1900 the tax on soy for household use was created, the rates being not less than 1 yen and not exceeding 4 yen. No one is allowed to manufacture more than 5 koku of soy per annum for household use. In 1885-86 the receipts from this tax were 640,179 yen; in 1896, 1,463,073 yen; in 1903-04, 3,444,034 yen.

The sugar excise, introduced in 1901, is imposed upon sugar, molasses, or syrups, delivered at a manufactory, Customs house, or bonded warehouse, with a view to provide the same for inland consumption. The rates are as follows:

Class I.—Sugar and molasses below No. 8 of the Dutch standard, 1·00 yen per picul.

Class II.—Sugar above No. 8 and below No. 15 of the Dutch standard, 1·60 yen per picul.

Class III.—Sugar and syrups above No. 15 and below No. 20 of the Dutch standard, 2·20 yen per picul.

Class IV.—Sugar and syrups above No. 20 of the Dutch standard, 2·80 yen per picul.

In 1903-04 the revenue from this tax was 7,184,637 yen.

The tax on bourses, after it had undergone frequent changes, was fixed in 1885 at the following rates:

Upon the time transaction of rice, $\frac{2}{1000}$ of the value transacted.

Upon the time transaction of public loan bonds, $\frac{3}{1000}$ of the value transacted.

Upon the time transaction of stocks and shares, $\frac{6}{1000}$ of the value transacted.

These taxes are collected from the bourses themselves.

The rates of the tax were further changed as follows:

Upon the transaction of goods and negotiable papers other than national and local loan bonds, $\frac{5}{10000}$ of the amount transacted.

Upon the transaction of national and local loan bonds, $\frac{3}{10000}$ of the amount transacted.

In 1886-87 this tax produced 269,111 yen; in 1896-97, 1,106,208 yen, and in 1903-04, 1,030,605 yen.

Since 1899 the issue of the bank-notes against the security reserve within the limit prescribed by the law is subjected to a tax of $\frac{12.5}{1000}$ per annum of the monthly average amount of issue, deducting that part of it advanced to the Government, or others without interest or with interest below $\frac{10}{1000}$ per annum, under the special order of the Government.

In 1903-04 this tax produced 1,149,616 yen.

The mining tax was originally enacted in 1875, when provision was made for the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ yen for 100 tsubo in the case of iron-mines, or mines of all non-mineral substances; 1 yen in other cases per 100 tsubo. In 1890 additional measures were enacted. There was a tax on mining businesses of 30 sen for 1,000 tsubo (iron-mines exempted), and a tax on mining industry of 1 per cent. of the value of products (iron-mines exempted). In 1875 the tax produced 44,492 yen; in 1885-86, 18,346 yen; in 1895-96, 241,418 yen; and in 1903-04, 759,578 yen.

Tonnage dues were introduced in 1899. Ships entering Japanese ports from a foreign country pay 5 sen tonnage dues for one registered ton or 10 koku of the real capacity, but if 15 sen are paid at once for the same capacity, they may enter the same port free of any tonnage dues during one year.

In 1903-04 this produced 348,726 yen.

The tax on patent medicines collected at the following rates according to the patent medicine regulations of 1877:

Dealers in patent medicines, business tax 2 yen per annum for each kind of medicine; license fee 20 sen per annum for each kind of medicine.

Retailers or peddlers of patent medicines, license fee 20 sen per annum, without regard to the number of the kinds of medicines.

Further, the patent medicine stamp duty regulations were enacted in 1886, which required a stamp of the proper amount to be pasted on the packet of patent medicine.

Subsequent to 1897, the receipts derived from the stamp duty above-mentioned are included in the general stamp revenue, special kinds of stamps for patent medicine being abolished.

From 28,455 yen derived from this source in 1876-77, the revenue had grown to 119,410 yen in 1903-04.

A tax on saké exported from Okinawa prefecture was introduced in 1888. Okinawa prefecture, a group of small islands at the southern end of the main island of Japan, is entirely exempted from the operation of the saké tax law, but if saké manufactured in these islands is exported it is subjected to a

tax about equal to the ordinary saké tax, in order to prevent undue competition.

The revenue from this tax was 144,148 yen in 1903-04.

The Customs duties were but a scanty source of revenue in the opening years of the present era, owing to the limitation of their rate by the old treaties to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, in the case of both exported and imported commodities, as well as to the small volume of the foreign trade. For some years, indeed, the Customs receipts did not exceed 3,000,000 yen. But in consequence of the remarkable growth of commerce, the revenue from the Customs duties increased considerably in later years, even under the highly unfair conventional tariffs, and amounted to 9,000,000 yen in 1898. In addition to this, the following year saw the revised treaties put in operation, which in a large measure restored tariff autonomy to our country. Since then export duties have been entirely abolished, and a statutory tariff has been and is, generally, applied to imports, the rates of duties varying from 5 per cent. to 35 per cent. *ad valorem*, according to the kinds of commodities. A marked increase in the revenue from the Customs duties at once resulted from the application of the statutory tariff, as will be seen from the receipts for 1899 and 1900, which were respectively 16,716,382 yen and 15,870,335 yen. Henceforth the Customs duties may be counted as one of the chief items of the national revenue. Besides, the Government has now greater freedom in regulating certain imported articles, corresponding to the internal taxes on similar articles, as has already been done in the case of saké and tobacco. Tariff autonomy has been recovered so far as the general principle is concerned. It is to be regretted that the rates of import duties on certain important commodities are still limited by the conventional tariffs in the treaties with foreign countries. What the nation aspires to is the total abolition of the unilateral obligations imposed upon her by the existing conventions.

The revenue from the Customs duties was in 1867-68, 720,867 yen; in 1877-78, 2,358,654 yen; in 1887-88, 4,135,652 yen; in 1897-98, 8,020,513 yen; and in 1902-03 it reached the sum of 17,045,611 yen.

The total revenue from the above taxes increased as is shown in the following table:

	Yen.
1867-68 - - - -	3,265,483
1877-78 - - - -	46,231,261
1887-88 - - - -	65,279,364
1897-98 - - - -	93,700,752
1903-04 - - - -	158,488,644

Besides the taxes given above, there are the stamps necessary upon many documents, etc. These are classed under the general head of 'stamp receipts,' and include registration fees, stamps for patent medicines and legal documents, license fees for hunting, civil lawsuit stamps, examination fees, charges and dues levied according to the Customs law, and other regulations accompanied therewith, etc. In 1875-76 the stamp receipts amounted to 700,751 yen; in 1885-86, to 709,701 yen; in 1895-96, to 900,980 yen; and in 1903-04, to 13,532,121 yen.

The *per capita* charges of the taxes and of the national debts had reached in 1900 the sums indicated below:

	Taxes.	Per Head.	Public Debts.	Per Head.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
National -	159,893,838	3·65	504,826,431	11·54
Prefectural -	34,618,256	0·79	8,672,640	0·20
Municipal -	28,813,099	0·66	15,955,659	0·37
Total -	223,325,193	5·10	529,454,730	12·11

VII. The National Debts

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

In Japan, the practice of issuing Government bonds for public loans began with the foreign public loan (bearing 9 per cent. interest) which was issued at London in April, 1870. Since then the necessity of undertaking public works and measures of various descriptions has led to a frequent issue of public loans, there being twenty-one issues in all. A brief synopsis is here given of the various public loans, together with the various objects they were designed to meet.

1. The public loan issued during the Restoration of 1868. This financed one of the greatest reformations of institutions in Japan. During this reformation various old customs were changed, many bad influences were removed, and a great number of civil and military works were initiated. The financial requirements of this historic reformation were met by the Act of March, 1873, called 'New and Old Public Bonds Act.' By this Act, the debts which had been contracted by the feudal Princes were converted into Imperial public loans. Consequently, two kinds of public loans were issued—*i.e.*, the

New Public Loan and Old Public Loan. This was the first issue of domestic public bonds in Japan.

In the year 1871 the Government gave permission to the feudal Princes and their retainers—except those in public service—to engage in agricultural, industrial, or commercial pursuits, which had been denied to them under the old régime. These retainers, however, did not possess the capital necessary for such purposes. In order to remove this difficulty, the Government issued pension bonds since the year 1874, and delivered them to those retainers in exchange for their hereditary pensions, and for the convenience of the beneficiaries one-half of these pension bonds were given in cash. In order to procure funds for the cash payment just mentioned, a public loan bearing 7 per cent. interest was issued in London in 1873. At that time the pensions of the feudal Princes and their retainers were estimated to cover three-fourths of the total revenue of the Government; consequently, the drain on the treasury was so heavy that these systems of pensions had to be reformed. Finally, the Government decided to reform the institution of 'rice-pension' to 'money-pension,' and afterwards, in 1876, the 'Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bond Act' was promulgated, by which Act the old system of pensions was abolished, and Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds were delivered instead of money-pensions.

In the year 1878, as a relief to 'Shinto' priests, who had suffered by the reformation of the institution of 'Shinto' shrines, the Pension Bonds for 'Shinto' Priests were issued.

2. Public loans issued for the prosecution of public works. Since the Restoration, the Government recognised various administrative institutions, and issued public loans for public works. The most important of these public works was the improvement of the means of communication, especially the construction of railways. The first loan which the Government issued for this purpose was the public loan bearing 9 per cent. interest floated in London in 1870, to which allusion has already been made. With the money realized by this loan railways were constructed between Tokyo and Yokohama, and Osaka and Kobe. In course of time the issuing of public loans for public works became increasingly necessary; consequently, the Government issued these loans in 1878. This was the first issue of public loans at home. With this fund the railways between Kyoto and Otsu, Tsuruga and Ogaki, the new road along Shimizu, and the water-way of Nasu Plain, were constructed, and the methods of mineral and coal mining were improved.

In the year 1884-1885 the Government undertook to issue the Nakasendo Railway Bonds in order to connect the two

great cities of the Empire—Tokyo and Kyoto—by rail along the Nakasendo. It was found, however, that to complete this work would be very difficult, because of the configuration of the country, which is exceedingly rocky and mountainous, and so at last the Government decided in 1886 to give up the construction of the proposed railway along the Nakasendo, and to appropriate the funds for building a line along the Tokaido.

The funds realized by the above-mentioned loan being insufficient to cover the expenses required for the construction of branch lines from the Tokaido trunk line, the Supplementary Railway Bonds were issued in 1889.

The Government issued the Railway Public Loan in 1893, and constructed railways between various important places in the Empire. To construct railways in Hokkaido—northern territory of the empire—the Government issued another public loan, and this is called the Hokkaido Railway Loan. Neither of these loans has yet been completely issued.

3. Public loans issued for the purpose of military expansion. The rebellion in Kagoshima—south-western territory of the empire—in 1877, caused much military expense, which could not be supplied from the ordinary revenues. The Fifteenth National Bank, which had just been established, was willing to furnish some financial aid to the Government, so the Government borrowed the required money from the bank. In the years 1886-1889 the Government issued a Naval Loan to construct docks and forts, to manufacture arms and ammunition, and to build battleships and torpedoes. At the outbreak of war between Japan and China in 1894, military expenses were so great that the Government, with the agreement of Parliament, issued a loan of 250,000,000 yen for the contingent expenses. This is called the War Loan.

4. Public loans issued for the adjustment of the financial administration. Simultaneously with the reorganization of the political administration at the time of the Restoration, the Government was confronted by an urgent necessity of putting the financial system in order, and as the first step in this direction, it enacted a new regulation in 1873, by which the Government successfully undertook the withdrawal of the various forms of money that had been issued by the different feudal Princes. The bonds by which this was effected are called the 'Kinsatu Exchange Bonds.' Since then various measures of financial reform were carried out, and as the result of these measures, as well as of the natural economic development of the country, the financial world of Japan attained by about 1886 a stage of progress which afforded the Government a good opportunity for consolidating

the public loans at a rate of interest much lower than those it had hitherto been paying. The result was the promulgation in 1886 of the 'Consolidated Loan Act,' which enabled the Government not only to lighten the treasury charge, but to simplify the management of the business connected with public debts. By means of the Consolidated Public Bonds—5 per cent. interest—issued under the above-mentioned Act, the Government redeemed the Kinsatu Exchange Loan—bearing 6 per cent. interest; the Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds—bearing 6 per cent. interest; the Public Works Loan—bearing 6 per cent. interest; the Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds—bearing 7 per cent. interest; the Nakasendo Railway Bonds—bearing 7 per cent. interest; and the money borrowed from the Fifteenth Bank—bearing 7·5 per cent. interest.

The Government also borrowed from the Bank of Japan in 1890 the funds required for redeeming the Government paper money, but no interest is paid on this loan.

5. As a result of the war with China in the years 1894-1895, the Government again found it necessary to undertake the adjustment of the financial administration, and to take steps for the development of economical affairs, and initiate and extend public works of all sorts which were needed after the restoration of peace. The Government determined to issue the Public Works Loan for the improvement of the existing Government railways, the construction of Hokkaido railways, the establishment of steel works, the extension of the telephone service, the establishment of the leaf tobacco monopoly, and so forth. This loan was issued in 1894 with the consent of Parliament, the interest being 5 per cent. per annum. The Government further felt the necessity of issuing bonds for the public works in Formosa, and, getting the consent of Parliament in 1899, it promulgated the 'Formosan Public Works Loan Law,' for the financing of special works of importance, such as the construction of railways and harbours and the survey of the land and woods. A portion of the above-mentioned Public Works Loan, amounting to 10,000,000 pounds sterling, was issued in London in 1899 at 4 per cent. interest. The Public Works Loan and the Formosan Loan have not yet been completely issued.

As above mentioned, the Government has frequently issued public loans for the reformation of institutions, the adjustment of financial administration, and the prosecution of various public works.

In all there have been twenty-one issues of public loans, but eleven of them have been already redeemed, so there remain only ten of them to be redeemed in the future. In

other words, 306,697,260 yen out of the total debts of 825,462,300 yen have been already redeemed, therefore 518,765,040 yen remain to be redeemed in the future.

The following table shows the amounts of the national debts, redeemed and outstanding:

Kind of Public Loans.	Amounts Issued.	Amounts Redeemed.	Amounts Unredeemed.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Foreign Public Loan (9 per cent. interest)	4,880,000	4,880,000	—
Foreign Public Loan (7 per cent. interest)	11,712,000	11,712,000	—
New Public Loan	12,422,825	12,422,825	—
Old Public Loan	10,972,725	6,583,635	4,389,090
'Kinsatu' Exchange Bonds ..	6,669,250	6,669,250	—
Pension Bonds	16,565,850	16,565,850	—
Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds	173,902,900	148,474,250	25,428,650
Pension Bonds for Former 'Shinto' Priests	334,050	334,050	—
Industrial Works Loan ..	12,500,000	12,500,000	—
Nakasendo Railway Loan ..	20,000,000	20,000,000	—
'Kinsatu' Exchange without Name Bonds	7,929,900	7,929,900	—
Navy Loan	17,000,000	8,203,400	8,796,600
Consolidated Loan	175,000,000	6,306,400	168,693,600
Supplementary Railway Loan..	2,000,000	2,000,000	—
Railway Public Loan	52,354,900	11,031,950	41,322,950
War Loan	124,920,750	8,339,300	116,581,450
Public Works Loan	131,451,150	7,744,450	123,706,700
Hokkaido Railway Loan ...	3,912,000	—	3,912,000
Formosa Public Works Loan ..	3,934,000	—	3,934,000
Money borrowed from the 15th Bank	75,000,000	15,000,000	—
Loan for Redemption of Paper Money	22,000,000	—	22,000,000
Total	825,462,300	306,697,260	518,765,040

REMARKS.—In the above table foreign loans (bearing 9 and 7 per cent. interest) are calculated as £1 = 4·88 yen, and Railway Loans, Public Works Loan, and Hokkaido Public Works Loan, which are issued in pounds sterling, are calculated as £1 = 9·764 yen. It has also to be mentioned that in the case of the Railway Public Loan, the Public Works Loan, the Hokkaido Railways Loan, and the Formosan Public Works Loan, the amounts entered in this table do not represent the amounts actually issued, as will be explained in the following paragraph.

In the foregoing table, 17,577,750 yen of the Railway Public Loan, 78,052,250 yen of the Public Works Loan, 2,000,000 yen of the Hokkaido Railway Loan—amounting in all to 97,630,000 yen—are covered by the £10,000,000 of the 4 per cent. sterling loan floated in London. The total unissued amount of these three public loans and the Formosan

Public Works Loan is 105,746,290 yen. This sum, together with the 10,000,000 yen worth of bonds which are to be issued for the adjustment of pensions according to the Law No. 50, 1897, aggregating to 115,746,290 yen, represents the total amount of public loans to be issued in the future.

The outstanding amounts of the public debt, and its ratio *per capita* at different periods in the past, may be summarized as follows:

When 4,880,000 yen of the foreign loan (bearing 9 per cent. interest) issued in 1870 represented the total amount of national debt, the average rate for one person was only 14 sen 7 rin (3½d.); but since 1872, the old public loan, the new public loan, and some other public loans being issued, the outstanding debts soon reached about 28,000,000 to 55,000,000 yen, the average *per capita* ratio being from 84 sen 3 rin (1s. 10d.) to 1 yen 62 sen 3 rin (3s. 4d.). Since the issuing of the voluntary capitalized pension bonds of 173,900,000 yen in 1877, the amount of the outstanding debts became about 227,000,000 to 283,000,000 yen, and the average *per capita* ratio was increased to from 6 to 7 yen (12s. to 14s.). Since the Public Works Loan was issued in 1896, the amounts of public loans were suddenly increased. After 1895 the amounts unredeemed were increased from 300,000,000 to 500,000,000 yen, and the average share per head at the end of 1901 increased to 11·72 yen (23s. 6d.).

According to the present programme of the Government, all the outstanding debts, together with those to be contracted during the fiscal years 1902-1908, will be completely cleared off by the end of the fiscal year 1945.

The redemption of the different outstanding loans is to be completed respectively as follows:

	Fiscal Year.
Voluntary Capitalized Pension Bonds ..	1903
Navy Loan	1904
Consolidated Loan	1920
Old Public Loan	1921
War Loan	1925
Pension Consolidated Loan	1927
Railway Public Loan	1930
Public Works Loan and Hokkaido Railway Loan ..	1934
Formosan Public Works Loan ..	1945

The loan for the redemption of paper money is to be converted to a new public loan (bearing 5 per cent. interest, the redemption of which will be completed in the fiscal year 1929).

N.B.—Since the war with Russia began one foreign loan of £10,000,000 and two local loans of £10,000,000 had been raised by June, 1904.

CHAPTER XVI

BANKING

I. The Growth of the Banking System in Japan

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

The modern system of banking in Japan dates from the promulgation of the National Bank Regulations in November, 1872. Before the Restoration—commercial circles being limited—it was natural that little progress should have been made in banking business, except that there were in operation some bank-like organs conducting the business connected with national taxes and acting as financial agents for feudal lords.

In November, 1872, there were promulgated the National Bank Regulations, based mainly upon the National Bank Act of the United States of America.

The regulations in their original form provided that the National Bank notes should be convertible in specie. But when the issue of Government loan bonds, amounting to 170,000,000 yen, for the capitalization of the hereditary feudal pensions was undertaken, the regulations were revised to the effect that the bank-notes should be issued on the security of Government loan bonds, and be convertible in Government paper money. This is called the 'Revised National Bank Regulations of August, 1876.' Under the revised regulations the bank-notes thus became inconvertible notes. The inevitable evil results of such a system did not, however, manifest themselves in any conspicuous manner for some years, because the amount of notes in circulation was kept within moderate limits. But with the increase of national banks—there being at one time 153 of them—and more especially with the sudden inflation of Government paper money to meet the expense of putting down the great Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, paper began to depreciate so rapidly and so disastrously that the Government by heroic efforts set about the adoption of a really convertible system. This arduous task was commenced by the revision of the National Bank Regulations in 1883, and was completed in

1886, when the monetary system was finally put on a sound basis.

Under the new system the national banks were deprived of the privilege of issuing notes, which privilege was lodged exclusively in the hands of the newly-created Bank of Japan. Most of them changed themselves into private banks, according to the Law for the Settlement of National Banks on the Expiration of their Term of Charter and the Law for the Special Settlement of National Banks prior to the Expiration of their Term of Business; while a few of them wound up their business, so that by February, 1899, there existed no national bank in the country.

Meanwhile, private banks and bank-like companies which did not come under the National Bank Regulations had considerably increased, until in 1884 their total number reached 954. These private banks and companies might be freely established, the only condition being that they should be under the supervision of local authorities. To bring these institutions under a uniform and more efficient control, the Government promulgated the Bank Regulations and the Savings Bank Regulations, putting them in force in July, 1891, on which date a part of the Commercial Law also came into operation. Again, in April, 1896, the Bank Consolidation Law was enacted, with a view of facilitating the consolidation of existing banks by omitting the formalities of dissolution and so forth. As the result of these legislations, a great improvement is noticeable in the condition of private banks.

The use of cheques and credit notes had long been extensively practised among business men in Osaka. The practice, after a temporary and partial suspension during the general confusion brought about by the War of the Restoration, was soon revived with the revival of trade and confidence under the new régime. To improve the system of credit which had thus grown up in that emporium of commerce, and bring it more in harmony with the requirements of modern business, the leading banks of Osaka formed an association in 1879, and in September of the same year they applied to the Government for permission to establish a clearing-house, which was opened to business three months later. This was the first clearing-house ever established in Japan.

Since then the system of clearing bills has witnessed a steady and remarkable development. Clearing-houses are now in operation in Tokyo, Nagoya, Kobe, and other important centres of business throughout the country.

In November, 1879, a bank was established in Yokohama, under the National Bank Regulations, with a capital of 3,000,000 yen, for the purpose of affording facilities to Japanese merchants engaged in foreign trade. This is the progenitor of the present well-known Yokohama Specie Bank. It applied for

permission to issue convertible notes; but the application being rejected by the Government, it chiefly devoted its attention to the business of foreign exchange and hypothecation of foreign bills. Notwithstanding many difficulties, it expanded its business operations, its capital being soon afterward increased to 6,000,000 yen.

Being in its organization and the nature of its business operations essentially different from a national bank, it did not properly come under the National Bank Regulations. In recognition of this fact, the Government promulgated the Regulations for the Yokohama Specie Bank in March, 1887. Since then the bank has made a rapid and steady growth, its capital being increased to 12,000,000 yen in 1896, and again to 24,000,000 yen in September, 1899.

To remedy a state of confusion brought about by the rise of a multitude of small banks with very imperfect connections between one another, the Government decided, in 1882, to establish a central bank, and in June the same year the Regulations of the Bank of Japan were promulgated. The newly-established bank was opened in October of the same year. The main objects of the establishment of the Bank of Japan were to smooth relations between the different banks, to facilitate monetary circulation, to lower the rate of interest, to improve the business of bill-discounting, and to issue convertible bank-notes for the purpose of establishing a firm basis for the monetary system of Japan. Moreover, in consequence of the fact that the bank manages the receipt and disbursement of the national revenue, its credit was assured from the moment of its establishment. After the Chino-Japanese War its capital was increased to 30,000,000 yen, with more branches and agencies, so as to meet the requirements of its fast-expanding business.

The Convertible Notes Regulations, which were first promulgated in 1884, were revised in August, 1887, the principal object of the revision being to regulate the maximum limit of note-issue on security reserve. After the adoption of the gold standard in October, 1897, the bank-notes, of course, became convertible into gold coins. Owing to the economic progress of the country, the demand for currency was much increased, and so the limit of note-issue on security reserve was again expanded in February, 1899.

Though the organs of monetary circulation in regard to commerce had been provided and improved, yet there existed no such organ in regard to agriculture and industry, and the need of remedying this defect led to the promulgation of the Law of the Industrial Bank of Japan and the Law of the Agricultural and Industrial Banks (Local Industrial Banks) in April, 1896.

These banks were established in order to supply capital at

low rates and for long periods, for the purpose of the improvement and development of agriculture and industry, the Industrial Bank of Japan acting as the central organ, and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks as local organs. The Industrial Bank of Japan commenced its business in August, 1897, and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks in 1898.

In 1897 the Government promulgated the Law of the Bank of Formosa, and established the Bank of Formosa with the capital of 5,000,000 yen. The bank was granted the privilege of issuing notes convertible in silver. It was also entrusted with the business of receiving and disbursing the Government revenue in the island, its position there thus corresponding to that held by the Bank of Japan in Japan proper. The establishment of a special central bank for Formosa on a silver basis was necessitated by the special requirements of the native population of the island.

With a view of facilitating the colonization and the economic development of Hokkaido, the Law of the Colonial Bank of Hokkaido was promulgated in March, 1899, and the Colonial Bank of Hokkaido was established in March next year.

The volume of securities in Japan now amounted to upwards of 1,100,000,000 yen, yet there existed no special organ for advancing money against these securities. Consequently the Law of the Crédit Mobilier of Japan was promulgated in March, 1900.

The following table shows the number, capital, and other particulars of the various banks now existing in Japan:

Kinds of Banks.	Capital.	Capital paid up.	Reserves.	Number of Offices.		Dates of Establishment.
				Principal.	Branch.	
The Bank of Japan	30,000,000	30,000,000	14,600,000	1	8	October, 1882
The Yokohama Specie Bank	24,000,000	18,000,000	8,130,000	1	13	February, 1880
The Industrial Bank of Japan	10,000,000	2,500,000	70,925	1	—	June, 1897
Agricultural and Industrial Banks	28,570,000	22,923,485	371,110	45	1	From November, 1897, to July, 1900
The Bank of Formosa	5,000,000	1,250,000	17,900	1	10	June, 1899
The Colonial Bank of Hokkaido	3,000,000	1,050,000	2,343	1	—	March, 1900
Ordinary Banks	361,094,770	245,158,916	33,032,936	1,802	1,374	Since March, 1900
Savings Banks	48,465,300	26,834,957	2,907,597	419	521	Ditto

The figures in the above table are based on the returns for December, 1900. Special reserves are included in reserves, and sub-branches in branches. There were at that date fifty-two ordinary banks besides those in the above table, but some of these had not yet commenced their business, being in course of establishment. Their aggregate capital amounted to 4,568,500 yen.

The following seven banks, viz., the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Hypothec Bank, the Agricultural and Industrial Banks, the Bank for Colonization and Exploitation of Hokkaido, the Bank of Formosa, and the Industrial Bank of Japan, are banks established under the special patronage of the Government, each with some special object, as is mentioned before under the head of each of these banks. While their branches of business are more or less limited, corresponding to the objects for which they are founded, they are all endowed with some privileges more or less lucrative, which more than balance the disadvantages of their limited sphere of action. At the same time they are subject to the strict control of the Government; not only their statutes, but also particular cases of their action, as is pointed out in the laws, are subject to the special permission of the Minister of Finance. Besides, one or more Special Commissioners are appointed for each of these banks, to supervise the course of their business and make report on it to the Minister. The governors, presidents, and directors of these banks are either directly appointed by the Government or approved by the latter after they are elected in the general meetings of the banks.

The amount of convertible notes at the end of October, 1900, was as follows:

Kind.	Amount of Issue.	
Bank of Japan's notes ...	On cash reserve ... 67,349,129 On security reserve ... 161,220,903	228,570,032
Formosan bank-notes ...	On cash reserve ... 2,071,861 On security reserve ... 1,511,529	3,583,390

THE BANK OF JAPAN.

The system of banking established in Japan not long after the Restoration was modelled on that in the United States. National banks which came into existence under the National Bank Act of 1872 were allowed to issue notes with Government bonds as their securities. But, after an experience extending for several years and more than one alteration in the

law, the working of the system proved not quite satisfactory. Besides, the currency was dangerously inflated by the issue of inconvertible notes, to which the Government was obliged to resort in consequence of the political crises. A proper regulation of the currency thus became the prime necessity of finance, and it was to relieve the situation that the Bank of Japan was established in 1882 as part of a broad scheme of financial reforms. The following objects of the institution were set forth in the memorandum presented to the Cabinet by Count Matsukata, then Minister of Finance:

1. To promote the co-operation and assimilation of banks under a central bank.
2. To increase capital available for trade and industry.
3. To reduce, as well as to equalize, the rate of interest.
4. To transfer to the bank various services in the Treasury, when its business is firmly organized.
5. To discount foreign bills, so as to regulate the influx and efflux of specie.

In 1884 the Convertible Bank-Note Act was enacted, whereby it was aimed to replace both the Government and national bank notes with those of the Bank of Japan, so as to unify the currency system under this central institution. Thenceforth the issue of convertible notes became an important function of the bank.

At first the capital of the Bank of Japan was 10,000,000 yen. This was divided into 50,000 shares of 200 yen each. One-half of this capital was subscribed by the Government with its surplus fund. This was afterwards transferred to the Crown property. The expansion of business necessitated an increase of capital, and in 1887 it was increased to 20,000,000 yen, and again in 1895 to 30,000,000 yen. Its capital, which is all paid up, is divided into 150,000 shares. The shares are all registered, and their ownership is allowed only to Japanese subjects, who obtain permission of the Minister of Finance to acquire it. The number of the shareholders now stands at 948.

The profit is semi-annually divided in the following way: Out of the net profit, 6 per cent. is declared as the first dividend, and then at least one-tenth of the rest is added to the reserve, and another one-tenth may be distributed as a bonus to the bank officers. The second dividend is to be declared out of the remainder, some part of which is sometimes carried to the reserve account. Since 1887 the sum of these two dividends has varied between 10 per cent. and 15 per cent. per annum.

The reserve fund can be drawn on only to make up for the losses of the capital or to equalize the annual dividends. This fund is to be invested only in the purchase of gold, silver or

Government bonds, and the profit from the same is carried to the gross income of the bank. The latest accounts show that this fund stands at 15,700,000 yen. The successive directors of the bank have always endeavoured to increase the fund so as to strengthen its credit.

At the time when the Bank of Japan was organized, the market was flooded with inconvertible paper currency. The Government paper money amounted to 115,381,292 yen. The notes of national banks were over 34,396,818 yen, which did not all enjoy the same credit. The currency was inflated to such a degree that the premium on specie was once 79 per cent. Under such circumstances it was the policy of the Government to place the power of regulating the currency entirely in the hands of the Bank of Japan, and to replace this inflated currency with the notes of the bank, which were to be elastic and redeemable in silver. For this purpose the Government issued gold note redemption bonds to contract the circulation of depreciated paper, and purchased silver and foreign bills to prepare the way for the resumption of specie payments. Within three years the Government paper money was withdrawn to such an extent that the Bank of Japan felt it safe to issue its first notes in May, 1885, and all paper currency became convertible into specie from January 1, 1886.

The law which regulates the notes of the Bank of Japan is based upon the German system, yet there are some interesting differences. The bank-notes are issued under three different conditions:

1. The notes issued on metallic reserve. This reserve used to be silver, but since the adoption of the gold standard, on October 1, 1897, it has consisted and consists of gold, save that one-fifth of the total metallic reserve may be kept in silver. But, as in the case of the Bank of England, this exception is seldom fully availed of.

2. Notes issued on business assets within the legal limit. The limit, which was at first 70,000,000 yen, was extended to 85,000,000 yen in May, 1889, and to 120,000,000 yen in March, 1899. In consideration of this privilege the bank was prescribed by law to advance to the Government a sum of 22,000,000 yen without interest, which has been employed as the fund for withdrawing the Government paper money. Moreover, the outstanding circulation of Government and national bank notes was included in the amount of the legal limit of the bank's note issue, and it was to be gradually replaced by the notes of the bank. It was not until the end of 1899 that the Government and national bank notes were entirely withdrawn from circulation.

3. The emergency notes, or those issued upon business assets

in excess of the above legal limit. These notes are subject to a special tax. The rate of the tax is to be 5 per cent. or more. In the German system this rate is fixed at 5 per cent.; but in the Japanese system only the minimum rate is fixed, and the power of discretion is given to the Minister of Finance, who may charge any rate above 5 per cent., according to the state of the money market. This is quite an effectual measure to alleviate any stringency of the market, and at the same time to secure the immediate withdrawal of superfluous notes when the necessity is over.

This system of note issue seems to be particularly well adapted to meet varying demands of trade in a country like Japan, where, on account of her geographical position, specie cannot be called in from abroad to respond to the immediate need of the market.

The following figures show the outstanding amount of notes issued at the end of the respective years:

	Yen.
1885	5,400,000
1890	153,875,236
1895	209,607,448
1900	228,570,032
1901	214,096,766

The kinds of business transacted by the Bank of Japan are mentioned in its by-laws as follows:

1. The purchase or discount of Treasury bills, bills of exchange, and other commercial paper.
2. Dealing in gold and silver.
3. To make loans upon gold and silver coin and bullion.
4. To make collection of bills for banks, corporations, and individuals who are the regular customers of the bank.
5. To receive deposits and accept the custody of objects of value and documents.
6. To make advances on current accounts or loans upon the securities of Government bonds, Treasury bills, or other bonds and shares guaranteed by the State.

Besides these, the bank performs a number of important services for the Treasury without compensation. Not only does it receive and pay out public revenues and expenditures for the State, but it also manages all operations concerning public debts and public deposits. The withdrawal of the Government and national bank notes has also been dealt with by the bank. In fact, certain parts of the bank are closely united with the various departments of the Treasury.

Bills and cheques in modern forms are new things in Japan. For the last twenty years the Government, as well as the bank,

has not spared any effort to encourage their use in commercial transactions. As the result of these efforts the discount business has grown to a considerable amount. The bills cleared in the clearing-houses in Tokyo and Osaka during 1901 amount to 1,268,802,079 yen and 528,122,083 yen respectively. Bills offered for discount to the bank must be endorsed by at least two substantial names, and be payable within one hundred days. Those which bear a single name must be accompanied by collateral either in the form of warehouse receipts of merchandise or of the shares and bonds classed as securities of good credit.

The loans made by the bank upon securities are much smaller in amount than the discounts. These securities are the bonds of the Imperial Government of Tokyo and Osaka municipalities, and also those shares and bonds guaranteed by the State. Loans can be made for a period of three months or less, and renewal is allowed only once when necessary.

The bank receives deposits and makes advances on current accounts. The Bank of Japan does not pay interest on current deposits. Customers place their surplus money in the vault of the bank to secure the convenience of drawing cheques upon it. The banks belonging to the clearing-house association also settle their daily balances with their current accounts in the bank. The bank also issues deposit receipts, draft and transfer cheques. The distribution of various kinds of coins and bank-notes to the different districts of the empire constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the business of the bank.

Formerly the bank allowed loans and discounts exclusively to bankers, being literally the bank of banks; but since June, 1897, the way has been opened to deal directly with individuals and corporations which have good business standing. This measure has been taken to extend the benefit of the low rate of interest to the general market, and to check the excessive profit often secured by other bankers as mere intermediaries between the bank and the public. The change of the rates of interest on loans and discounts is subject to the sanction of the Minister of Finance.

The Bank of Japan has no direct dealings in foreign markets. But it uses its sister institution, the Yokohama Specie Bank, as its foreign agent. Indeed, to encourage foreign commerce, the Bank of Japan assists this institution in many ways. Among other favours, the former advances to the latter up to the amount of 15,000,000 yen in rediscounting foreign bills at a specially low rate of interest. The indemnity money received from China was also transferred from London to Japan through this institution either by the purchase of bullion or by exchange operations.

The total business transactions of the bank for 1901 amounted

to 10,576,036,318 yen. The following figures will show the growth of business of the bank since its foundation:

Years.	Total Business Transactions.	Amounts received in Deposit Account.	Total Loans and Discounts.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1883	157,639,152	9,080,001	5,943,950
1888	2,791,391,455	93,629,609	104,727,100
1893	1,811,666,902	257,291,074	175,194,937
1898	9,019,330,232	1,647,294,725	946,386,818
1901	10,576,036,318	1,965,848,088	716,638,048

The Bank of Japan being the only bank of issue, not only is it placed under the control of the Government, but it is heavily burdened in return for the privileges granted. It has, besides supporting the public credit in times of financial emergency, to render the following services:

1. The receipt and disbursement of Government money.
2. The call and payment of the principal as well as the interest on the national debt.
3. Custody of money and goods entrusted to the Government.
4. The redemption of Government paper money.
5. The redemption of the national bank notes.
6. The rediscounting of foreign bills of exchange for the Yokohama Specie Bank at a specially low rate.

All these involve considerable sacrifices on the part of the bank, but are done simply for the public convenience as directed by the Government.

The administration of the Bank of Japan is composed of a Governor, Vice-Governor, four directors, and from three to five auditors. The Governor and Vice-Governor are appointed by the Government for five years. The directors are also chosen by the Government out of the double number of candidates nominated at the general meeting of shareholders, and their term of office is four years. The Governor, Vice-Governor, and directors meet daily together, and constitute the Administrative Board, which decides all important questions of the bank. The auditors are elected by the shareholders for the term of three years. They constitute the Board of Auditors, which meets at least once a month. All important actions of the Administrative Board, such as the change of the rate of interest and the rate of dividend to be declared, are subject to their approval. They also inspect books and documents of the bank. The Governor, the Vice-Governor, directors, and auditors, constitute the general meeting of the bank, which deliberates upon questions proposed by the Governor. These officers must live in Tokyo, and during their terms of office

they cannot accept any other office either in the Government or other banks and corporations. The regular meeting of shareholders takes place semi-annually on the third Saturday of February and August. Those who own ten shares or more have a voice at this meeting, and an additional vote is allowed for every fifty shares over and above the first ten shares.

Besides these bodies, the Government appoints a certain number of comptrollers out of the officials of the Treasury Department. They have the power to stop any act either contrary to the laws and by-laws or deemed to be disadvantageous from a Government point of view. They weekly visit the bank and receive various reports regarding the condition of the bank and its transactions. They can attend any meeting of the bank officers and express their views in regard to the business of the bank.

RATES OF PROFITS IN THE BANK OF JAPAN.

Years.	Capital.	Reserves.	Net Profits.	Dividends.	Rates of Net Profits on 100 Yen Capital and Reserves.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1899, 1st half ...	30,000,000	13,020,000	2,677,461	1,800,000	6·201
1899, 2nd half ...	30,000,000	13,320,000	3,116,870	1,800,000	6·195
1900, 1st half ...	30,000,000	14,000,000	2,996,728	1,800,000	6·811
1900, 2nd half ...	30,000,000	14,600,000	3,165,519	1,800,000	7·098

In 1902 there was at the Bank of Japan the following reserve against the convertible notes issued by the Bank of Japan, viz., 232,094,377 yen, composed of 108,118,817 yen in gold coin or bullion, 1,000,000 yen in silver coin and bullion, and 122,975,560 yen special security reserve.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK.

The Yokohama Specie Bank was founded in 1880, with an authorized capital of 3,000,000 yen (1,400,000 yen in silver and 1,600,000 in paper), for furnishing financial facilities for the foreign trade of the country. It was at first supported by the Government in various directions; for instance, the management of several million yen of the Treasury reserve fund was entrusted to the bank, and thus an ample amount of capital was put at the disposal of the bank for discounting foreign bills of exchange. In 1882, when the Bank of Japan was established, such kind of support was withdrawn, and instead the Bank of Japan was engaged to rediscount foreign bills of exchange upon the demand of the Specie Bank to an amount not

exceeding 20,000,000 yen a year at the rate of 2 per cent. In March, 1887, a special ordinance for the Specie Bank was promulgated (Imperial Ordinance No. 26, 1887), and at the same time the capital was raised to 6,000,000 yen. The consequent growth of its transactions necessitated the further increase of its capital to 12,000,000 yen in the same year. In 1899 the capital was again doubled, making 24,000,000 yen, of which 18,000,000 yen are now paid up.

The following lines of business are transacted by the bank: (1) Foreign exchange; (2) inland exchange; (3) loans; (4) deposits of money and custody of objects of value; (5) discount and collection of bills of exchange, promissory notes, and other cheques; (6) exchange of coins. The bank may also buy or sell public bonds, gold or silver bullion, and foreign coins, if the condition of business demands it. The bank may also be entrusted with affairs bearing on foreign loans and the management of public moneys for international account.

RATES OF PROFITS AT THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK.

Years.	Capital.	Reserves.	Receipts and Disbursements.	Net Profits.	Dividends.	Rates of Net Profits on Capital and Reserves.	Rates of Dividends on 100 Yen of Capital.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1899, 1st half	11,311,875	7,300,000	4,207,217,513	1,517,858	787,500	8·155	7·500
1899, 2nd half	12,000,000	7,500,000	5,231,165,143	4,799,501	3,900,000	24·100	7·500
1900, 1st half	18,000,000	8,000,000	4,740,986,500	1,278,846	985,151	4·919	6·500
1900, 2nd half	18,000,000	8,130,000	4,061,982,362	1,754,339	1,170,000	6·714	5·500

THE HYPOTHEC BANK OF JAPAN.

The Hypothec Bank of Japan was founded in 1884 by Law No. 82 of the same year as a joint stock company with a capital of 10,000,000 yen, under the special patronage and control of the Government, for the purpose of furnishing long-period loans at a low rate of interest for improvement and development of agriculture and industry. It was to serve as the central organ of credit for agricultural and industrial enterprises of larger scale throughout the whole country, as agricultural and industrial banks of each prefecture are destined for local activity in the same branch of business.

The chief lines of business transacted by the bank are as follows:

To make loans on the security of immovable property, redeemable in annual instalments within a period of not more than fifty years; to make loans on a similar security, redeemable at a fixed term within a period of not more than five years, provided the total amount of such loans does not exceed one-tenth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments (the amounts of loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof, as appraised by the bank); to make loans without security to prefectures, districts, cities, towns, and other public bodies organized by law; to take up the mortgage debentures of Agricultural and Industrial Banks; to accept the custody of gold and silver bullion and negotiable instruments.

The bank is authorized, when at least one-fourth of its nominal capital is paid up, to issue mortgage debentures up to an amount not exceeding ten times its paid-up capital, provided the amount of such debentures does not exceed the total amount of outstanding loans redeemable in annual instalments and the debentures of Agricultural and Industrial Banks in hand. These debentures shall be redeemed at least twice a year by means of drawings in proportion to the total amount of redemption of loans redeemable in annual instalments in the same year, and the debentures of Agricultural and Industrial Banks in hand. Besides, for each issue of debentures, premiums of various amounts varying from 10 to 1,000 yen, are allotted to a certain number of the debentures determined by drawings. This is the single exception to the general prohibition of lottery or any lottery-like system, specially allowed to the Hypothec Bank, in order to attract smaller capitals to the subscription of its debentures.

The Industrial Bank of Japan.

The Industrial Bank of Japan, established in accordance with the Law of the Industrial Bank of Japan (Law No. 70, 1900) promulgated in 1900, is a joint stock company of a capital of 10,000,000 yen, of which 2,500,000 yen are paid up. As the Hypothec Bank and the Agricultural and Industrial Banks are intended to furnish long and cheap loans on the security of immovable property for agricultural and industrial enterprises, especially for the former, the Industrial Bank has for its special object the handling of bonds and shares of various kinds. It may be regarded as a kind of crédit mobilier, while the former are crédits fonciers with special forms and purposes. The business allowed to the bank by the law are:

1. To make loans against the pledge of public loan bonds, local loan bonds, companies' debentures and shares.

2. To subscribe or take up public loan bonds, local loan bonds, and companies' debentures.

3. To accept deposit of money and custody of valuable objects.

4. To transact various kinds of trust business with local loan bonds, companies' debentures and shares.

Thus, loans without security, or on the security of other than negotiable papers and discounts of bills, are not within the scope of the bank's business. In order to enable it to obtain the necessary amount of capital for carrying out its object, the bank is also endowed with the privilege of issuing debentures to an amount of five times its paid-up capital, which, however, may not exceed the total amount of advances made by the bank, the local loan bonds and companies' debentures appropriated by it. Besides, for the first five years dividend of 5 per cent. of its paid-up capital is guaranteed by the Government.

RATES OF PROFITS.

Years.	Capital paid up.	Reserves.		Net Profits.	Dividends.	Rates of Net Profits on Capital and Reserve.	Rates of Dividends.
		To make Loss Good.	For Equalization of Dividend.				
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1899, 1st half	2,500,000	8,700	2,175	115,654	82,500	4·606	3·300
1899, 2nd half	2,500,000	27,202	6,801	126,718	87,500	5·001	3·500
1900, 1st half	2,500,000	46,801	11,701	132,811	95,000	5·260	3·800
1900, 2nd half	2,500,000	56,739	14,186	179,587	112,500	6·985	4·500

THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL BANKS.

The Agricultural and Industrial Banks were established in accordance with the Law for the Agricultural and Industrial Banks (Law No. 84, 1886), as local organs of credit for the same object as that of the Hypothec Bank, each with a capital of 20,000 yen or upwards. Each bank has, as a general rule, for its business district the whole part of the prefecture where it is established, each prefecture having one bank; but it is provided that, if the circumstances require, a prefecture may be divided into two or more districts in respect of agricultural and industrial banks by special Imperial ordinances, which provision, however, has not yet been made use of.

The following lines of business are transacted by these banks: To make loans on the security of immovable property, redeemable in annual instalments within a period of not more than thirty years; to make loans on a similar security, redeemable in a fixed term within a period of not more than five years, provided the total amount of such loans does not exceed one-fifth of the total amount of loans redeemable in annual instalments (loans made on the security of any immovable property may not exceed two-thirds of the value thereof, as appraised by the banks); to make loans on the same conditions without security to cities, towns, villages, and other public bodies organized by law; to make loans without security, redeemable in a fixed term within a period of not more than five years, to more than twenty persons combined with joint liability, who are engaged in agriculture or industry, and whose reliability is recognised; to receive fixed deposits, and accept the custody of gold and silver bullion and negotiable instruments. Besides, the banks may be entrusted with the receipt and disbursement of the public funds of prefectures. Each of these banks is authorized, when at least one-fourth of its capital is made up, to issue mortgage debentures to an amount not exceeding five times its paid-up capital. Such debentures may not, however, exceed the total amount of outstanding loans redeemable in annual instalments. The debentures shall be redeemed at least twice a year by means of drawings, in proportion to the amount of the redemption of the said loans. In accordance with the provisions of the Law for supporting the Agricultural and Industrial Banks (Law No. 84, 1886), the Government gave over to the prefectures funds for subscription of the shares of Agricultural and Industrial Banks. The amount of the said fund is limited by the law to the proportion of 70 yen per 100 cho of taxed lands in each prefecture, excepting building sites, mineral spring lots and swamps. The total amount assigned to each prefecture may under no circumstances be more than 3,000,000 yen, nor may it exceed one-third of the paid-up capital of each bank.

The Bank of Formosa.

The Bank of Formosa was created by the Law of the Bank of Formosa (Law No. 38, 1897), for the purpose of promoting the economical development of the island. It is a joint stock company with a capital of 5,000,000 yen, and is granted the privilege of issuing bank-notes convertible in silver yen against the reserve of gold or silver coins or bullion and Government bonds, Treasury bills, notes of the Bank of Japan, and any other negotiable papers or commercial bills of reliable nature. The amount of notes not covered by the specie reserve is limited to

5,000,000 yen, and may in no case exceed the amount of notes issued against specie reserve. Notes issued beyond this limit in case of emergency are subject to a tax of 5 per cent. or more per annum. The Government has subscribed 1,000,000 yen of the shares of the bank, and the dividends accruing from these shares are added to the reserve fund of the bank for the first five years, for which period the Government is engaged not to transfer its shares. The Government has further made an advance of 2,000,000 yen in silver to the bank with no interest, which are added to the specie reserve against bank-notes issued.

The following lines of business are transacted by this bank: (1) To discount bills of exchange and other commercial bills; (2) exchange business; (3) to collect bills for companies and merchants who are regular customers of the bank; (4) to make loans on the security of immovable or movable property of a reliable nature; (5) to open current accounts; (6) to accept the custody of objects of value, such as gold and silver coins, precious metals, and documents; (7) to buy or sell gold or silver bullion; (8) to act as agents for other banks.

The Colonial Bank of Hokkaido.

The island of Hokkaido being of great importance from military as well as economic points of view, its colonization and exploitation have received, and are receiving, the keenest attention of the Japanese Government. It was considered of urgent necessity to supply ample capital for the development of the island by establishing a special financial organ there, and with this object in view the Law of the Colonial Bank of Hokkaido was promulgated in March, 1899.

There is no essential difference between the purpose of the bank and that of an Agricultural and Industrial Bank. But the condition of things being considerably different in the northern island from those prevailing on the mainland of Japan, it was considered wise to establish a special bank there instead of an Agricultural and Industrial Bank.

The Colonial Bank of Hokkaido makes loans secured by shares and debentures, besides long-period loans secured by immovable property. Also it may issue debentures, receive deposits, and transact current account business.

The bank was opened to business in April, 1900, and in a few days the amount of applications for accommodation reached 1,270,000 yen.

In order to support the bank, the Government subscribed 1,000,000 yen of its shares, and for the first ten years the dividends on these shares are to be added to the reserve fund of the bank.

Bankers' Associations and Clearing-Houses.

Bankers' associations were established to discuss important subjects connected with banking business for the purpose of the common interest of banks, as well as to make sales, purchases and exchange of bills and cheques. At present they exist in Tokyo, Osaka, and a few other localities.

In September, 1879, there was established a clearing-house in Osaka, where the custom of clearing mutual accounts by transference of bills and cheques had been prevailing for a long time. This was the first clearing-house ever established in Japan.

In August, 1880, a Bankers' Association was established in Tokyo, where the business of clearing bills was first adopted in December, 1887. The business was for some years conducted in the building of the Bankers' Association, but the rapid growth of transactions by bills soon necessitated the removal of the clearing-house from the association building. The Tokyo clearing-house was at the time thoroughly reorganized on the pattern of similar institutions in Europe and America.

Next, similar institutions appeared in Kobe, Kyoto, and other localities, and also there were established bankers' associations in Kyoto, Kobe, Nagoya, and Yokohama.

Each clearing-house is only open to the banks belonging to the particular bankers' associations under whose auspices it is established. Its expenses were formerly divided into three equal parts, one part to be imposed on each bank equally, the second part according to the number of bills and cheques cleared, and the third part in proportion to the value of bills cleared. Recently, however, the Tokyo Clearing-House adopted a new method by which the expenses are imposed on the total amount of bills and cheques cleared by each bank.

The managers of each clearing-house are to be appointed from the allied banks by turn for a term of one week. As to the balance after clearing, it is settled by transferring it to the current accounts at the Bank of Japan (or its branch office). Any demand arising from non-payment of the amount on the face of bills or cheques, or from any error in clearing, shall be settled by the particular banks concerned.

Ordinary Banks and Savings Banks.

Before the promulgation of the Bank Regulations and Savings Bank Regulations, both now in force, any association might be formed by a free contract, and only those companies which happened to bear the title of 'bank' were subject to the National

Bank Regulations. Under such a system, or want of system, much inconvenience was felt by the Government in the way of the administrative control of bank-like companies, which would appear one day and disappear the next. To remedy this state of things, the Financial Department issued a notification saying that permission would henceforth be given for the establishment of banks according to the following regulations:

1. Liability of shareholders should be unlimited. But since 1886 limited liability on security was permitted to a company having the capital of 500,000 yen or upward, if there exist special circumstances recognised by local authorities.

2. Shares should be above 10,000 yen.

3. Payments upon shares should be made within 1 yen.

4. Since 1884 the Government has not permitted the establishment of those private banks whose liabilities could not be clearly known, on the ground that, if savings deposits were received by them, there would not be any means of exercising supervisory control over them. Also ordinary banks may not receive savings deposits.

5. No banks should be permitted to engage in the sale or purchase of shares and other articles.

Under the Commercial Law, the Bank Regulations, and the Savings Bank Regulations, all of which came into force in July, 1893, those institutions which engage in the discount of bills, and receive deposits and make loans, are treated as banks, and those receiving deposits from the general public by means of compound interest, as savings banks, whatever titles they may bear. Those wishing to engage in business of this kind must apply to the Minister of Finance for permission through the local authorities.

All savings banks are joint stock companies, each with a capital of 30,000 yen or upwards. Its directors are liable to the obligations incurred by the bank during their term of office, until the liabilities are extinguished at the expiration of two full years after their resignation.

Much improvement has been effected in the business condition of private banks since the operation of the Commercial Law, the Bank Regulations, and the Savings Bank Regulations. At the end of December, 1893, they had 541 head offices with 160 branches throughout the country, their aggregate amount of capital standing at 35,414,860 yen. A great increase has since taken place in their number, especially after the Japan-China War. At the end of 1901 there existed 2,402 head offices, the total amount of capital standing at 523,188,149 yen.

The increase of private banks since 1895 was as follows:

Years.	Number of Head Offices.	Branch and Sub-branch Offices.	Capital.
			Yen.
1895	908	407	79,998,879
1896	1,215	604	159,128,444
1897	1,532	1,016	253,242,114
1898	1,758	1,357	307,235,534
1899	1,982	1,492	338,156,909
1900	2,289	1,895	405,674,160

NUMBER OF ORDINARY BANKS AND SAVINGS BANKS, WITH THEIR CAPITAL.

Kinds of Banks.	Number of Head Offices.	Branch and Sub-branch Offices.	Capital.
Ordinary banks:			Yen.
Joint stock companies	1,540	1,211	321,451,365
Joint stock limited partnerships ...	1	2	452,000
Limited partnerships	135	44	9,847,475
Ordinary partnerships	62	61	15,340,500
Individual	116	56	9,052,520
Total	1,854	1,374	356,143,860
Savings banks	435	521	49,530,300
Total	2,289	1,895	405,674,160

II. THE BANKING SYSTEM

BY MR. YAMAMOTO,

Formerly Governor of the Bank of Japan

THOUGH the Japanese seem rather excitable and changeable on the surface, I trust that they have solid good sense at the bottom, and know how to control themselves when in danger. The Chino-Japanese war and the subsequent indemnity resulted in very large undertakings, which developed so rapidly that sufficient money was not forthcoming to keep pace with the growth. The financial distress of 1900-1901 was undoubtedly the outcome of this over-capitalization, and may be considered as a stage in the history of our industrial progress.

After the Chino-Japanese War, money being plentiful, the price of almost every commodity rose, and the Japanese became much more luxurious in their mode of life. Hence, for

the purpose of restoring our finance to its normal condition, it was the policy of those in authority to encourage the habits of thrift and economy. To do this, it was thought advisable to spread reports, possibly exaggerated somewhat, of the seriousness of the financial situation. This was done by means of the newspapers, public speeches, and private interviews. While having a healthy effect on the people of Japan, this course has had much to do with the ideas held by the outside world of the insecurity of Japanese finance. But when it is understood that those classes of people among whom the money was scattered have very primitive economic training, it is easily seen that such a course was quite essential at the time to redeem the situation, though at the risk of giving erroneous notions to the world at large.

The economic history of Japan since the war closely resembles that of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, the commercial depression coming as it did after the period of inflated prosperity, in which business received an abnormal stimulus. Just as in Germany a change for the better occurred after four years of hard struggle, so may one be expected in Japan. Though the hard times were the means of bringing much hardship, I think that Japan undoubtedly emerged from this situation with more energy and better experience than she had before. The growth of our revenue, of our railways and marine transportation, of banks and other industrial capital has been enormous and yet regular since the war. Such rapid progress would have been impossible without the indemnity money and foreign loans. When a country's economical ideas expand at such a rate they can hardly fail to produce a commercial panic and depression. But at the same time it is certain now that the country's productive power has greatly increased since the war. We emerged from the commercial depression of 1900-01 better equipped to make steady progress in all departments of commerce and industry. The country will enjoy the same prosperity as has been the case in Germany.

As to the future, among many other schemes I am specially interested in giving proper economic training to the people. When I was in England for the purpose of receiving the war indemnity, I visited many of the mercantile centres, and became more and more convinced of the necessity of insisting upon a practical business education for the Japanese. As is known, under the feudal system our merchants and all business classes occupied the least honourable position in society. Although since the time of the Restoration the best talents of the people are being attracted to the business community, yet the mass of the people are still at a very primitive stage.

They ought to be disciplined in their course of life, to be trained in technical arts and sciences, and to be organized in various business pursuits. For this we have established many commercial and industrial schools of various grades throughout the country, and are sending out students to foreign countries. Foreign competition, by which I mean the competition of the Japanese in domestic and foreign markets, will stimulate our business education more than anything else. Japan is quite young in her commercial career. She has almost unbounded resources in mining, fishing, forestry, and of agriculture in Hokkaido and the territory of Formosa. Moreover, she will make a splendid basis for establishing factories of various goods, not only for domestic consumption, but for export to China and other Eastern markets, as she has cheap coal, cheap labour, and facilities for transportation. This is demonstrated in the growth of the spinning factories during the last ten years. I hope more and more Europeans and Americans will come to this country and avail themselves of these opportunities, so that their example may stimulate our business education, and give us power to compete with them on an equal footing.

III. The Financial Crisis of 1900-1901

BY TADAMASA HAYASHI,

Imperial Japanese Commissioner at the Paris Exposition, 1900

Those who are not guided by reliable information are very apt to be led astray in their survey and judgment of Japan's financial strength. When so-called bank failures, accompanied with a run on the existing banks, are observed, the cry of a financial crisis seems to be based on facts. But a careful observer, who has some knowledge of this country's financial conditions, will not be easily deceived by the cry raised by superficial observers and pessimistic alarmists. They know that such occurrences are only temporary and short-lived. They are nothing but a natural result of the sudden expansion of Japan's industry and commerce consequent upon the economic condition of things brought about after the close of the last war. Financial stringency may be likened to a periodic attack of sickness occurring especially when the body is in a state of rapid and vigorous growth, so that the above phenomena, alarming as they may appear to superficial observers, serve to prove to the serious students of Japan's finances that they are the signs of future growth instead of being the symptoms of an alarming decay. Just

as a rapid development and growth of the body often causes a lack of proportionate and corresponding degree of growth in its component parts, thereby causing a state of sickness, so in a country where a sudden expansion of its industry and commerce have taken place periodic vicissitudes in its economic affairs can hardly be avoided. The rapid extension of Japan's commerce and industry meant an increased importation of ships, rails, machinery, as well as factory accessories, thereby causing the balance of trade to be adverse, while among the business companies started at the time of the industrial expansion not a few were without proper foundation for the work and business projected; and some companies were started as a mere speculation. I give here a table showing the growth in the number of companies in the seven years ending 1899:

BUSINESS COMPANIES.

Year.	Number.	Amount of Capital. Yen.
1884	1,298	22,161,955
1887	2,038	67,855,468
1890	4,296	225,477,140
1893	4,133	209,865,099
1896	4,549	619,223,949
1899	7,622	1,028,299,274

Thus, it was inevitable that the time must come when the substantial business concerns and the weak and speculative undertakings should be separated from one another. Until 1900 everything went well. The call for payment of shares was promptly met, and the transactions of business companies with the banks went on without a hitch; but, as stated before, the work of sifting the chaff from the wheat was going on when the result was apparent. As might be expected, not a few honest concerns had to suffer to some extent. The greatest cause of the failure of unreliable business concerns consisted in their over-issue of promissory notes, and some of the smaller banks depending upon the payment of those notes first exhibited signs of suffering. This state of affairs once made known, small depositors very naturally would make a run on those banks, while the larger and more substantial banks could not altogether escape the effects. Fortunately, however, the larger banks were sufficiently provided with funds to meet the pressure, and the pessimistic prophecies were disproved.

It must be clear to anybody that money deposited in a bank does not mean its safe custody in its vaults, and that any sudden and unexpected run on a bank would cause the fall of even a large and substantial concern. It must also be

apparent that the shareholders of a business company do not always base their amount of subscription on the amount of cash at their command, but on various forms of properties, such as bonds, real estate, merchandise, etc., so that a sudden requisition to convert them into ready money could not fail to cause a financial disturbance of no small magnitude. The cry of danger menacing the finances of this country has been raised by mere alarmists, who, judging by the sudden demand for ready money, accompanied by its natural consequences, jumped to the conclusion that Japan's financial credit was in danger. The mistake was caused by judging a nation's wealth on a wrong basis. It need hardly be stated that the existing financial condition of this country is far from that which the alarmists would have the world believe. The so-called financial crisis, instead of being such, is to be looked upon as a phenomenon of progress and advancement.

The alarmists also lament the excess of imports over exports, and conclude that Japan's wealth will be drained in proportion to the excess of imports. They forget that the foreign trade is not the only criterion of national wealth. Statistics give data for investigations, but they are often so faulty that it is not wise to base arguments solely on those figures. Especially is this the case with those that deal with the data concerning the foreign trade of any country. The economical progress of a country cannot be judged by the figures of its foreign trade alone, but it cannot be denied that they afford a very important evidence for observing the growth of a country in its commercial and industrial advancement. I give here a table of Japan's foreign trade for the ten years 1891-1900, from which it will be apparent that her commercial transactions are showing a remarkable development:

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE FOR THE TEN YEARS 1891-1900.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1891	62,927,268	79,527,272	142,454,540
1892	71,326,079	91,102,753	162,428,832
1893	88,257,171	89,712,864	177,970,035
1894	117,481,955	113,246,086	230,728,041
1895	129,260,578	136,112,178	265,372,756
1896	171,674,474	117,842,760	289,517,234
1897	219,300,771	163,135,077	382,435,848
1898	277,502,156	165,753,753	443,255,909
1899	220,401,925	214,929,984	435,331,820
1900	287,261,845	204,429,994	491,691,839

The growth of industries and commerce means an expansion of foreign trade, and in course of development an occasional excess observable in imports need not be taken too seriously. As a nation grows its needs will increase, and such goods imported are part of the country's wealth, while many of them will be productive of further wealth for the nation at large. The expansion of the volume of foreign trade, even if there be temporary excess of imports over exports, must be looked upon as a healthy symptom of national growth.

In this connection it may be added that financial stringency observed in business circles is apart from the question of our national revenues and expenditures. Should the Imperial Government find a deficit in its revenues, there is an ample capacity in our national wealth to raise funds by issuing Government bonds. The financial danger so loudly talked about was nothing but a certain amount of trouble experienced among the commercial and industrial circles, and brought about by the causes already referred to. It had nothing to do with the condition of our State finances, which are on the soundest basis possible, as will be shown later. Here I would call the reader's attention to the fact that the amount of our national debt is so limited that its *per capita* rate ranks lower than that of any other country. Japan, with its 45,000,000 population and almost limitless natural resources yet undeveloped, has indeed a bright future in every respect.

The disturbance in the condition of our State finances in 1901 was mainly brought about by the expansion of Governmental undertakings, and a deficit of about 21,000,000 yen was to appear in the 1898-99 fiscal year, and of a little over 37,000,000 yen in the year following. This deficit, however, was met by raising taxes on land, saké, incomes, etc., and also by floating a foreign loan; the former would realize fully 44,000,000 yen, while the latter was to have brought into the country £10,000,000. Both of these were successfully realized, and the Government finances for 1900-01 were restored to a sound condition, so that the Budget for the year presented a normal aspect:

	Revenue. Yen.	Expenditure. Yen.
Ordinary -	201,247,095	164,283,464
Extraordinary -	52,276,333	87,712,323

(Exclusive of the North China affair.)

A balance of 1,500,000 yen is clearly observable in favour of revenue, and in order to meet the extra outlay, measures for increased taxation were carried by the Diet, with results estimated at over 21,000,000 yen in 1902-03, which it was esti-

mated would be more than sufficient by 1905-06 to pay off all the disbursements of the North China affair. I shall not go into further details, but add that both the State finances and the industrial and commercial future of Japan are such as would present an inviting feature for foreigners' investments in any form, if their actual state is carefully studied without sensational and racial prejudices, so often observable in the arguments advanced by foreign critics.

As stated above, many of the undertakings started after the war were not honest concerns, and the stringency of 1900-01 meant nothing but that the weak and speculating enterprises were working out their own destruction. The nation at large learned a lesson from the crisis, that in all business undertakings only the honest and substantial concerns can survive the test of social and business morality, which never waives its strict requirements.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES

I. General Survey of the Industrial Situation*

BY BARON EIICHI SHIBUSAWA

(President of the United Chambers of Commerce)†

Japan has made wonderful progress in her civilization. But it must be remembered, above all, that Japan, as to her industrial and commercial career, is a young country, and that her progress has been so rapid as to call forth the opinion abroad that her progress is irregular. Only thirty-four years ago, at the time of the Restoration, the industry and commerce of Japan was very low in public opinion and in the social scale, the military and political classes only being considered honourable. I began the new era with the same idea, and for five or six years pursued a political career, rising to the position of Vice-Minister of Finance. Then I realized that the real force of progress lay in actual business, not in politics, and that the business elements were really most influential for the advancement of the country. So I gave up my political position and devoted my life to business, where I have been continuing some thirty years until to-day. I soon came to the conclusion that the capital of an individual was not large enough to accomplish very much, and

* The Protection of Industrial Property is dealt with in Appendix L.

† After the regulations relating to Chambers of Commerce were first promulgated in Japan in 1890 by Law No. 81, Chambers of Commerce were established at various places in the country till in 1892 the number reached fifteen. It having been thought desirable to open a general conference of the Chambers of Commerce in the whole country, at the suggestion of those in Osaka and ten other places, the first meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce was opened in Osaka in October, 1892, and it was then decided that a regular general conference should be held once every year, the places successively chosen afterwards for that purpose being Kobe, Kanazawa, Nagoya, Hakata, Hiroshima, Yokohama, and Tokyo (it was decided in 1899 that the regular general meeting should be held in Tokyo only). At present the Chambers of Commerce established in the whole empire in conformity to the regulations relating thereto, and admitted to the meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, reach fifty-eight in number.

I then became the means of introducing the company system into Japan. The idea was successful, and the Government approved of it. Since then I may say that every industry in the country has increased, some twenty times, some ten times, and none less than five times.

There are, however, four peculiarities in the Japanese character which make it hard for the people to achieve business success. These are: Firstly, impulsiveness, which causes them to be enthusiastic during successful business, and progressive, even to rashness, when filled with enthusiasm; secondly, lack of patience, which causes easy discouragement when business is not so successful; thirdly, disinclination for union; and fourthly, they do not honour credit as they should, that which is so important a factor in financial success! These four peculiarities are to be met with in most of the Japanese business men in a more or less marked degree. Although Japan, as a country, is old, yet her commercial and industrial career being new, as stated above, there are necessarily many points of incompleteness. For example, although we have many railways, yet there is no close connection made between the railway-station and the harbour. Again, although we have railways, yet we have no appropriate cars, etc. To complete such work, and to open up the resources of the country, and to allow Japan to benefit from them, we need more capital. But the capital we have in the country is not enough. So what is wanted in Japan is foreign capital. A great proportion of the Japanese people, however, are opposed to the idea of sharing any profits equally with any other nation. Their exclusiveness in this respect is a distinct relic of the old era. They ignore altogether the fact that with the assistance of foreign capital the profits would practically be quadrupled—the very idea of sharing with an outside Power is distasteful to them. For instance, I have been endeavouring for many years by word and deed to secure a revision of the laws relative to the ownership of land in Japan by foreigners. I may say that Marquis Ito and other public men are of my opinion in the matter. Because, however, of this exclusive element in Japan, it has still been found impossible to allow foreigners to own Japanese land. Until this change is made, foreign investors will naturally feel that there is little safety for their investments. I am also anxious to introduce the idea of a system of trusteeship, in order to encourage foreign nations to invest their money in Japanese enterprise. There are very many incompleted works in Japan which need outside money to finish them, and which would return good profits. I feel assured that it would be possible for prominent Japanese bankers and capitalists to make themselves personally responsible for the money of the foreign investor. By such a system the security of the invest-

ment would be much increased, and the foreign investor would have the assurance that his money was safe, even if the business in which it had been invested ceased to exist. The entire loss caused by the failure of Japanese business enterprises would thus be borne by the Japanese.

The financial difficulty in Japan in 1900-1901 was only the natural sequence of the overexpansion of business of some years back. In every country there are waves of prosperity followed by periods of depression. I have known, in the economic history of Japan since the Restoration, five or six such waves, and they do not necessarily injure the real financial standing of the country. The two first peculiarities of the Japanese business character have much to answer for in the way of increasing the appearance of financial insecurity during the time of depression. After the prosperous times of 1893 came the war with China and the subsequent indemnity. Much of the money paid by China was spent in Japan, and the Japanese people came to the conclusion that this increased circulation of money would be permanent. They acted impulsively in many enterprises, and rushed into all kinds of business, because the Government had overexpanded her enterprises after the Chino-Japan War. Then came the depression, at its height in 1900 and 1901, and the second characteristic came to the front; businesses being abandoned or reduced because it was not such easy work as formerly. While I agree with Viscount Watanabe in his view on the financial situation of the country in 1900-1901, I do not agree with him in his opinion that it must inevitably result in national bankruptcy. This is not so, because by a proper management our national income can be made still greater than our expenditure.

I do not think that it will be easy for Japan to compete in American or European markets as far as the production of every-day manufactured goods is concerned. The superior machinery of the older countries necessarily tends to cheapen the cost of production of the finished articles. Besides, Japanese workmen, though their wages are cheaper, are not as a rule skilled artisans. It is true that there are many such, but it will take two or three generations before the mass of labour is equal to that of older countries in skill. Until that time comes it is more profitable to export unfinished goods to foreign countries to be finished there. This pays far better than to attempt to produce the finished articles here. I think, however, that we can supply the Oriental markets (Chinese and Corean) even now better than other nations can do, although the trade is necessarily more in the form of an exchange of products than in any other way. For instance, from Corea we receive rice, beans, hides, bones, and we send there cotton-thread, cotton-stuff, silk cloth,

such articles as are in use among the Coreans. To Europe and America we export tea and raw silk, roughly woven and undyed or in thread, coal, copper, and some fine porcelain. The latter is, however, not very acceptable in foreign markets, and only a small art export is to be hoped for. It may come, and I hope it will, that Japan will compete with the Powers already in the field on all lines of manufactured goods, but this time must necessarily be far distant. The trouble at the present is that, while the Japanese can imitate everything, they cannot, at the present time, invent superior things. But the trade of the Oriental countries will come to be regarded as Japan's natural share, and she is already well capable of supplying it.

The resources of Japan are very varied, and are very fair in quantity at present. Raw silk and tea are abundant, while coal is plentiful, and also copper, but silver and gold are not so much so. I hope to see our plentiful water-supply turned to good account and harnessed to produce electric energy. This would be a great saving of expense, and would cheapen the cost of production very much. Oil has been found in several districts, and will take the place of coal to a large extent; and it is possible that, if fully developed, it may be exported to the neighbouring countries. In Hokkaido we have rich coal and silver mines and oil wells, while in Formosa we have rich gold mines. The iron we use in our iron works in Kyushyu comes partly from several mines of Japan and partly from China.

My hope for the future is that foreign capital may be brought into the country, that by a successful struggle against the four Japanese peculiarities the economic position of the country may be made so secure as to leave no doubt possible in the mind of the world as to the stability of the Japanese Empire.

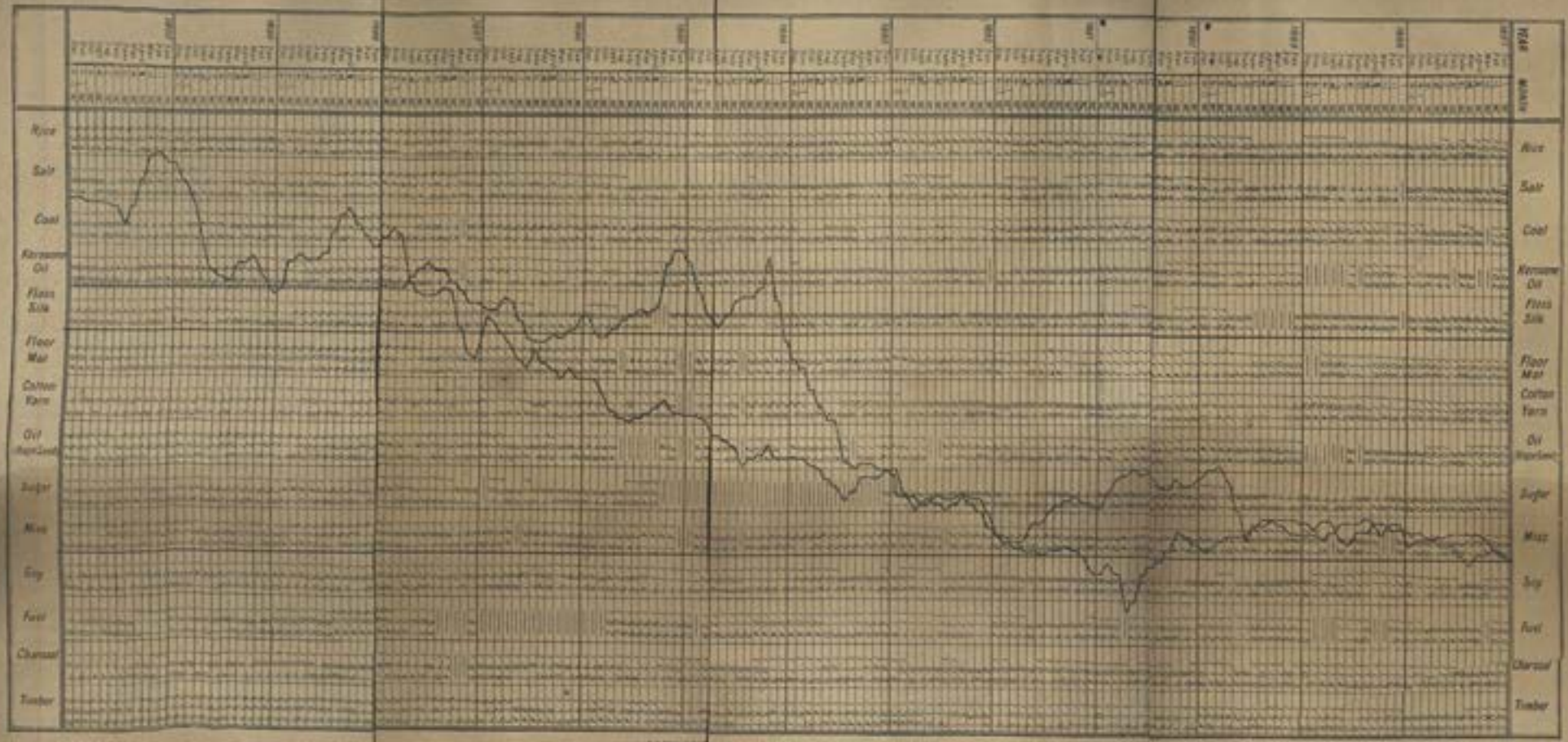
All the countries of Europe vie with one another in developing their own respective commercial interests. The war, not of soldiers, but of business men, is constantly being fought nowadays all over the world, and the crown of victory will rest with those nations which are successful within their commercial enterprises. The lamentable condition of our trading class will result in hampering the progress of the country. I was warmly received by the prominent men of the world, but on what grounds? The President of the United States praised Japan because of her military prowess and fine arts. Are not Germany, France, and England praising Japan up to the skies upon the same ground? If the warm reception I received abroad is based on the feeling that I came from a country known for its military exploits, I must confess that that reception is a death-blow to our hopes. Because too much militarism, I am afraid,

will sap the very life of a nation. I understand that the Chambers of Commerce of Japan desire to extend their commercial interests to foreign countries. If that be really the case, local feelings should be done away with; at the same time they must seek commercial knowledge far and wide. No one can be more vehement than I am in opposing the spirit of exclusion which characterized our people. Let me remind you, however, that capital is like water: it flows freely, and runs to the spot where the attraction is greatest. Should we unite our efforts to make Japan as attractive as possible, I am almost certain that foreign capital would be introduced into Japan. While, on the one hand, we insist on the open-door policy for commerce, yet, on the other, still retain the old narrow and exclusive spirit, we can do nothing. Our policy is suicidal. Progressiveness and conservatism are inconsistent. To be plain, I am afraid that our laws are, in a certain measure, a barrier against the introduction of foreign capital. Hence there are three points which should be carefully considered:

1. Any laws or organizations which form obstacles to the world-wide expansion of Japan's commerce should be done away with.

2. We all should unite in exchanging our ideas with the leading men of the world, thus acquainting ourselves with the position of foreign commerce, while at the same time making it our national policy to give foreigners a clearer insight into the real condition of Japan's finance, economics, commerce, and industry. Both the Government and the people should unite in this attempt. I am told that Russia is employing every possible means in attaining the same end as ours.

3. The last, but by no means the least important item, is the rectification of the Japanese commercial morality. In spite of myself, I hesitate to say that Japan has as high morality in commerce as England, America, and Germany. As long as the present low state of morality continues, all our attempts to obtain capital from abroad will be absolutely futile. Laws may be improved, but the barrier of a low morality is by far stronger than that of bad laws. Let us use every possible means to improve the standard of our business morality. Another thing is that too much stress cannot be laid upon the necessity of unity. The Japanese are, indeed, a strange people. Individual attempts are good, but when they are made in a body troubles are sure to arise. I beseech all the business men of Japan to hold steadfast to the principle of 'in union there is strength.'



——— COMMODITIES ——— GOLD

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE FLUCTUATION IN THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES AND GOLD DURING THE YEARS 1867 TO 1898.

(To face p. 300.

II. General Survey of the Industrial and Financial System*

BY BARON EIICHI SHIBUSAWA

In order to make the actual economic condition of the empire of Japan plain, I make a brief note on national revenue and expenditure, and a few other items and an explanation of the changes thereof, in the following pages. The tables of figures are divided into two sections, showing the development in the five years before the Chinese War and in the subsequent five or six years.

Revenue and Expenditure.

From 1881 to 1895, during fourteen years, there was no variation to speak of either in the revenue or in the expenditure of the empire, each being between 70,000,000 and 80,000,000 yen. But after the Chino-Japanese War in 1895, the Government, adopting a so-called 'ten-years' plan for public works,' increased its enterprises along all lines, beginning with the work for national defence and all other public works. This caused a sudden aggrandisement, the revenue increasing in 1897 to 187,019,423 yen, and the expenditure to 168,856,508 yen. Thence they increased yearly; in the year 1903, for the revenue there was appropriated the large sum of 251,681,961 yen, and 244,752,346 yen for the expenditure. If we compare the revenue and the expenditure of 1901 with those we had before the Chino-Japanese War, we see that in only a few years they both were almost tripled. (See Table, p. 392.)

The Public Debt.

During the period between 1874 and 1895 the total sum of public debts amounted to between 230,000,000 or 240,000,000 yen and 260,000,000 or 270,000,000 yen, and there was not any marked change in the amount of the public debts. Indeed, since 1890 the national indebtedness rather inclined to diminish.

* The tables showing the productions of weaving, raw silk, tea, rice, wheat, barley, and rye, have been prepared from the results of inquiries carried out by the Agricultural and Commercial Department; but the Department expresses its regret that the means of getting materials for the above reports have been very much complicated owing to the extensive inquiries necessitated, so it must be taken into consideration by readers that the tables referred to will, comparatively to the other tables, be wanting in minute accuracy.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Year.	Revenue.			Expenditure.		
	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.	Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	78,996,399	6,874,234	85,870,633	66,731,197	15,394,206	82,125,403
1891	76,264,852	2,622,686	78,887,538	62,730,792	20,825,099	83,555,891
1892	80,728,019	1,058,295	81,786,314	63,615,155	13,119,585	76,734,740
1893	85,883,080	27,886,300	113,769,380	64,545,599	20,036,273	84,581,872
1894	89,748,454	8,421,574	98,170,028	60,421,346	17,707,297	78,128,643
1895	95,444,652	22,988,069	118,432,721	67,148,007	18,169,173	85,317,180
1896	104,901,522	82,111,920	187,013,442	100,712,816	68,143,692	168,856,508
1897	124,222,964	102,167,159	226,390,123	107,695,127	115,983,717	223,678,844
1898	132,849,617	87,204,504	220,054,121	119,072,144	100,685,425	219,757,569
1899	177,328,528	76,925,996	254,254,524	137,590,418	110,575,120	254,165,538
1900	192,170,081	103,684,787	295,854,868	149,134,167	143,615,892	292,750,059
1901	202,035,071	72,323,950	274,359,021	160,363,583	106,493,241	266,856,824
1902	226,114,613	56,318,351	282,432,964	177,596,966	104,156,229	281,753,195
1903	231,802,499	19,879,462	251,651,961	178,464,121	66,288,225	244,752,346

NOTE.—In the above table the figures for the fiscal years from 1890–1900 represent the settled accounts, that for 1901 the actual account in November, 1902, and those for 1902 and 1903 the estimates in the Budget.

The fiscal year begins on April 1, and ends on March 31.

But in 1895 the Government called for the War Loan of 100,000,000 yen, and in 1899 a Foreign Loan of 97,630,000 yen (£10,000,000). Thus, the public debts increasing enormously after the war with China, the total indebtedness in 1900 reached the large sum of 526,664,194 yen, which was double that of the indebtedness of the empire before the war.

NATIONAL DEBT.

Year.	Foreign Debt.	Home Debt.	Extraordinary Debt.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	5,180,120	238,050,535	32,000,000	275,230,655
1891	4,488,624	237,255,085	32,000,000	273,743,709
1892	3,748,816	231,877,456	32,000,000	267,126,272
1893	2,957,280	231,856,571	32,000,000	266,814,851
1894	2,110,112	229,595,941	51,530,000	283,236,053
1895	1,203,408	319,420,487	71,500,000	392,123,895
1896	233,752	350,888,182	76,000,000	427,121,934
1897		382,953,128	28,831,132	411,784,260
1898		391,281,873	22,000,000	413,281,873
1899	97,630,000	381,070,649	24,500,000	503,200,649
1900	97,630,000	388,534,194	40,200,000	526,664,194

NOTE.—Under the item of Extraordinary Debts is included chiefly the money borrowed by the Government from the Bank of Japan.

Amounts existing at the end of the fiscal year are shown for the years 1890–1892. Amounts existing at the end of December of respective years are shown for the rest.

MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

The amount of money in circulation has yearly increased along with the recent growth of commercial transactions. Especially is this true since April of 1899, when the limit of the convertible notes of the Bank of Japan which were being issued reached an amount above the reserve, having risen from 85,000,000 yen to 120,000,000 yen. In 1890 it was not more than 120,000,000 yen, but in 1899 it reached 250,000,000 yen. However, the Government notes and bank-notes have been gradually withdrawn from circulation, especially the latter, since the abolishment of the national banks in 1899. In 1900 it was seriously discussed whether it would be advisable to coin more silver subsidiary coins and also 1 yen pieces to take the place of the smaller notes and to supplement them, but no such decision was come to definitely.

CURRENCY.

AMOUNT OF CIRCULATION AT THE END OF DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS.

Year.	Gold, Silver, and Copper Coins.	Bank of Japan Notes.	Government Notes.	Notes of National Banks.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	43,393,236	102,931,766	33,372,714	25,810,720	205,408,436
1891	42,381,809	115,734,545	27,886,721	24,869,508	210,872,583
1892	46,224,003	125,843,363	20,826,244	23,890,509	216,786,119
1893	50,672,072	148,663,128	16,407,000	22,756,119	238,498,319
1894	62,711,242	149,813,700	13,404,547	21,781,797	247,711,286
1895	69,737,986	180,336,815	11,129,224	20,295,864	282,000,811
1896	76,185,729	198,313,896	9,376,172	16,497,889	300,373,686
1897	91,765,257	226,229,058	7,451,098	5,024,729	330,470,142
1898	80,941,508	197,399,901	5,411,726	1,866,563	285,619,698
1899	82,140,050	250,562,040	4,125,783	—	336,827,874
1900	89,460,356	228,570,032	—	—	318,030,388

NOTE.—Under the item of Coins is shown the amount of coins existing in the country less the special reserve.

CHEQUES.

The number of cheques in circulation has increased enormously in accordance with the increase of commercial transactions and with the better equipment of monetary organs. In 1890 the total cheques cleared through the clearing-houses of Tokyo and Osaka amounted only to 57,450,000 yen, but in 1896 it went up to 555,830,000 yen. Since the new clearing-houses were established at Kobe (1897), at Kyoto (1898), and at Yokohama (1900), the cheques cleared through these clearing-houses had increased in 1902 to 2,937,891,319 yen.

AMOUNT OF BILLS CLEARED.

Year.	Tokyo.	Osaka.	Kyoto.	Yokohama.	Kobe.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen	Yen.	Yen.
1890	20,206,094	37,247,779	—	—	—	57,453,874
1891	67,595,422	39,122,481	—	—	—	106,717,903
1892	113,576,594	49,610,048	—	—	—	163,186,642
1893	148,018,871	63,600,639	—	—	—	211,619,510
1894	185,597,497	67,543,805	—	—	—	253,141,302
1895	289,102,424	79,654,115	—	—	—	368,756,539
1896	417,425,507	138,409,334	—	—	—	555,834,841
1897	552,890,211	160,967,474	—	—	27,633,167	741,490,854
1898	790,247,455	225,940,577	69,034,032	—	100,843,119	1,186,065,185
1899	1,095,805,416	376,853,276	133,616,954	—	115,914,379	1,722,190,027
1900	1,405,449,664	523,552,744	167,566,438	348,306,774	168,228,768	2,613,104,391
1901	1,168,702,079	528,122,083	145,905,182	390,516,606	202,658,853	2,435,904,803
1902	1,350,791,666	663,659,703	155,657,015	416,126,576	251,656,959	2,937,891,319

Rate of Interest.

The rate of interest in Japan, as elsewhere, varies according to the state of the money market. But, generally speaking, after the Chino-Japanese War the rate of interest inclined to increase. Judging from the discount rate of the Bank of Japan, we find that between the years 1890 and 1895 the rate was not more than two sen per day per 100 yen, but after 1896 in every year except 1898 it increased to more than two sen, and in 1900 2 sen 4 rin was the rate.

RATES OF LOANS AND DISCOUNTS.

AVERAGE RATES IN DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS.

Year.	Bank of Japan.				Banks of the Tokyo Bankers' Association.					
	Loans.		Discounts.		Loans.			Discounts.		
	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.	Average.	Max.	Min.	Average.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
1890	1·90	1·90	1·80	1·80	3·12	2·47	2·70	3·40	2·50	3·95
1891	1·75	1·75	1·70	1·70	2·65	2·14	2·41	3·33	1·70	2·50
1892	1·65	1·65	1·60	1·60	2·47	2·02	2·22	2·50	1·85	2·17
1893	1·70	1·70	1·70	1·70	2·54	2·07	2·21	2·59	1·95	2·25
1894	2·20	2·20	2·10	2·10	2·96	2·52	2·72	3·07	2·58	2·84
1895	2·00	2·00	1·90	1·90	2·72	2·33	2·51	2·81	2·35	2·55
1896	2·10	2·10	2·00	2·00	2·92	2·58	2·75	3·00	2·61	2·78
1897	2·50	2·50	2·20	2·20	3·26	2·86	2·96	3·19	2·79	3·03
1898	2·50	2·30	2·20	2·20	3·07	2·75	3·90	3·13	2·67	2·89
1899	2·20	2·10	1·90	1·90	2·72	2·42	2·57	2·78	2·32	2·52
1900	2·70	2·70	2·40	2·40	3·39	3·00	3·03	3·36	2·91	3·07

Prices of Commodities.

Prices in Japan have risen as the standard of living has been raised. Especially was this the case when, as the result of the war with China, a great increase of enterprises of various kinds took place, and a large sum of money was distributed among the labouring classes, thus naturally increasing the purchasing power of the people. This helped very much to raise the prices. Since 1890, taking into consideration fifteen of the principal articles of the Tokyo market, although there are somewhat different rates of rise, yet it is certain that the price of every article has risen, which makes it evident that there has been a general upward tendency in prices in the empire.

PRICES OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES IN TOKYO.

Articles.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Rice (per koku*)	8·84	7·35	7·47	7·49	8·93	8·63	10·19	12·22	14·42	10·35
Wheat (per koku*)	4·98	5·27	5·21	5·15	5·58	4·60	5·99	8·26	8·10	7·45
Soy beans (per koku*)	5·32	4·91	4·81	5·09	5·90	5·81	6·29	6·94	7·88	7·32
Saké, Japanese liquor (per koku†)	12·83	11·58	12·36	13·00	16·58	19·92	13·93	24·58	28·99	32·57
Leaf tobacco (per picul)	18·33	11·15	13·92	15·61	20·63	23·75	12·35	23·86	37·67	49·17
Tea (per picul)	28·54	21·68	28·77	27·72	27·25	28·13	27·77	30·03	35·21	36·91
Mill sugar (per picul)	7·47	6·45	7·12	8·22	9·06	9·08	8·92	8·04	8·99	8·83
Cotton yarn (per picul)	—	24·27	24·23	26·30	28·97	32·40	30·83	28·73	24·50	29·74
White cotton tissues (per tan‡) ..	0·22	0·20	0·25	0·24	0·25	0·31	0·28	0·27	0·25	0·27
White skirtings (per kama§) ..	2·27	2·53	2·42	2·52	3·31	3·58	2·90	3·43	3·31	3·73
Raw silk (per picul)	693·33	582·92	720·83	890·00	727·50	—	732·50	843·75	888·13	794·24
Kaiki, silk tissues (per tan‖) ..	2·70	2·10	2·53	2·67	3·25	2·55	6·56	3·96	4·38	8·88
Iron (per kwan¶)	0·20	0·23	0·28	0·27	0·25	0·24	0·25	0·28	0·28	0·17
Petroleum (per case)	1·86	1·67	1·68	1·75	1·77	2·23	2·20	2·10	2·08	2·84
Coal**	0·34	0·31	0·27	0·27	6·80	7·05	5·93	9·16	9·77	5·96

NOTE.—The above table shows the average prices in the whole respective years.

* One koku = 5 bushels nearly.
† One koku = 40 gallons nearly.
‡ One tan of white cotton tissues = 26 feet long 10 inches wide.
§ One kama of white shirtings = 40 yards long 2 feet 5 inches wide.
‖ One tan of kaiki = 28 feet long 11 inches wide.
¶ One kwan = 8⅓ pounds nearly.
** From 1890 to 1893, per picul; from 1894 to 1899, per ton.

Wages.

Accompanying the industrial development and also the advanced standard of living, wages have been raised gradually. Since the war of 1895 they have risen considerably. Taking the wages in Tokyo during the last fourteen years, although there has been more or less variation in the rate of increase according to the time and kind of occupation, all without exception have risen, especially those of the carpenter, of the stonemason, and of the blacksmith.

WAGES OF EMPLOYÉS IN TOKYO.

Occupation.	1887.	1892.	1894	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
Carpenter.. ..	50·0	50·0	55·0	57·5	62·5	57·5	73·5	82·5
Plasterer	55·0	51·0	65·0	65·0	62·5	60·0	75·0	—
Stonemason ..	60·0	69·0	75·0	99·0	76·0	55·0	88·0	155·0
Furniture-maker..	45·0	44·0	47·5	65·0	57·5	62·5	73·5	90·0
Wooden clog maker	—	—	30·0	37·5	45·0	47·5	53·5	50·0
Shoemaker ..	—	—	80·0	60·0	60·0	50·0	68·8	120·0
Tailor for foreign clothes	50·0	55·0	82·5	76·0	62·5	70·0	71·0	85·0
Tailor for Japanese clothes	30·0	38·0	47·5	54·0	70·0	45·0	65·0	77·5
Dyer	35·0	33·0	30·0	40·0	46·0	31·5	42·9	38·3
Blacksmith ..	20·0	38·0	50·0	50·0	50·0	50·0	62·0	65·0
Lacquerware maker	65·0	41·0	75·0	80·0	75·0	50·0	69·4	81·7
Compositor ..	30·0	45·0	50·0	50·0	50·0	42·5	49·2	57·5
Fisherman ..	—	—	35·0	35·0	40·0	37·5	46·9	—
Coolie	35·0	30·0	37·5	35·0	38·0	37·5	46·9	50·0

Note.—The wages for 1887 were prepared in December. The average in June and December was taken in 1892; the average in March and September has been adopted since 1894.

The Corporation System.

Since the Restoration in 1868, and since the introduction of Western ideas in science and art, industry and commerce have made considerable progress. Especially is this true of the corporation system. The system, after 1888, made wonderful progress, and in 1894 the number of corporations was 2,967, and the paid-up capital 249,760,000 yen. But after the war with China it advanced, and in 1899 the number of corporations reached 7,829, with the paid-up capital of nearly 700,000,000 yen. Comparing the number of companies in 1894—just before the war—with those in 1899, we find that there were two and a half times as many as before the war, and that the amount of paid-up capital was two and seven-tenths times as great as it was before the war.

NUMBER OF COMPANIES AND AMOUNT OF CAPITAL

(AS STANDING AT THE END OF DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS).

Year.	Agricultural Companies.		Industrial Companies.		Commercial Companies.		Transportation Companies.		Banks.		Railway Companies.		Total.	
	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.	Number of Companies.	Paid-up Capital.
		Yen.		Yen.		Yen.		Yen.		Yen.		Yen.		Yen.
1890	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1891	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1892	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1893	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1894	118	1,188,203	778	44,589,762	998	20,014,874	178	16,586,881	863	101,409,881	32	65,973,398	2,967	249,762,999
1895	126	1,522,409	944	58,728,656	1,151	23,835,358	207	16,708,038	1,019	127,807,715	30	73,252,797	3,477	301,854,973
1896	117	1,666,160	1,367	89,900,900	1,501	26,584,764	276	23,112,786	1,321	167,271,488	57	90,103,974	4,639	398,640,072
1897	148	2,229,627	1,881	105,381,106	2,125	51,436,548	390	34,021,150	1,594	211,047,470	64	130,663,015	6,202	534,778,916
1898	166	2,336,720	2,164	122,066,653	2,457	45,920,241	472	41,351,456	1,875	257,447,002	64	155,881,965	7,198	625,004,037
1899	176	2,287,685	2,253	147,783,280	2,712	52,045,442	510	41,179,544	2,105	288,024,897	73	156,967,016	7,829	688,287,864

NOTE.—The statistics before the year 1893, when the Mercantile Law came into force, are neglected as being incomplete, and the above table begins from 1894.

The Companies include ordinary partnership, limited partnership, and joint stock companies, limited by shares.

The banks, besides the above three kinds of companies, include individual bankers who carry on banking business according to the Bank Law.

BANKS.

Banking business commenced with the promulgation of the National Bank Act in 1872. Since then banks were established at several places until, in 1879, there were 153 banks. Notwithstanding the suspension of the right of establishing new national banks, several private banks were added. In 1890 there were 353 banks with a paid-up capital of 82,121,278 yen, but during the last few years there has been a marked increase, and in 1899 there were 2,105 banks, with a paid-up capital of 268,024,897 yen.

NUMBER OF BANKS AND AMOUNT OF CAPITAL, ETC.

(AS STANDING AT THE END OF DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS).

Year.	Number of Head Offices.	Paid-up Capital.	Reserves.	Net Profits.
		Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	353	82,121,278	24,017,814	13,768,616
1891	388	82,997,920	26,356,773	14,613,537
1892	405	85,681,777	26,040,111	14,184,387
1893	763	94,512,848	27,104,047	13,968,684
1894	863	101,409,881	30,231,153	17,453,796
1895	1,019	127,807,715	34,623,518	26,282,162
1896	1,321	167,271,488	55,353,268	46,422,600
1897	1,594	211,047,470	36,116,252	44,622,320
1898	1,875	257,447,002	40,795,138	38,277,336
1899	2,105	288,024,897	51,151,558	44,988,747

NOTE.—The table includes the Bank of Japan, the Crédit Foncier, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the National Banks, Agricultural and Industrial Banks, Joint Stock Banks, Private Banks, and Savings Banks.

RAILWAYS.

The first line of railway was constructed between Tokyo and Yokohama—eighteen miles—in 1872. Since that time the Government railroads have been yearly extended at a varying rate of increase. The first private line was built in 1883, and covered sixty-three miles. After that, the railroad construction was somewhat slow, but recently, with national progress, it has been progressing very fast. In 1890 we had 551 miles of Government lines, and 896 miles of private lines—total, 1,447 miles. Since the war with China marked development has been made, and in 1901 there were 1,059 miles of Government lines, and 2,966 miles of private lines, a total of 4,025 miles.

RAILWAYS : LENGTH OF LINES AND AMOUNT OF WORKING EXPENSES, ETC.

(AS STANDING AT THE END OF DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS).

YEAR.	GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.				PRIVATE RAILWAYS.			
	Length of Lines.	Income of Lines.	Working Expenses.	Profits.	Length of Lines.	Income of Lines.	Working Expenses.	Profits.
	Miles. Ch.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Miles. Ch.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	551 28	4,213,804	2,001,273	2,212,531	896 11	4,360,478	1,566,677	2,793,801
1891	551 28	4,110,141	2,426,900	1,683,241	1,165 96	5,503,427	2,341,591	3,161,836
1892	550 61	4,580,632	2,166,199	2,414,433	1,319 38	5,122,716	2,229,700	2,893,016
1893	557 61	5,384,455	1,942,376	3,442,079	1,367 96	7,097,193	3,034,967	4,062,226
1894	580 86	5,810,459	2,149,689	3,660,770	1,537 35	8,711,115	3,686,490	5,024,625
1895	593 27	8,004,233	2,951,561	5,052,672	1,679 75	11,518,199	4,712,005	6,806,194
1896	631 62	8,273,652	3,185,663	4,457,989	1,869 65	13,552,177	5,565,452	7,986,725
1897	661 65	9,727,490	4,786,049	4,941,441	2,282 48	18,961,442	8,228,282	10,733,160
1898	828 77	11,143,742	6,343,030	4,800,712	2,652 13	22,548,591	12,059,674	10,488,917
1899	893 26	13,719,006	6,596,677	7,122,329	2,806 00	26,267,589	13,203,048	13,064,541
1900	949 69	15,920,385	7,101,108	8,819,277	2,905 16	29,014,009	13,622,156	15,391,853
1901	1,059 48	16,764,219	8,346,091	8,418,128	2,966 48	31,640,328	15,093,086	16,547,242

NOTE.—The figures for the years 1900 and 1901 are approximate.

NAVIGATION.

Navigation in Japan began to develop about 1884 or 1885, but until the war in 1895 it did not make any considerable progress. In 1890 there were only 1,450 vessels constructed after the European pattern, the tonnage of which was 145,692 tons. But since the promulgation of the Navigation Encouragement Subsidy Law and Shipbuilding Encouragement Subsidy Law of March, 1896, the work has developed remarkably. New lines to Europe, America, and Australia have been founded. Thus we find that in 1901 Japan owned 5,415 vessels of the Western pattern, the tonnage of which was 919,968 tons.

NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF MERCANTILE VESSELS OF FOREIGN STYLE

(AS STANDING AT THE END OF DECEMBER OF THE RESPECTIVE YEARS).

YEAR.	NUMBER OF VESSELS.			TONNAGE.		
	Steam Vessels.	Sailing Vessels.	Total.	Steam Vessels.	Sailing Vessels.	Total.
1890	586	865	1,451	93,812	51,880	145,692
1891	607	835	1,442	95,588	50,137	145,725
1892	642	779	1,421	102,301	46,031	148,332
1893	680	749	1,429	110,205	44,967	155,172
1894	740	722	1,467	169,414	43,511	212,925
1895	827	702	1,529	341,369	44,794	386,163
1896	899	644	1,543	373,588	44,055	417,643
1897	1,032	715	1,747	438,779	48,130	486,909
1898	1,130	1,914	3,044	477,430	170,894	648,324
1899	1,221	3,322	4,543	510,007	286,923	796,930
1900	1,329	3,850	5,179	543,365	320,571	863,936
1901	1,395	4,020	5,415	583,532	336,436	919,968

FOREIGN TRADE.*

Since the Restoration the foreign trade of Japan has made wonderful strides. In 1877 the total trade with foreign countries—exports and imports—amounted to only 50,000,000 yen, but in 1890 the amount had risen to 138,330,000 yen. Ten years later, in 1900, it went up again to 491,690,000 yen,

* Detailed tables of Exports and Imports are given in Appendix H.

having quadrupled during one decade. In 1902 it reached 530,044,324 yen. There have been fluctuations according to the kinds of articles dealt with, yet as a whole the foreign trade has been extending and increasing every year. The excess of imports over exports since 1896 has been caused by the overexpansion of undertakings of all kinds at once. Prior to 1899 the value of imported goods was given at the original price at the place of purchase, but since that year the cost of insurance, transportation, and other expenses incurred up to the time of the arrival are added to it.

VALUE OF FOREIGN TRADE.

Year.	Articles.			Specie.		
	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports, or Exports over Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports, or Exports over Imports.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	56,603,506	81,728,580	25,125,074	13,778,531	1,200,607	12,577,924
1891	79,527,272	62,927,268	16,600,003	1,452,963	13,888,526	12,435,563
1892	91,102,753	71,326,079	19,776,674	9,729,753	22,883,756	13,054,003
1893	89,712,864	88,257,171	1,455,692	12,289,188	11,186,486	1,102,701
1894	113,246,086	117,481,955	4,235,869	34,379,111	26,783,652	7,595,458
1895	136,112,177	129,260,578	6,851,599	27,301,698	5,874,164	21,427,534
1896	177,842,760	171,674,474	6,168,286	11,598,883	39,142,208	27,543,325
1897	163,135,077	219,300,771	56,165,694	19,219,163	81,466,712	62,247,549
1898	165,753,752	277,502,156	111,748,404	86,987,480	42,563,781	44,423,699
1899	214,929,894	220,401,925	5,472,031	11,178,247	20,163,500	8,985,253
1900	204,429,993	287,261,845	82,831,852	56,707,063	11,517,835	45,189,228
1901	252,349,543	255,816,645	3,467,102	14,049,099	10,960,750	3,088,349
1902	258,303,065	271,731,259	13,428,194	2,028,982	32,161,358	30,132,376

The Tea Industry.

During the last ten or more years the tea industry has varied very much, sometimes decreasing, and the state of variation has never been similar. Generally speaking, however, from 1890 up to 1895 there was a yearly increase, but since 1895 the industry has declined. This is due to the change in the American Tariff System. In former years tea was exempt from taxation, but now there is a duty on tea. Thus the tea trade could not be carried on, and there are many who have been obliged to give up the industry.

Year.	Amount Produced in Japan.	Amount Exported to Foreign Countries.	Difference between the Amounts Produced and Exported.	Percentage.		Value of Export.	
				Remained in Japan.	Exported.	Total Value.	Price per Picul.
	Kin.	Kin.	Kin.	Per Cent.	PerCent.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	43,408,869	37,250,728	6,158,141	14	86	6,326,680	17
1891	44,352,488	39,923,999	4,428,489	10	90	7,033,049	18
1892	45,074,156	37,518,203	5,555,953	17	83	7,525,315	20
1893	47,752,300	36,443,555	11,308,745	24	76	7,702,088	21
1894	49,270,200	37,453,587	11,816,613	24	76	7,930,286	21
1895	53,743,000	38,826,661	14,916,339	28	72	8,879,241	23
1896	53,127,456	33,241,472	19,885,984	37	63	6,372,328	19
1897	52,949,725	32,632,683	20,317,042	38	62	7,860,460	24
1898	52,760,738	30,826,632	21,934,106	42	58	8,215,664	27
1899	46,966,538	33,451,528	13,515,010	29	71	8,387,598	25

NOTE.—One kin = 1⅓ pounds nearly.

RICE AND GRAIN.

Grain is the principal agricultural product of the empire. The area of cultivation has recently been considerably extended, and the method of cultivation also has been improved. Notwithstanding this, the productive capacity has not been very great, compared with manufactured goods, because these are not goods for exportation, but for the consumption at home, and there is not a great increase in demand for grain. The rice crop has varied from 36,000,000 or 37,000,000 to 42,000,000 or 43,000,000 koku, while the other grain crops have varied from 15,000,000 or 16,000,000 to 20,000,000 koku.

Year.	Rice.	Barley.	Rye.	Wheat.	Total Grain Crops other than Rice.
	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.
1890	43,037,809	5,417,332	2,840,624	2,455,008	10,712,965
1891	38,123,548	8,114,959	6,431,682	3,541,732	18,088,373
1892	41,378,474	6,809,275	6,057,134	3,074,867	15,941,276
1893	37,199,663	7,189,448	6,146,126	3,289,655	16,625,229
1894	41,815,714	8,528,408	7,314,304	3,967,253	19,809,965
1895	39,920,882	8,536,770	7,015,709	3,973,644	19,526,123
1896	36,199,771	7,849,281	5,925,887	3,554,149	17,329,317
1897	33,039,293	8,028,698	6,165,792	3,811,000	18,005,490
1898	47,387,666	8,913,560	7,366,605	4,181,888	20,462,053
1899	39,698,258	8,512,726	6,682,021	4,141,205	19,335,952

NOTE.—One koku = 5 bushels nearly.

The Weaving Industry.

In 1890 or 1891 the weaving industry did not make any marked development, and the value of goods woven was about 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 yen. But recently, aided by the progress of applied chemistry, and also of technology, the industry has made considerable progress, and in 1899 the weaving capacity reached 150,000,000 yen. During ten years the increase has been more than fourfold. Now, with the cotton-yarn industry, it has become one of the principal industries of the empire. (See Table, p. 405.)

Cotton-spinning Industry.

This kind of industry had its origin in 1880 or 1881, and developed gradually until in 1890 the total number of spindles reached 277,895, producing 5,132,588 kwan of cotton yarn. But since, in 1894, the duty on exports of cotton yarn, and, in April, 1896, that on the import of raw cotton, were removed, the industry made marked progress, and in 1901 the number of spindles in use daily reached 1,181,762, and the productive capacity had increased to 33,323,770 kwan. To-day cotton-spinning has become the chief industry of the country.

COTTON-SPINNING FACTORIES AND MANUFACTURERS.

Year.	Number of Factories.	Amount of Capital.	Number of Spindles.	Amount of Yarn Manufactured.	Average Price per Bag of 48 Kwan each.		Number of Hands.	
							Male.	Female.
		Yen.		Kwan.	Yen.	Sen.		
1890	30	—	277,895	5,132,588	82	670	4,089	10,330
1891	36	8,715,510	353,980	7,689,938	72	626	5,051	14,216
1892	39	9,103,237	403,314	9,997,208	75	581	6,354	18,878
1893	40	11,271,005	381,781	10,666,744	81	847	6,164	19,284
1894	45	13,308,030	476,123	14,620,008	84	740	8,229	26,923
1895	47	16,392,058	518,736	18,437,011	86	820	9,650	31,140
1896	61	22,860,709	692,384	20,585,485	92	480	11,394	36,087
1897	74	36,414,728	768,328	26,134,120	92	990	9,933	35,059
1898	77	42,342,080	1,027,817	32,163,239	84	430	16,183	50,620
1899	83	33,023,317	1,170,327	43,052,402	91	000	16,445	57,540
1900	80	35,908,512	1,144,027	32,419,641	109	000	12,262	43,760
1901	81	36,690,567	1,181,762	33,115,829	113	000	13,481	49,540

Note.—Statistics relating to the amount of capital for the year 1890 unobtainable.

One kwan = 8¼ pounds approximately.

AMOUNT OF WEAVING MANUFACTURES.

Year.	Silk Tissues.			Mixed Tissues of Silk and Cotton.			Cotton Tissues.					
	Piece Goods.	Sash.	Total.	Piece Goods.	Sash.	Total.	Piece Goods.	Sash.	Total.	Piece Goods.	Sash.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	10,501,378	2,131,360	12,632,738	2,978,301	2,328,053	5,306,354	13,098,422	465,161	13,563,603	967,721	—	967,721
1891	12,543,666	2,581,345	15,125,011	5,167,785	2,790,191	7,957,976	16,344,908	581,762	16,926,670	4,492,815	—	4,492,815
1892	16,325,728	3,022,057	19,347,785	3,919,200	3,888,064	7,807,264	18,402,787	710,535	19,113,322	1,551,931	—	1,551,931
1893	20,871,637	2,904,771	23,776,408	5,422,815	3,825,248	9,248,063	21,691,824	618,117	22,309,941	2,015,815	—	2,015,815
1894	28,754,770	3,783,700	32,538,470	5,420,531	2,826,585	8,247,116	26,440,753	726,815	27,167,568	3,093,166	—	3,093,166
1895	40,953,302	5,408,207	46,361,509	5,982,376	4,298,896	10,281,272	35,650,469	1,402,979	37,053,448	1,965,806	—	1,965,806
1896	45,741,898	8,276,581	54,018,479	6,173,987	2,957,981	9,131,968	37,849,916	991,012	38,885,928	1,637,722	—	1,637,722
1897	53,952,130	8,710,899	62,663,029	8,559,273	3,163,864	11,723,137	40,673,864	1,359,043	42,032,907	2,903,172	—	2,903,172
1898	61,253,239	10,792,714	72,045,953	10,032,920	6,184,067	16,216,987	47,404,619	591,794	47,996,413	2,967,766	—	2,967,766
1899	73,931,893	10,215,101	84,146,994	10,935,161	7,611,014	18,546,175	44,841,504	705,992	45,547,496	3,161,202	—	3,161,202

Grand Total.

Year.	Grand Total.	Year.	Grand Total.
	Yen.		Yen.
1890	32,470,416	1895	95,662,035
1891	44,504,472	1896	103,674,097
1892	47,820,302	1897	119,322,245
1893	57,350,227	1898	139,227,119
1894	71,406,320	1899	151,401,867

Raw Silk.

Although the method of production of silk has been recently very much improved, yet the quantity of silk exported has shown comparatively very little increase. This is due to the increase of the export of rough finished silk goods, such as habutai, silk handkerchiefs, etc. In value silk is the most important of our exports, and in 1899 the value of the raw silk exported was calculated to be 62,000,000 yen, the quantity exported every year being from 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 kin.

AMOUNT OF RAW SILK PRODUCED AND EXPORTED.

Year.	Amount Produced in Japan.	Amount Exported to Foreign Countries.	Difference between the Amounts Produced and Exported.	Percentage.		Value of Export.	
				Remained in Japan.	Exported.	Total Value.	Price per Picul.
	Kin.	Kin.	Kin.	Per Cent.	PerCent.	Yen.	Yen.
1890	5,270,450	2,110,315	3,160,135	60	40	13,859,338	657
1891	6,808,888	5,325,148	1,483,740	22	78	29,356,338	551
1892	6,850,550	5,406,856	1,443,694	21	79	36,299,743	671
1893	7,709,713	3,712,213	3,997,500	52	48	28,167,411	759
1894	8,104,894	5,484,059	2,620,835	32	68	39,353,155	718
1895	10,020,694	5,810,046	4,210,648	42	58	47,866,256	824
1896	9,017,000	3,918,994	5,098,006	57	43	28,830,601	736
1897	9,609,756	6,919,861	2,689,895	28	72	55,630,460	804
1898	9,248,419	4,837,329	4,411,090	48	52	42,047,411	869
1899	10,964,013	5,946,911	5,017,102	46	54	62,627,721	1,053

Note.—1 kin = 1⅓ pounds approximately.

Mining Industry.

Thanks to the progress of the art of mining, all the branches of this industry have gradually developed in recent times, except sulphur and antimony, which tended to diminish in quantity; copper and oil especially increased considerably. In 1890 the copper produced was 30,200,000 kin, but in 1901 almost 46,000,000 kin. The coal output was in 1890 2,600,000 tons, but in 1901 8,940,000 tons, while the output of oil, which in 1890 was over 54,000 koku, had increased in 1901 to 983,799 koku.

AMOUNT OF MINING PRODUCTS.

Year.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Lead.	Iron.	Antimony.	Manganese.	Coal.	Petroleum.	Sulphur.
	Kwan.	Kwan.	Kin.	Kin.	Kwan.	Kin.	Kin.	Tons.	Koku.	Kin.
1890	193,762	14,091,754	30,192,447	1,291,324	5,603,481	3,164,885	4,319,131	2,608,284	54,399	34,499,523
1891	192,560	15,645,273	31,721,799	1,347,619	4,616,785	3,780,810	5,372,025	3,175,844	55,983	36,548,417
1892	186,805	16,063,426	34,544,539	1,518,941	5,031,466	2,305,433	8,363,750	3,175,670	72,893	34,142,610
1893	196,372	18,469,285	30,025,201	1,854,872	4,535,305	2,748,895	26,737,715	3,319,601	94,145	39,814,386
1894	209,509	19,209,527	33,186,229	2,375,927	5,182,463	2,618,551	22,140,739	4,268,135	151,986	31,257,166
1895	329,041	19,272,544	31,856,887	3,241,032	6,879,306	2,805,729	28,520,061	4,772,654	149,497	25,884,250
1896	256,519	17,156,666	33,464,615	3,257,126	7,299,579	2,237,615	29,893,267	5,019,690	208,400	20,863,373
1897	276,427	14,478,485	33,982,217	1,284,856	7,464,364	1,951,068	25,701,496	5,188,157	231,220	22,636,870
1898	309,145	16,118,242	35,039,592	2,837,570	6,296,225	2,061,829	19,162,323	6,696,033	280,742	17,202,173
1899	446,716	14,978,060	40,459,709	3,313,464	6,151,033	1,568,462	18,893,440	6,721,798	474,406	17,062,186
1900	566,535	15,681,595	42,182,353	—	6,624,447	716,477	26,384,526	7,429,457	767,092	24,064,196
1901	660,653	14,598,749	45,652,927	—	18,680,043	911,462	27,115,884	8,945,939	983,799	27,580,478

Note.—One kwan=8¼ pounds nearly; 1 kin=1⅓ pounds nearly; 1 koku=5 bushels nearly.

III. Financial and Economic Questions of the Day

BY MR. SOYEDA

(President of the Industrial Bank of Japan)

A very low rate of tariff is now in force, and the spirit which sways the Customs duty is more English than Continental, roughly speaking, raw materials paying 5 per cent. and manufactured goods 20 per cent. duties.

The exports and imports of commodities, which stood at 15,553,473 yen and 10,693,072 yen respectively in 1868, had risen to 258,303,065 yen and 271,731,259 yen in 1902. The leading articles of trade are as follows, the figures being those for 1902:

Export.	Yen.	*Import.*	Yen.
Tea	10,484,017	Soy beans	4,956,009
Rice	6,679,544	Rice	17,750,817
Camphor	3,404,833	Iron (bar and rod)	3,519,126
Copper	10,261,984	Rails	1,662,700
Raw silk	76,859,478	Iron, plate and sheet	2,442,791
Waste silk	4,019,524	Iron pipes and tubes	1,073,638
Silk tissues	27,358,395	Iron nails	1,451,125
Silk handkerchiefs	3,154,237	Petroleum	14,937,169
Cotton yarn	19,901,522	Sugar	8,778,657
Coal	17,270,417	Refined sugar	5,589,157
Matches	8,169,966	Ginned raw cotton	78,779,858
Mats	6,772,496	Cotton yarn	1,747,875
		Wool	3,397,564
		Mousseline de laine	3,754,836
		Coal	1,298,374
		Oil-cakes	10,121,712

It can be said from the above that Japan exports mostly raw materials, importing manufactured goods. As the following table explains, the direction of trade can also, with few exceptions, be summed up by saying that she imports from Europe and America, exporting to China and other countries. The exports to these latter countries being more or less manufactured goods.

	Exports. Yen.	Imports. Yen.
China	46,838,545	40,590,858
Corea	10,554,183	7,957,946
Dutch India	570,634	3,568,719
British India	13,336,895	50,977,168*
Hong Kong	25,876,059	2,454,881
Philippine Islands	1,731,739	1,493,865
Asiatic Russia	2,144,961	5,963,858
Canada	3,485,841	517,274
Australia	3,172,092	1,672,218
Hawaii	1,873,293	22,724
Austro-Hungary	1,143,309	2,376,656
Belgium	600,497	6,977,656
France	27,283,458	4,745,776
Germany	4,737,029	25,812,921
Great Britain	17,346,149	50,364,029
Holland	745,249	772,666
Italy	13,287,556	186,382
Switzerland	755,916	1,951,047
Russia	968,937	103,114
United States of America	80,232,805	48,652,825

Hence much stress is laid on the furtherance of trade with Far Eastern countries, especially that with China and Corea.

Restricting ourselves to questions of importance, as well as to those related with finance and economy, we come first to that of the taking off of the strict controls placed on the business in the stock and rice exchanges. The Government, as well as those upholding sounder ways of doing business, incline to further restriction, while the people related with business, as well as those of a more speculative tone of mind, incline toward relaxation. Undoubtedly it is better not to add fuel to the fire of speculation, but to encourage a sound, sure, and regular way of doing business. There are thirteen rice exchanges, four stock exchanges, and forty-nine other exchanges.

Next comes the question of improving the Chambers of Commerce, which number in all fifty-eight, by increasing their power and exercising greater selection of their members. Some urge their total abolition unless great improvements are made. Such is, no doubt, too extreme a view, but the necessity of improvement must be admitted, because as they now stand their utility and influence cannot be said to be great.

How to increase the savings of the people seems now to be in the mind of the thoughtful, some going so far as to urge the necessity of adopting the lottery system in postal savings.

* Figures are for 1902. This excess of import is chiefly due to the importation of cotton from India.

Whatever may be the advantages or disadvantages of such a proposal, it is impossible to be satisfied with the small amount of thrift which prevails at present, and much must be done to encourage the habit of saving among the public, especially among the lower classes of people.

In political circles the questions of drastic retrenchment in public finances and of thorough reforms in the administrative system are much to the fore. The Government is trying hard to carry them out, but it is doubtful whether it can succeed.

Recently the debts of the local bodies, such as Prefectures, districts, cities, and towns, have been increasing year by year. Not only that, some of them are paying a very exorbitant rate of interest. Hence the necessity arises of consolidating them and equalizing the rate of interest. Scrutiny must be exercised on the local finance at the same time as attention is paid to that of the State, in order to make good the entire system of finance.

Another necessary measure is the shortening of the time for the military service to two years, instead of the present period of three years. By so doing, not only can savings in the expenditure be made, but also the loss accruing from withdrawing so many adult males from their occupation may be avoided.

Importation of Capital.

Being just now in the stage of growth, progress and improvement, especially as regards her industry and commerce, what is needed by Japan is capital.

She has already made use of her own capital, not only in various private undertakings, but in supplying the needs of the State. By far the greater portion of the national debt is owned by her own people. To sum up, the demand for capital is felt keenly, while the supply is rather limited, because the habit of saving, or rather making proper use of savings, is not fully developed among the people.

The result is a dearth of money and high rate of interest, which on an average has been oscillating somewhere about 10 per cent. on loans throughout the country, and is a little over 7 per cent., according to the present official rate of the Bank of Japan, although the discount rate is much lower.

The only way by which it will be possible to go on with various enterprises is to import foreign capital. So general is this feeling that 'the importation of foreign capital' has become a commonplace phrase. There is every necessity for the removal of every conceivable barrier to the influx of foreign capital, such as the restriction of the ownership of land by aliens, the limitation placed by the Railways Act upon the pledging of

railway properties, and other prohibitions on foreigners as regards mining, etc. There is no doubt that these measures will be brought forward in Parliament by those interested.

But even until these barriers are removed, there exist means whereby satisfactory arrangements can be offered to foreign capitalists. The need of money can be met by their subscribing to the debentures of the Industrial Bank of Japan (Nippon Kogyo Ginko), or by their making the bank an intermediary or guarantee of various undertakings. This bank was established by the Government for such purposes, and by standing between the capitalist on one side and industrial undertakings on the other, it is able to give satisfaction to both, by affording safe investment, or by giving guarantees to the former, and by supplying useful capital to the latter after strict investigation and discrimination.

In fact, this bank has already proved to be a useful channel for the introduction of foreign capital, by buying 50,000,000 yen bonds from the Imperial Japanese Government, and re-selling them to a London Syndicate formed in October, 1902.

Population and Colonization.

The population of the empire is estimated at 44,805,937 for the year 1900, and of the total 22, 608,150 are males. The rate of increase is extraordinary, because, numbering 35,929,023 in 1880, the population rose to 40,453,461 in 1890.

The central portions are the most densely populated, and are under the obligation of sending out emigrants, not only to Formosa and Hokkaido, but to Corea, China, Hawaii, and districts on the Pacific Coast of America. The total number of emigrants in 1890 amounted to 123,971.

To accommodate this ever-increasing population, Japan has two islands—Hokkaido on the north, and the newly-acquired Formosa on the south. The former is very thinly populated, and gives ample room for emigrants from the main island. Though it lies far to the north, it is well fitted for agriculture, fishery, and mining, and is developing steadily, though somewhat slowly. Formosa, on the contrary, is thickly populated, it being calculated for 1899 that there were 2,758,161 people, including 33,120 Japanese. But, being rich in agricultural and mineral resources, and much of it still remaining to be explored, it is capable of receiving emigrants from the home country.

This may perhaps be a fit place to dwell a little upon the colonial system of Japan as carried into practice in Formosa, the only Colony of the empire in the strict sense of the term.

Formosa is placed in charge of a Governor-General, who has

power to issue orders in council, having the power of laws, if sanctioned by the Government.

Within seven years, more than 90,000,000 yen has been spent, while about 60,000,000 yen has been raised in the island, chiefly by taxation and monopolies in opium, salt, and camphor. The deficit was made good by means of loans and subsidies from the State Treasury. But her revenue is fast increasing, and before long she will be self-supporting. Now the Formosan Government is busily occupied in making railways, in completing railways, cadastration of lands, harbour works, roads, and other improvements.

One thing to be specially taken notice of is the fact that a separate system of currency prevails as a provisionary measure, till the time shall come when the natives, who have always had a silver currency, become used to the system of currency in use in Japan. At present one-yen silver coins are allowed to be used as legal tender, together with the standard gold currency, the ratio between the two being fixed from time to time by the Governor-General.*

As was said before, the Bank of Formosa plays almost the same part as the Bank of Japan does in the motherland, the only difference being that the former issues silver notes instead of the notes convertible into gold.

At first the natives were troublesome on account of misunderstandings, but now they are contented with Japanese rule, and the island is making rapid advance, not only in the way of material progress, but also in other directions, notably such as education, sanitation, etc.

One of the most striking features is that the direct trade with Japan is taking the place of that with China. Judged by the test of Formosa, Japan has shown herself to be a colonizing power.

* This is about to be changed, and Formosa placed under the gold standard.

CHAPTER XVIII

IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES

I. AGRICULTURE

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

DURING twenty-five centuries the chief industry of Japan has been agriculture, and to-day 60 per cent. of the population is engaged in farming. Owing to religious prejudices, which have led the people to live largely upon vegetable diet, there has been little or no accumulation of live stock, so that the tiller of the soil, relieved of the need of pasturage, has been able to obtain a living from the product of an exceedingly small portion of land, one hectare (two and a half acres) per family being the average holding. The system of tillage, although for the most part primitive, is extremely thorough, two and even three crops per annum being raised on one piece of land, where climatic conditions permit. The men, when not engaged in actual farm work, betake themselves to such other occupations as offer temporary employment, the women and children, meantime, concerning themselves with such useful labour as the cultivation of silkworms, reeling silk, etc. Primitive methods, however, have succeeded in the past only because of the industry and sobriety of the people as a whole, and because of the lack of foreign competition; but with the desire to keep abreast of Western farmers, or possibly to lead, the necessity of modern scientific agricultural knowledge has been recognised by the Imperial Government, and where put to practical test has resulted in increased production per acre. To offset this, there is a tendency of the rural populations to drift into the cities, and, quite as serious, a decided decrease in the market for such staple productions as cotton, sugar, and tea, in which commodities, in spite of the assistance and supervision of a paternal Government, foreign competition is making considerable inroads.

The beet-sugar industry, established some time ago in Hokkaido, has not proved a success, in spite of largely-increased

home consumption. To remedy this, however, much is being done in Formosa, Liuchiu, and Kagoshima, and there is every reason to hope for an early and decided improvement. Government effort in relation to sugar, as in other branches of agriculture, has been rather to improve the quality than to increase the quantity, in proof of which we have the fact that, while in one year the sugar area was increased by 5 per cent., the quantity produced decreased by a like amount. The same condition obtains in tobacco-growing, which has become a State monopoly, and which, under strict supervision, has much improved in quality.

The cotton-growers have hardly kept pace with the times, and the fibre, or staple, of the home-grown product is shorter than that of the best cotton-growing countries, while the goods themselves are more costly than the imported article from India, China, and America. Thus, the cotton crop has decreased by nearly two-thirds during a period of eight years. Hemp suffers from the rivalry of China and India, while Japanese mint is coming into great demand for export, to be used for medicinal and other purposes.

The paper mulberry-tree, or rather shrub, is a hardy growth which can be profitably raised on almost any waste land, and has great possibilities as the basis for a tough but rather coarse grade of paper. The Mitsuma, while naturally making a smooth and useful paper, is not of itself sufficiently tough, but this objection has been overcome by a process devised in the Printing Bureau. This improvement, added to its original popularity with foreign buyers, makes the industry a safe and promising investment for both cultivator and manufacturer.

As the quality of the tobacco crop has been redeemed under Government monopoly, and as the paper trade has been improved through the ingenuity of the Printing Bureau, so in every branch of agriculture may be seen the beneficial influence of intelligent official interest. Model farming, lectures on agriculture, agricultural colleges, and experimental farming at public expense, have received the support of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, with whom the local boards have willingly co-operated.

The work of experimental farming is technically divided into three branches—viz., original research, practical application, and model farming. For the actual working of these three general divisions, the ideal of the Government was to have original research undertaken by the State; practical application of knowledge published by State experts to be dealt with by localities, so that each might be governed by the conditions of its own climate, soil, etc., and the model farming to be under the control of the cities and corporations.

This plan, however, was of necessity somewhat disregarded, because of local ignorance and prejudice, and because of lack of facilities in rural communities for corporate farming, so that the State-farms have been forced, to a great extent, to devote most of their time to the work of practical application and model farming, to the neglect of theoretical investigation and original research. With the growth of education this drawback is coming to be less and less of a factor, and the Head Farm and its branches have begun to revert to the original plan.

Since 1899 the Head Farm has been divided into six departments—namely, seed and saplings, agricultural chemistry, entomology, vegetable physiology, and general affairs. Later were added the two departments of tobacco and horticulture, while the compilation of reports has been brought to a high state of efficiency.

Apart from State farms, there are local experimental farms, maintained at local expense, and chiefly devoted to practical application of model farming. Of these, there are at present some thirty-seven scattered throughout the country, which, added to thirty-eight State farms, makes a total of seventy-five centres of agricultural experiment and instruction, independent of the farms maintained by subprefectural districts, where the work is simpler, and of lesser experimental farms established by towns or villages, or by organizations of farmers' sons.

Rice being the staple product, and requiring a great amount of moisture, the art of irrigation has been much studied.

The consumption of fruit in Japan has always been limited, the cause being that the ordinary foodstuffs of the masses contain such a proportion of water as to leave no desire for fruit. However that may be, the fact is that fruit-growing is on the increase, large quantities now being exported to Siberia, and, rather oddly, to that land of fruit, America. The variety is extensive, including the orange family, which embraces mandarins, lemons, prunellos, etc., and apples, pears, cherries, bananas, pine-apples, etc.

II. Sericulture

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

Silk holds the balance of Japan's foreign trade.

Sericulture, or the art of rearing silkworms, dates apparently from the 'Age of the Gods' in Japan. Coming down to the 'Age of Man,' however, we find that the industry had

made marked progress even in the early days, owing to Imperial encouragement, and to the efforts of Chinese instructors who had become naturalized in the country. In the year A.D. 195, Prince Koman, a descendant of the royal house, emigrated to China, became naturalized, and introduced the Chinese species of silkworm. Many years later a son of this Prince Koman settled in Japan, and with him a large body of experienced silk-weavers, who were distributed throughout the country for the purpose of instructing the people in this art. About fifty years later the then Emperor is said to have required his Empress to visit the houses of the silk-weavers and sericulturists to encourage them in their industry, while still later, in A.D. 462, the Emperor Yuryake caused his Empress to pick mulberry-leaves and rear silkworms. From this time forward the culture of silk became a matter of great national concern, and, with some reverses, has continued to expand and increase to this day. Silk came to be accepted as a substitute for other payment of taxes, and to be very generally used for purposes of attire. In consequence of this, it came to pass that there was not in Japan a province where the silkworm was not reared and the fabric manufactured. During the 'Age of Wars,' or the Japanese Dark Ages, beginning about A.D. 936, and lasting about 700 years, the product suffered to a disastrous extent, only being carried on in out-of-the-way places which were comparatively free from the ravages of fire and the sword. With the return of peace conditions, about the year 1615, the Daimios, anxious to see the people settle back into avocations which made for orderly conditions, began assiduously to encourage a revival of the silk trade. For all that, however, the passing of sumptuary laws prohibiting the common people from wearing silk garments again threw the work into confusion, and it was not until the opening of the treaty ports in 1859 that the market for Japanese silks again flourished in any marked degree. With the New Era, the Imperial Government, carrying out the wishes of the Emperor, has encouraged the production of silk by every means in its power.

Various circumstances have combined at times within recent years to adversely affect the silk trade of the country. Soon after the opening up of the ports to foreign trade, the silkworm epidemic in Europe caused great demand for Japanese silkworm eggs, and vast numbers were exported; but success made the growers careless, and a large number of inferior eggs were sent out. The Government, seeing the certainty of eventual loss of trade and prestige which must ensue from dishonest practices of this nature, made various attempts to control the export trade, but with little success.

In the meantime, the demand for the best quality of silkworms for European growers resulted in experiments which evolved a satisfactory product, and the foreign trade in Japanese silkworm eggs diminished by gradual stages until it ceased to exist. Demoralization in the manufacture of raw silk had set in from the same causes, and there were loud complaints from foreign buyers. The Government then took hold of the matter with determination, and after trying many devices to eliminate objectionable practices, in the year 1885 there were drawn up a series of regulations for the formation of guilds among those interested in the industry. The result has been eminently satisfactory.

The traditional method of caring for the silkworm came from Prince Shotoku, who is said to have told the agriculturists that they should rear their worms just as parents nurse and bring up their infants; that they should think of the worms just as parents think of their own children; that in adjusting the temperature for the worms they should judge of what suited them best, making the room neither too warm nor too cool, while giving it good ventilation; and that they should lavish the utmost care upon the worms both day and night. The ideas embodied in this teaching are exactly what are being taught and acted upon to-day. Still, the World's Fair at Vienna in 1872 opened the eyes of progressive Japanese silk-producers to the value of scientific knowledge, and the officials who attended the Fair returned home enthusiastic for new and complete methods. The Imperial Government, ever ready to foster any plans for the betterment of the country and its commerce, and acting upon the suggestions of these officials, caused the establishment of sericultural laboratories. The initial difficulties were overcome after some slight complications, and to-day there are numbers of young men sent to receive instruction in practical scientific rearing of the silkworm. The results of experiments in the laboratories are made public from time to time, much to the benefit of sericulture in general, while, under this encouraging condition, those interested in the industry in the four important and progressive provinces of Fukushima, Gumma, Nagano, and Saitama, are sending travelling instructors throughout their districts.

The general rise in wages and the short period of actual egg cultivation has reduced the profit from silk production to such a point that, while the industry has increased, it has done so mostly as a by-industry of the farmer, one of the rooms of his dwelling being set aside as a rearing-room, while members of the family attend to the worms. An idea of the enormous spread of the occupation as a by-industry may be

gathered from the fact that in 1901 there were no less than 2,475,819 families so engaged, while of silk manufacturers there were 421,941. The returns for the year 1901 show that of raw silk there was a total production of 14,639,670 pounds avoirdupois, of which the export trade took 11,596,941 pounds. Of this latter amount fully one-half went to the United States of America, nearly one-fifth to France, and about one-eighth to Italy. The trade with England amounted to only 17,195 pounds. The total sum realized by the raw silk product exported in 1901 was £7,416,733. Besides this amount, the waste raw silk exports bring into the country a revenue of about £500,000 per annum. As a means of promoting the export of silk, a regular silk-conditioning house, qualified to undertake the weighing of the gross and the net quality of silk, was established in 1896 at Yokohama. This business has progressed steadily, until the idea which it embodies is considered an important factor in the silk trade, offering the buyer, as it does, an absolute analysis and guarantee of the quality of the goods he wishes to purchase.

The mulberry farm keeps pace with the silk industry, the method of cultivation differing according to soil and climate. In the northern districts, where a comparatively low temperature prevails, the plants are allowed to remain unpruned all the year round; but in the south-western provinces, where the climatic conditions are quite the opposite, the shoots are pruned close to the root. In addition to the mulberry farm, the tree is grown for the purpose of making hedges and marking boundary-lines, these trees furnishing, it is estimated, about one-fourth of the entire amount of mulberry-leaves used in the silkworm industry of the country.

III. Rice

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

Rice, as is well known, is the chief food of the Japanese people, and the yearly harvest of it affects the Japanese economy in a degree much higher than the crop of wheat does the European markets, as the production of rice is limited to a narrower region than that of wheat. Thus Japan suffered much when in 1897 her rice harvest proved very poor, and she had to import a large amount of rice from China and European colonies in the Far East. The next year the highest figure of above 47,000,000 koku was attained; since then Japan has had continually a good harvest of rice, and in 1901 it nearly

approached again this highest figure. This circumstance cannot but bring a very favourable effect to the Japanese market, which is now just recovering from a state of inactivity.

The question whether the inland production of rice is sufficient for the whole inland consumption is not easy to answer. According to the minute statistics collected by the same department, it seems that Japan, in face of the yearly increase of population of 400,000 to 500,000 in average, cannot neglect to consider the question of future supply of food. The share per head of the inland production of rice is calculated to be about 1·075 to 0·602 koku. If the population under four years of age be put aside as being nourished otherwise, the share per head for the remaining population is increased to 1·195 to 0·678 koku. Taking 0·004 koku as the average amount of rice daily consumed by one person, the yearly consumption per head must amount to 1·46 koku, or a deficit of 0·264 to 0·782 koku per head. Besides, it must be remembered that for obtaining the average share above stated the amount of rice consumed for saké brewing and as seeds for future plantations only is deducted, the consumption for other various purposes being omitted, as the figures are unknown.

This must imply a large amount of import of rice from abroad, but the statistics show that the import of rice, although sometimes very considerable, is usually counterbalanced by the export, the exceptions occurring only in cases of bad harvest. This apparent paradox, however, may easily be explained, when we consider the fact that various other kinds of corn, such as *kibi* (*Panicum miliaceum*), *awa* (*Panicum italicum*), barley, wheat, etc., which show an aggregate amount of production of about 25,000,000 koku, and also potatoes, sweet potatoes, etc., are taken by no small number of the population instead of rice; moreover, the figures are generally undervalued. So the inland production of rice is sufficient for the present, but the consumption of rice shows a tendency quickly to extend itself to wider classes as the standard of life rises, and it will not be long before Japan has to complain more or less of the want of food-supply, if she neglect to take due care for the increase of the production of rice.

This question has not escaped the careful consideration of the Japanese Government. The institutes for agricultural experiments established many years since in various provinces are doing their work very well for improving the method of farming. In 1899 a new law was promulgated to facilitate the rearrangement of farm fields, partitions, and of irregular furrows and canals. If works of this kind be carried out to a sufficient extent, the area of the farm fields will be considerably enlarged, without opening any new land for cultivation.

By these and other means Japan may be said to be well prepared to meet the increasing demand for food.

According to the official statistics recently published by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce of Japan, the rice crop of 1901 in that country is estimated at 46,854,241 koku (1 koku is equal to 4·629 bushels), or 552,883,241 yen in value, if we take the average price of rice in 1901 as standard. This is the highest figure in the last twenty-five years for which there are reliable statistics, except in 1898.

Year.	Area of Rice-field.	Amount of Harvest.	Import.	Total.	Consumed as Food.
	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.	Koku.
1878	2,489,765	25,282,540	9	25,282,549	20,446,177
1879	2,541,661	32,418,924	49,994	32,468,918	27,364,012
1880	2,562,460	31,359,326	79,321	31,438,647	26,696,462
1881	2,564,125	29,971,183	21,667	29,993,050	25,085,156
1882	2,580,255	30,692,327	2,868	30,692,195	25,474,745
1883	2,579,543	30,671,492	17	30,671,509	27,104,380
1884	2,605,720	26,349,883	2,341	26,352,224	22,551,359
1885	2,611,988	34,158,169	118,396	34,276,565	31,162,708
1886	2,618,015	37,191,424	3,926	37,195,350	33,401,754
1887	2,637,069	39,999,199	28,087	40,027,286	36,330,029
1888	2,685,986	38,645,583	4,871	38,650,454	33,249,502
1889	2,726,538	33,007,566	20,695	33,028,261	27,745,925
1890	2,751,786	43,084,044	1,838,638	44,922,682	41,320,174
1891	2,763,200	38,181,405	671,203	38,852,608	34,408,508
1892	2,760,662	41,429,676	329,724	41,759,400	37,457,820
1893	2,775,233	37,267,418	559,632	37,827,050	33,179,155
1894	2,736,494	41,859,047	1,321,851	43,180,898	38,672,285
1895	2,784,682	39,960,798	674,141	40,634,939	35,685,613
1896	2,793,499	36,240,351	744,802	36,985,152	31,426,722
1897	2,787,181	33,039,294.	2,520,558	35,559,851	30,666,179
1898	2,817,624	47,387,666	4,678,501	52,066,167	47,055,346
1899	2,839,550	38,698,258	660,237	40,358,495	35,105,941
1900	2,828,479	41,466,734	914,792	42,381,526	37,333,536
1901	—	46,854,512	1,244,775	48,099,287	—

IV. TEA

BY KABI OTANI

(President of the Japanese Tea-Growers' Association)

THE cultivation of tea in Japan may be said to have had its origin some two thousand years ago. At that time a Japanese priest visited China, and on his return brought with him some seeds of the tea-shrub. He sowed the seeds, and thus came into existence the first Japanese tea plantation. Beginning on such a small scale, for long the industry made but small progress. Much encouragement was given to the planters in the Middle Ages by the Imperial family. During the reign of Senin-Tenno (A.D. 131-192) a hundred priests were invited to the Imperial Court to read one of their books. On the second day they were served with tea called 'hiki cha.' This is one of the first mentions of tea in Japanese history. Unfortunately, it is impossible to learn in what way the tea was prepared. The Shogun promulgated special ordinances to induce the Japanese peasants to plant tea. This brought new life to the industry, and it rapidly rose to the position it now fills—namely, one of the staple productions of Japan.

In those early days the tea went by the name of 'sen cha'; the methods of preparing it were much superior to those now in use.

In the year 1600, by means of different methods, two kinds of tea were prepared—'hiki cha' and 'sen cha.' At the time of the opening of Yokohama to trade, in 1859, the principal tea districts were Kyoto, Shizuoka, Mije, and Shiga. Also some spots in the centre and west of Honshin.

At first tea of the best quality was exported without any preparation, because there existed at that time no drying factory. While this was all right for best quality teas, those of lower grades lost their flavour so quickly because of the dampness that the foreign merchants found it necessary to have them dried again at Shanghai. This is how it comes that Japanese tea is often dried and packed in the Chinese manner.

About 1862 a foreigner opened a drying factory in Yokohama, to the great advantage of the export trade. The price of the Japanese teas was high because of its good quality. In 1868 a tea-market was opened at Kobe, but, as it was necessary to send the tea to Yokohama to be dried, it did not succeed materially.

In 1872, when America took off the import duty on tea, the export trade grew apace, and the price mounted. In 1874 the demand for tea grew so rapidly that the merchants took less

care in the preparation of their teas, and some even adulterated their goods. A relapse in the trade resulting, the merchants still further adulterated their teas in order to recoup some of their losses. In this year an attempt was made to grow black tea, and the following year Chinese workmen were employed by the Government to this end. In 1875 a Government Commission went to China to study the preparation of green and black tea. In 1876 one went to India for the same purpose; on its return in 1877 it was sent to the Ken of Kochi to manufacture tea on the Indian plan. This tea, when submitted to foreign experts, won undivided applause for its excellence. The year 1878 saw a fall in the export of tea, and in 1879 a special congress was held in Yokohama to encourage the tea industry. In this year the tea harvest was so excellent that there was a great demand in America. All the available stock was exhausted, and, to satisfy the ever-increasing demand, many merchants adulterated their teas. This gradually brought about the inevitable result: the price of tea went down and the reputation of the merchants was lost. Seeing that something must be done, the tea-growers endeavoured in 1883 to form a syndicate, but failed. The Government then stepped in, and ~~united them in a syndicate~~. The result of this wise measure was soon seen. In 1885 there was a considerable rise in the export of tea. In 1886 regulations for the punishment of wrongdoers were adopted. The tea-merchants also formed themselves into an association to control the growers and prevent any further chance of fraud.

Finally, in 1896, the State granted a subsidy of 70,000 yen to the central organization, in order to establish, under the control of the Government, offices in New York, Chicago, and Vladivostock. This tea-merchants' and planters' association contained the tea-merchants of each Prefecture, and had as an object the control and supervision of the producers in their various districts. In connection with these various tea-traders' associations in each Prefecture there was organized a central board of the association in Tokyo to direct the local associations, and also to enable their representatives to meet together once a year to decide upon the best methods of manufacture and production. All the members of these associations bound themselves to continue along these methods of insuring excellence of quality in the tea for export during a period of twenty years. This association is an example of the desire of an exporting country to promote the good understanding and meet the wishes of the importing country. The statistics would seem to show that this care for the keeping up of the standard of excellence has not been without its result.

In 1897 the United States passed a law legislating against

the importation of inferior quality teas, and providing for the inspection of all imported tea by fixed standard sample. The Tea-Traders' Association at once established tea-inspection offices in Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, and all the export tea is passed through the hands of the expert inspectors stationed in each of these centres. The tea is sampled, and then sent in bond to America, thus obviating any possibility of the bulk of the tea differing from the sample submitted. Bad tea is rejected, and thus all tea passing through these inspection offices bears a guarantee of a certain standard of excellence, which gives it an enhanced selling value.

As we have seen, the trade in tea with foreign countries found its beginning in the opening of Yokohama as a commercial port in 1860. This was accomplished principally through the agency of the Americans, and therefore, naturally enough, the first exports went to that country. Tea was among the most important of the early exports to America, and the people of the United States very early developed a liking for the beverage. Thus, the trade in tea increased very materially even in the early years of the New Era. Tea may be said to be the foundation of American-Japanese trade, since it made the name of Japan more widely known throughout America, and as a result many European goods were sent to Japan, and trade began to grow. America is still Japan's most important customer for tea, and the Japanese tea-planters remember with gratitude that it is to America that they owe much of their prosperity. In 1901 the export of tea to the United States had reached a value of some 6,821,390 yen (about £700,000) annually. Canada also is a large buyer, the sales for 1901 being 1,676,026 yen. To China and Russian Asia there is considerable export, but, as yet, the European countries import very little Japanese tea, their demands being satisfied with Ceylon, Indian, and Chinese teas.

So important did the tea trade become with America that it was felt to be very necessary to take the requisite measures to insure the quality of the export tea. Also there was a desire to keep the prices moderate, so that nothing should be placed in the way of the extension of the export. It was feared that should all the merchants be allowed to compete one with the other, while the price might go down, the quality would also show a tendency to become less excellent.

Although the industry of tea-planting is generally only an accessory one on the farms, it occupies an important position among the exports. In Kyushyu and Shikoku wild tea is gathered from the mountains for the manufacture of black tea.

It is only rarely that the cultivator prepares the tea for sale himself. He usually sells the green leaves to the manufac-

turer or to the middleman. The manufacturers sell the tea to the wholesale merchants, who dispose of it to the export agents at the various ports.

There has recently been founded a purely Japanese company to export Japanese tea direct, but up to the present all the export trade has been in the hands of foreigners.

Yokohama is the most important export town, then Kobe and Nagasaki. The United States and Canada are the best customers, and after these China, Hong Kong, England, and Russia, in the order named.

The tea-shrubs will not grow further north than 38°, while the wild shrubs are principally to be found in the southern lands. The best black tea is manufactured from the wild leaves, while the greatest quantity of black tea comes from Formosa.

In Japan, tea is looked upon as a necessary beverage from the physical point of view. When taken in moderation, it is held that Japan tea strengthens the body and refreshes the mind. The nitric elements of tea known as 'zeine' serve as a stimulant to the circulation of the blood and a bracing up of the faculties. The social value of tea has grown enormously, and those are considered as lacking in hospitality who do not offer a cup of tea to any and every visitor. How many friendships have been formed from a first meeting over a cup of tea!

By chemical analysis, it has been shown that the most important of the elements of tea are nitric substances called 'zeine' and 'tannin.' The former evaporates easily and melts in hot water. Besides this, it has a stimulating effect, if in proper condition, and aids the circulation and the digestion. Taken in excess, however, it may result in injurious effects upon the nerves. Tannin is a more powerful element, and its principal physical value is that it strengthens the blood vessels and the membranes of the stomach and intestines.

It is, of course, most important that in the manufacture of tea the greatest care be taken to maintain the correct proportion of these two elements. Tannin must only be present in the smallest possible quantities, while zeine should be allowed in great quantity. The speciality of Japan tea is that while the tannin assists the process of manufacture by its fermenting power, no injurious results remain when the process is completed.

To summarize briefly the methods of manufacture of Japan tea: Fresh buds are picked from the shrubs; these are carefully steamed, and all particles of foreign substances are removed. Then the tea buds and leaves are rubbed and rolled between the hands, an even temperature being maintained on the drying-hearth. Great care is taken to insure the exact

rules for the steaming, rolling, and drying of the tea, since in this lies the secret of the special flavour possessed by Japanese tea.

The special system of manufacture in vogue in Japan enables the tea to retain all its fine qualities, and thus those who drink it do so in the way that they naturally drink healthy and natural beverages. According to the experiments carried out over a period of more than forty years, a cup of tea, properly manufactured, is a stimulant both for the body and mind of anyone tired out from a day's work. This beneficial effect is derived from the nitric element zeine, which in Japanese tea is present in large quantities. The good effects of tannin, taken in moderation, have already been touched upon. Thus, the chemical analysis of the tea proves it to be a beneficial and healthy beverage.

Japan tea has also the great value that all the tea which is exported has to pass a strict inspection and to receive a guarantee for the importing country. This fact insures the selection of the very best qualities of tea for the export trade.

The total production of Japanese tea in 1900 was about 62,000,000 pounds. Home consumption accounted for the greater proportion of the entire output.

The export value in 1900 was slightly more than £1,000,000. In addition to the tea grown in Japan itself, a small quantity was imported.

These figures do not include Formosa, which promises splendid results in tea culture.

Retail prices of tea per pound range from about twopence (English) to twenty shillings.

V. Forestry

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

The forests of Japan cover 59 per cent. of the territory of the empire, and have been under the direct protection of the Imperial Government since the ninth century, when the Emperor of the day issued a proclamation restricting the undue felling of trees, and ordering, in a general way, the protection of all wooded land. From earliest times, the love of sylvan growth has had a marked effect upon the lives and characters of the people, and it is often claimed that the burning patriotism of the Japanese has and does owe much to the profoundly sympathetic influence exercised upon them by the beauty of their surroundings.

The forests had, while the country remained secluded, maintained their primitive character, but the same influences which led to the expansion of Japanese commercial and political life also had their effect upon the extent and modes of forest utilization.

Besides a considerable increase in the home demand for timber and fuel in connection with industrial and mining enterprises, for telephone and telegraph poles, railway sleepers, various articles of manufactured wood-work, wood-pulp for paper-making, etc., the recent development in transportation facilities has awakened traders in forest products to the possibilities of profit from customers abroad, with the result that there is already a growing trade with China and Corea, as well as the beginning of a demand from the Western world.

The first result of these influences was an unequal and reckless felling of trees in unprotected areas, certain sections being quite denuded, while in Central Japan there still exist vast areas of woodland whose primitive features remain unaltered.

Owing to the fact that the empire of Japan consists of six larger and hundreds of smaller islands, all of volcanic origin, there exist within its borders extensive areas of steeply-mountainous territory, which is without practical value save for its forests and mines, and the Government is fully alive to the fact that, by scientific cultivation, these districts may remain a source of permanent income, especially in view of the fact that, in spite of the reckless waste alluded to, there still remain more than 56,000,000 acres of practically virgin forest. Of this vast area there are two general divisions, the 'Utilization Forests' and the 'Protection Forests.' The 'Protection' section is divided into two classes, 'Absolute' and 'Ordinary.' The 'Absolute' class is small, consisting of scarcely more than 12,000 acres, which is maintained intact, the felling of trees being positively forbidden. The 'Ordinary,' comprising some 1,667,421 acres, is only slightly less strenuously preserved. These two divisions of the 'Protection' areas of woodland are maintained in such districts and of such extent as may be deemed necessary and expedient for the preservation of the soil and the general welfare of the country.

All other forests in the country belong to the 'Utilization' division, and are left to the control of their owners, who may be private individuals, communes, the Imperial household, the State, or the Shinto and Buddhist temples. The properties thus held by the Imperial household and by the State are managed and cultivated in accordance with modern technical rules, and already give promise of greatly improved

productiveness. That owned by private individuals, temples, etc., is still left largely to Nature, very little having been done to increase its utility. State and Crown together, however, own about 54,000,000 acres, while not more than one-half that amount remains in miscellaneous ownership. Of this last, about one-fifth is held by different communes, which, with the general spread of public cohesion, is much the same from an economic point of view as though it were under direct Imperial supervision.

These figures do not include Formosa, of which the Government has not yet made complete surveys, and, indeed, the matter of forest territory in Japan itself, as here given, should be accepted only as a general guide, the more absolute surveys not yet being complete.

Changes of ownership have been many in modern times, but going back to feudal days, the task of tracing titles is comparatively simple, the country at that time having been divided into 264 estates among as many lords, who had absolute power over the land. Taxes and forced contributions were paid in kind, and as the products of the forest were an especial ambition of the lords, means were always adopted for increasing the supply of trees. Thus, stringent orders were enforced for the encouragement of planting and for the interdiction of reckless felling of trees, while much was done for the general protection of forests. Change and the extension of ownership brought about a condition almost of anarchy in this matter, which, added to forest fires and wholesale robberies, badly crippled small sections of many districts. Increase of population also had the effect of reducing the wooded areas, as many as 3,700,000 acres having been cleared for occupation during the first twenty years of the Restoration. Since then, however, measures have been taken to plant new forests in accordance with Government plans, so that during the years between 1891 and 1901, although 1,061,000 acres were thrown open to cultivation, 1,400,000 acres were replanted in districts unsuited to farming, thus making a net gain of 339,000 acres to the forest area, without in any way adversely affecting agriculture.

Climatic conditions being so diverse in different sections, owing to the extreme length of the country from north to south, the variety of forest growth is almost incredible, and it is estimated that no less than 800 species and varieties of forest trees are well suited for culture in Japan, covering the indigenous growths of tropical, subtropical, temperate, and arctic climes.

Of the tropical growth, the banyan heads the list, followed by several species of the palm and bamboo, the latter being

the most valuable, growing with wonderful rapidity, and being available for building purposes and for the manufacture of household articles.

The subtropical growth has been divided into three classes, the broad-leaved evergreen, broad-leaved deciduous, and pine. The species of chief importance among the broad-leaved evergreen is the camphor-tree, which is sometimes found forming extensive forests, growing where the soil is clayey and fertile, and thriving especially well where sheltered from the north winds. The wood is hard and lustrous, and of a peculiar odour. It is valued for many purposes as timber as well as for camphor, and replanting, public and private, is the rule. The pine family is best represented by the red and black pine of commerce.

In the temperate climate are included over sixty species, the more important being of the broad-leaved class, including the fir (*Chamæcyparis obtusa*), which ranks first among trees in Japan in regard to the number of uses to which it is put.

Growth in the frigid zone is stunted, the principal wood being obtained from the *Abies sachaliensis* and the *Picea ajansis*, which grow luxuriantly in places, and are largely used architecturally and for earthworks. The fibre is coarse.

VI. Marine Products

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

Fish and other marine products have constituted from olden times the most important article of food used by the Japanese people, a partiality also shared by the Chinese, who have for centuries been the principal purchasers of this product of Japanese industry. Owing to geographical position and to the direction of marine currents in the vicinity, and also to the abundance of suitable indentations along the well-wooded coast, Japan is an ideal country for the fisherman, and it is not surprising, therefore, that there are 900,000 families of fishermen or persons engaged in the marine industry, making a total of over 3,000,000 individuals, and using over 420,000 fishing-boats.

With the steady increase of population, and the greater perfection of transportation facilities in the interior, the demand for fishing products is showing a striking advance, a condition still further accelerated by the increasing demand from abroad. Under these circumstances the fishermen can no longer remain satisfied with coasting work alone, but are

obliged to a greater extent than ever before to venture into the open sea and even to the distant coasts of Corea and the South Sea Islands.

The presence of two different sets of sea currents along the coasts, while affecting the distribution of sea life, also contributes to its diversity, for although the habits of the fauna are closely related to the condition of the bottom of the sea, the relative density of the brine, the nature and quality of the food, etc., the temperature of the sea exerts above all the greatest influence in this respect. This applies with especial force to the habitat of the migratory fish, which change their abode with the movement of the sea currents.

One side of the whole length of Japan faces the Pacific Ocean, covering, including Formosa, 29 degrees of latitude; but not only in climate are these two extremes of Japan widely distinct, but in the temperature as well, as in the depth of the sea itself, there exists a great diversity. To the north of Kinkazan, in the north-east part of Honshu, is situated the greatest sea depression in the world, Tuscarora. A warm current passes to the south of this part, so that the vicinity is very rich, both in fauna and flora. A cold current runs to the north of this depression, in consequence of which the fauna and flora living to the north of Kinkazan are quite distinct from those living to the south. In the sea between the southernmost archipelago of Japan and Formosa there exists a strong warm current. The result is that in this vicinity there is abundance of migratory fish of many varieties. The Pacific shore of Formosa is precipitous, with no good anchorage for ships, and the sea is, moreover, very deep. On the other hand, the sea on the western side is of moderate depth. Through the Sea of Japan runs a branch of the Black Stream. At high tide the current moves northward through the Straits of Corea, but on the coasts of Japan the tides are very weak, and their movement irregular. Migratory fish, such as tunny, bonito, etc., enter this sea along the course of the southern warm current, but in the northern part of the sea, where the influence of a colder current predominates, the principal fish are herring, cod, and the like. Of the inland sea fisheries the largest and most important is the Sea of Okhotsk, which is generally shallow, and as the temperature varies considerably, according to the seasons, many fish which come in during the summer leave as autumn advances. The river fishing, which is also good, furnishes salmon in the northern districts of Honshu and in Hokkaido, while of fresh-water fish there are carp, eels, etc.

The fishing-boats, both for inland and deep-sea fishing, are all open and without decks, and even the largest do not exceed 50 feet in length, while the great majority do not measure

over 28 feet. Owing to the fact that fishing-boats are for the most part propelled by oars, they are without keels, and are generally flat-bottomed. The peculiar shapes of these craft are the result of long experience of the seas with which they must contend, and of the different kind of fisheries to which they are devoted. The whalers and bonito boats are made doubly strong, so that even when the masts and sails are blown away the occupants generally succeed in saving themselves by taking to their oars. Still, it is generally recognised that the boats are not built on scientific principles, and the proper authorities have recently begun to take the subject under consideration, with the effect that the European method of decking and air-tight compartments is already coming into vogue.

The different kinds of fishing-gear used are too numerous to mention, but broadly speaking they may be divided into the two usual divisions of netting and angling. The large pound net is used for capturing herring, salmon, tunny, etc., while seine nets are employed for sardine and other shoal-fish. Drift nets are used for surface-fish, and the gill net is set at the bottom of the sea for herring, cod, shrimps, etc. Dredge nets are the rule for shell-fish and sea-cucumber, and there is a contrivance called shiki-ami, or spread-net, which is laid out over the bottom and lifted up when fish happen to enter it. Angling gear is of the variety used the world over. The total number of nets used in 1891 was estimated at 1,103,978. The value of the fish taken in the year 1900 is given in the official returns as about £5,683,315, which was derived from more than forty varieties of sea life. The average number of whales taken per year during the five years ending with 1897 was 121, placed at an average value of £22,000. The value of the fishermen's investments in boats and gear was computed at about £1,240,000 in 1891, and has since increased. One of the hardest features of the fishing industry is that since the abolition of an old custom of Government loans at a low rate of interest, in order to carry the workers over from season to season, an enormous proportion of them have been obliged to have recourse to moneylenders, who extort exorbitant rates of interest, and who demand a pledge of the anticipated catch of the coming season. Under these circumstances, the lion's share of the profits goes into the coffers of the moneylenders.

Fish culture is now extensively carried on, and extends to carp, snapping turtle, gray mullet, eel, oyster, salmon, and trout. During the ten years ending with 1901 more than 17,000,000 of salmon spawn were liberated in three districts.

VII. The Leaf Tobacco Monopoly

PREPARED BY MR. NUO

(Director of the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau)

In January, 1876, the Imperial Government of Japan first brought the taxation of tobacco under a systematic regulation by putting into operation the newly-enacted 'Law Relating to the Tobacco Tax.'

Notwithstanding frequent amendments, the system of tobacco taxation thus introduced remained for some years—many years—practically unchanged, the essential feature being the imposition of a stamp duty on manufactured tobacco in addition to the business tax which the manufacturers of and dealers in tobacco had to pay in common with other classes of tradesmen.

For the successful prosecution of the various important public undertakings after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, it was considered by the Government necessary to increase the national income. This necessity was met on the one hand by the imposition of new taxes, and on the other by the increase of the existing taxes.

Of the old forms of taxation thus readjusted, the most extensively affected was the Tobacco Tax, the sale of leaf tobacco being made the Government monopoly under the 'Law of Leaf Tobacco Monopoly,' which was enacted in March, 1896. On the coming into force of that law, the previous law of taxation on tobacco was abolished.

The principal points of the new law were as follows:

Every cultivator of tobacco-leaves is required, every year, to submit to the Government a written statement about the area of his tobacco-plantation.

He is required to have the leaves examined by Government officials, both before they are harvested and after they are dried.

After they have been dried, the leaves must be brought to places indicated by the Government by the last day of March of the next year at latest.

The Government, on inspecting and judging of the qualities and classes of these leaves, pays an appropriate compensation to their cultivators, according to a schedule previously fixed and notified by the Government.

The tobacco-leaves thus handed over to the Government are to be sold at Government prices previously fixed for them.

The cultivators of tobacco-leaves are strictly prohibited

from purchasing leaf-tobacco either directly from the Government or from the dealers.

The leaves cultivated for the purpose of exportation may be sold individually under the permission of the Government, but such leaves must be placed in official custody.

In case the above-mentioned leaves have not been exported within one year after they were put in official custody, they are to be transferred to the Government on payment of appropriate compensations to their owners.

This law was put in force on the 1st of January, 1898. At the same time there were established sixty-one leaf tobacco Monopoly Offices throughout the country, where the collection, sale, and management of the leaves are carried on.

It was, however, found that some points of the law were inconvenient in practice, and consequently in March, 1899, some necessary amendments were effected, the more important of these amendments being as follows :

To regulate the districts for cultivation, and to limit the area of every cultivating field, as well as the sorts of tobacco to be cultivated, with reference to the condition of the markets.

Foreign tobacco-leaves shall be imported and sold by the Government only.

Every manufacturer of tobacco and leaf-tobacco dealer shall apply for and receive a license every year. In case of a manufacturer operating more than one factory, he is required to obtain a separate license for each factory.

Such a manufacturer or dealer shall pay 50 yen for each license mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

The tobacco-leaves may, if necessary, be sold at auction, instead of at the prices fixed for them.

The object aimed at by these amendments is :

To prevent overcultivation.

To secure the more perfect management of the monopoly.

To reserve the power of importing tobacco-leaves to the Government, thus enabling the maintenance of a proper balance of prices between the domestic and foreign leaves.

To prevent smuggling.

To safeguard against unprofitable sales.

This amended law was put in operation on the 22nd of March, 1899, and the districts for cultivation, after careful investigations, were regulated in November, 1900, while the varieties of tobacco and the areas of cultivating fields were indicated in 1901. Thus, the fields were well arranged, the method of cultivation was improved, and, moreover, the importation of foreign leaves was kept within the limits required for the manufacture of imitation foreign cigarettes. Yet the

secret cultivation and smuggling of leaves were not entirely prevented. For this and other reasons it became necessary to introduce further amendments into the monopoly system.

The chief points of the newly-revised Law of the Leaf Tobacco Monopoly, which came into force on the 29th of April, are as follows:

Every cultivator of tobacco should receive permission of the Government.

The cultivators are obliged to cultivate tobacco according to the methods and processes prescribed by the Government.

The harvest quantity and the number of leaves shall be investigated and estimated by the Government; but if the cultivator is dissatisfied with such estimate, objection may be made at once.

When such objection is made, two or more appraisers shall be selected, and after hearing their opinions the point at issue shall be decided by the Government.

When a cultivator, without sufficient reasons, fails to deliver to the monopoly office the quantity or number of leaves officially estimated, he shall be required to pay an amount of money corresponding to the value of the deficient quantity or number of leaves.

Leaves may be sold to exporters by the Government at special prices, but such leaves shall be put in the custody of the Government until their actual exportation.

The manufacturers' guild, which every manufacturer is required to join, shall be established according to law.

The system thus amended is now in force, and brief as is the period of its operation, its working has been very successful. At first there were sixty-one Leaf Tobacco Monopoly Offices, but afterwards, instead of them, there were established a Central Bureau and its forty-three branch offices, the former in Tokyo, and the latter at different important places throughout the country.

Herewith are given some statistics concerning tobacco since 1894:

PROFIT OR LOSS ARISING FROM LEAF TOBACCO MONOPOLY.

Year.	Profit or Loss. Yen.
1897	189,016 (loss).
1898	4,592,481 (profit).
1899	6,820,077 „
1900	7,244,159 „
1901	12,814,298 „

(The loss in 1897 was owing to the fact that it was the first year in which the law was carried out in practice.)

YIELD OF TOBACCO REVENUE UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM.

Year.	Amount of Revenues. Licences. Yen.	Stamp Duties. Yen.	Total. Yen.
1894	378,617·500	2,302,042·806	2,680,660·308
1895	389,197·500	2,345,874·544	2,735,072·044
1896	207,292·500	2,770,431·659	2,977,724·159

NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS, AREAS OF CULTIVATED FIELDS, AND QUANTITIES OF HARVEST.

Year.	Number of Cultivators.	Areas of Fields. Cho.	Quantities of Harvest. Kwan.
1894	—	35,393	9,451,304
1895	—	38,135	8,673,911
1896	897,859	21,865	8,667,763
1897	846,774	26,465	9,629,886
1898	349,506	26,276	8,278,151
1899	573,485	42,161	13,311,821
1900	420,693	37,442	12,984,795
1901	244,024	23,024	7,906,608

VIII. THE GOVERNMENT STEEL WORKS

BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE STEEL WORKS

THE importance of inaugurating the iron industry in this country on modern principles, both in regard to military and to industrial requirements, was early perceived by the Government, which once attempted to undertake that task by the establishment of a model iron and steel works at Kamaishi. This attempt ended, however, in failure, as did the attempt to induce private enterprise to take the matter up by the offer of a Government subsidy; and the project was accordingly allowed to remain in abeyance, when the Government decided to make a second attempt to establish the necessary works itself.

With this object in view, it submitted to the Diet in 1890 and 1891 estimates of the necessary expenditures, but on both these occasions the proposal of the Government was rejected by the members of the Diet on the ground that the information furnished by the Government with regard to the Works had not been sufficiently explicit in respect of the amount of raw material available in Japan.

The members of the House of Peers insisted, however, on the necessity of furthering the investigation, and in pursuance of their proposal a Committee was nominated by the Government,

to report on a number of subjects in this connection—among others, of the following: (1) The amount of iron ore obtainable in Japan; (2) the trial manufacture of pig-iron and steel; (3) the organization of the works.

This Committee was successful in furnishing an elaborate and exhaustive report on the questions submitted to them; but the Government, being dissatisfied with the report in question, ordered a new Committee to make further investigations on the same subjects. This was done, and subsequently the trial manufacture of iron was successfully carried out at Kamaishi by the Committee, under the personal supervision of Viscount Enomoto, the then Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

Encouraged by the favourable completion of the various preliminary investigations, the Government finally decided to put its scheme into practice, and with that object in view, it applied to the Diet in the ninth session for the disbursement of the sum of 4,195,793·41 yen as expenses for the establishment of the Works. The Government's proposals were passed unanimously by both Houses. On March 30 an Imperial Edict regarding the official organization of the Works was issued.

In February of the same year the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce announced that Yawatamura, Onga-gori, Chikuzen, in the Prefecture of Fukuoka, had been selected as the site of the new Works. The necessary land was purchased soon afterwards, and the survey of the ground and the foundations was at once begun. In the meantime, Mr. Oshima, Technical Director, aud three engineers belonging to the works were sent abroad to examine the existing condition of the steel manufacturing works in foreign countries, and also to seek the opinion of the noted experts in Europe and America on the various subjects connected with the new undertaking. As a result of the careful inquiries made by these gentlemen, it was found that the original estimates of the cost of construction were too small to admit of the successful carrying out of the plan which had been adopted by the Government.

In 1898 the Diet was applied to for a further sum of 6,474,056 yen, the application being presented in the form of a supplementary Budget. The expenditure for the establishment of the works was thus increased to an aggregate total of 10,569,849 yen, which was to be defrayed during the four years ending 1901. The attention of the authorities was also directed to the importance of securing for the Works cheap and regular supplies of ore and coal, etc., as well as to the advisability of facilitating water-transportation, owing to the abundance of goods coming to and leaving the Works all the year round. The Government therefore submitted to the Diet in February,

1899, estimates of 8,632,845 yen, including 4,500,000 yen for subsidizing the Wakamatsu Harbour Improvement Works. The amount of the expenditures appropriated for the establishment of the Works was thus increased to 19,200,000 yen approximately, by the addition of the working capital. Thanks to the indefatigable and unremitting exertions of the officials in charge, the construction works have been almost entirely completed, and the working of the No. 1 Blast Furnace and Open Hearth was commenced on the 5th of February and the 30th of May respectively. The Rolling Mill Plant also commenced work soon afterwards.

The Works are situated at Yawatamachi, Onga-gori, Chikuzen, Prefecture of Fukuoka, near Wakamatsu (well known for the exportation of Kiushu coal), and extend over an area of about 90 hectares at present, but are intended to be enlarged hereafter.

By sea the distance from Shimonoseki or Moji to Wakamatsu Harbour is ten English miles, and from the said harbour to the Works somewhat above two miles. Within the harbour of Wakamatsu the depth of the water is, up to the loading-place of the railway, at ebb-tide 15 feet, and from the loading-place to the quay between 10 and 14 feet. The former part is now being dredged, and will be made 20 feet in depth.

By the Kyushyu railway, which is connected with the lines within the Works, it takes forty-three minutes to go from Moji to the Works.

As to the water-supply, a conduit leads the water from Itabitsu River to the Works, and distributes it over all parts of them. The quantity of water thus supplied is, at the lowest water-level, 3,000 litres per minute, at the ordinary water-level 6,000 litres. Moreover, two reservoirs are now being built.

The loading-place is connected by railway-lines with the Kyushyu railway, as well as with each part of the Works. These lines being built according to the regulations made for the construction of railways in Japan, any train coming from any part of Japan may be led directly to any point of the Works. The length of railway-lines within the Works amounts to ten English miles at present, but will amount to seventeen miles hereafter.

Also the Works have now under construction a quay wall, which is 630 metres long, with a water-depth of 20 feet at ebb-tide. When completed, three or four steamers of 2,000 to 3,000 tons displacement will be able to load and unload cargo simultaneously alongside the wall. The basin for the accommodation of junks and shallow-draught vessels measures 49,000 square metres, and has a water frontage of 740 metres for handling cargo. The depth at ebb-tide is 8 feet.

Three kinds of motive power are used in the Works—viz., steam, electric, and hydraulic power. With the sole exception of locomotives, steam power is produced in steam boilers, fired with waste gas from blast-furnaces and coke ovens. But while electric power furnishes about 1,500 horse-power and hydraulic power 200 horse-power, there are fifty-two steam-boilers of about 10,000 horse-power altogether, the number of steam-engines being twenty-four, of 31,200 horse-power on the whole. The offices and the different workshops are lighted interiorly and exteriorly by electric light, about 120 arc and 1,000 incandescent lamps being employed for the purpose.

Three coal-mines lying close to one another in Kahogori, Chikuzen—namely, Takao, Igisu, and Uruno, have been purchased by the Works, together with two iron-mines, known as Akadani and Kano, in Kambara-gori, Echigo. Works have already been started in the Akadani Mine, and will be completed in the course of the present year. It is expected to get an annual output of 100,000 tons, the total amount of hematite iron ore in sight being estimated at 3,800,000 tons approximately. Besides the above, the Works have concluded a contract with the Hang-Yang Iron-Works for the supply of ore from their mines in Taya, Hupeh, China, to the amount of 5,000 to 7,000 tons per annum.

The products of the Works are Bessemer and open-hearth steel. The raw material mostly consumed is magnetite and hematite, besides a much smaller quantity of limonite. Those ores are obtained partly from mines belonging to the Works, partly from other mines in Japan, and partly also from China. Coal is furnished by fields belonging to the Works, as well as by such in private possession, all fields being within 30 English miles of the Works, and connected with them by railway-lines.

The pig-iron department consists firstly of a coke oven and coal-washing plant, the latter having a capacity of 1,200 tons per 24 hours; secondly, the blast-furnace plant, supplied with ore and flux-bins, roasting-furnaces, blast-furnaces, hot stoves (8), Lancashire boilers (24), blowing-engines (4), casting-shed, condensers, cooling towers, electric cranes, and hoists, etc. The steel department is divided into four sections—viz., mixer plant, Bessemer plant, open-hearth plant, and steel-foundry. The rolling-mill department is very extensive, occupying no less than thirteen buildings, and, like every other section of the Works, is fitted with the most up-to-date appliances and plant. The iron foundry, repair shop, smithy, pattern shop, boiler-house, chemical and mechanical laboratory, inspection bureau, and general offices are also housed in large and substantial structures. According to the elaborate inquiries made

by the Committee specially appointed on the question of steel-works, the iron foundry may not only expect great success in future, but is already producing 150 tons or more of superior rails daily. The favourable prospects, coupled with the immediate demand for enormous quantities of steel, on account of the extension of railway-lines and naval armaments, have induced the Government to accomplish the task by increasing the necessary capital. The machines of all descriptions and other arrangements being set in order, the operation of the Works is coming into a flourishing condition, though it occurred at first that the original estimates of cost of construction were too small to admit of the successful carrying out of the plan. This was misunderstood by the public to be failure of the Works itself. The Committee considered it expedient that it should be run as a private company, on the ground that the Works could thus be released from the restrictive interference put on the management thereof, which they consider as inseparable under an official organization. In so far as the suggestions of the Committee do not affect the welfare of the Works, the Government will take the course it thinks best.

The Steel-Foundry in Kure.

Manufacturing of steel was first tried about twenty-five years ago, and was continued on a very small scale up to 1895. Only shells of 12 centimetres and quick-firing guns of 47 millimetres could be made, all other kinds of guns being supplied by foreign countries. The last Chinese War afforded a good opportunity for extension of the weapons manufacturing works. Especially the naval arsenal in Kure, which had worked hitherto chiefly for repairs, underwent a great extension. New workshops were built and new machines purchased. The number of workmen employed rose from 67 in 1895 to 5,400 in 1900. Almost every kind of projectile can be produced there, several hundreds of guns under 8 inches have already been manufactured, and when all parts of the new workshops are completed, those of 12 inches may also be made.

Going one step further, it is now proposed to establish a new steel-foundry in Kure for manufacturing armour-plates.

According to the plan consented to in Parliament, the new workshops will be built in four years from 1903. The total amount of the expense is estimated at 6,340,093 yen, which are added to the continual expense for 1894 to 1903 of 110,344 yen for the extension of the Kure arsenal. The expense will be defrayed from out of the general *comptabilité*, no new taxation or loan being wanted for it. The items of the new expenses and their annual amounts are as follows:

		1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Machines	5,607,000	1,108,000	1,503,900	1,510,350	1,484,750
Building of workshops	682,889	165,978	284,617	230,293	—
Wages and journey expenses	50,204	18,174	14,005	18,024	—
Total ..	6,340,093	1,292,152	1,802,522	1,760,668	1,484,750

The workshops will be completed in 1905, and from 1906 actual work will be commenced. The annual amount of production will be 3,800 tons. The plates will be used for new men-of-war to be built by means of the Navy Preservation Fund.

IX. The Petroleum Industry.

The last few years have seen a great development in the production of petroleum from the oil-fields of Japan, and in 1901 the output was valued at £227,841. No sooner was it ascertained that oil was present in considerable quantities than special experts were despatched to Russia and to America to gain first-hand knowledge of the subject. The Government arranged for a special survey of the oil territory by the Geological Survey of Tokyo, at an expense of 10,000 yen. The fact that Japan consumes 60,000,000 gallons of oil, of which the greater portion is imported, makes the Government anxious to encourage the development of the Japanese oil-fields. In this work the Japanese have been assisted by American capital and American machinery. The Standard Oil Company of America has considerable interest in the oil-fields of Japan. These oil-fields are principally situated in the province of Echigo, but also extend from Tornioso in the south to Hokkaido in the north. Until a few years ago only the Echigo fields were largely worked.

The oil is found chiefly in the upper Eocene of the Tertiary formation, although it is found in small quantities in the diluvium and alluvium. It is contained in shale and sandstone between impervious layers under pressure, so that it escapes sometimes under considerable force. The wells vary in depth from 300 feet to 2,000 feet.

The Japanese crude oil resembles more closely Russian and Californian oil than Pennsylvanian. It may be taken to provide 50 per cent. of burning oil. The following are the principal oil districts now being developed :

The Amaze field, on the western coast, which comprises the Amaze, the Miyagawa, and Gendoji wells; the Nagaoka field, which comprises the Hirei, Kitatani, and Katsudo wells; the Miitsu field; and the Hiyama field.

There are many small refineries with a daily capacity of 4,214 barrels but they are not very well equipped. The International Oil Company's refinery at Naoetsu, controlled by the Standard Oil Company, is really efficient, and capable of refining more oil than has ever been supplied to it. There are already 150 miles of pipe lines in existence, owned by five different companies, while one of the most enterprising firms—the Japan Oil Company—is considering the advisability of laying 200 miles of 5 and 6 inch pipes between the Echigo fields and Tokyo.

Every year new fields are discovered and developed. In 1886 the output was 40,113 kokus, in 1896 it was 208,400 kokus, and in 1901 it had reached 983,799 kokus.

CHAPTER XIX

FOREIGN TRADE

BY MR. YAMAZAKI,
Of the Imperial Finance Department

IT may be said that the rapid progress of foreign trade which the Far Eastern island empire has made during some thirty years is a well-known fact to all the world. It may be said, too, that the smallness or non-existence of the foreign commerce of Japan in former times was evidently due to her national policy of seclusion, and therefore so much weight cannot be laid on the great increase in recent years, rapid and great though it was. Apart from this, however, the prosperous state of her foreign trade can be seen easily through the fact that the total imports and exports, which only amounted to £30,000,000 in value in 1897, rose to £40,000,000 in 1898, £50,000,000 in 1901, and £60,000,000 in 1903.

If we compare her trade with that of China, which has a land area two-and-twenty times as large as, and a population nine and a half times that of Japan, no one can deny that the commercial expansion of Japan is something that cannot be ignored. The following table shows the amount of the export trade of both countries in short:

Year.	Exports of Japan.	Exports of China.
	£	£
1893	8,971,000	16,211,000
1898	16,575,000	20,515,000
1903	28,950,000	27,437,000

It will be noticed that the export trade of Japan was about one-half that of China ten years ago, and it surpassed the latter last year. The following table shows what kinds of goods take the principal parts in the export trade of Japan:

	Percentage.
Silk goods	39·6
Cotton goods	13·7
Coal	6·6
Metals and metal manufactures	6·3
Tea	4·5
Matches	2·8
Chemicals, dyes, and paints	2·5
Marine products	2·4
Grains	1·7
Mats	1·6
Straw braid	1·3
Porcelain	1·1
Others	15·9
Total	100·0

The above are the proportions of the principal goods in 1903, and from this it will be seen that raw silk, silk tissues, and cotton yarns together, occupy more than half of the whole exports. Of these, the exportation of cotton yarn, which now ranks second in value, is of quite recent origin. It is only eleven years since Japan began to sell cotton yarn abroad, during which time the yearly export has leaped up to the sum of £3,000,000.

Although the cotton industry is no doubt the most successful element, there are few articles of export which have not doubled their amounts during the last decade. The following figures show the relative proportion of increase during the eleven years 1893-1903:

EXPORTS.

	1893.	1903.
Cotton yarn	1·00	530·94
Cigarettes	1·00	69·26
Paper	1·00	44·80
Green tea (basket fire)	1·00	4·75
Salt	1·00	5·86
Beer	*1·00	7·76
Saké	1·00	15·40
Camphor	1·00	2·70
Menthol crystal	1·00	14·68
Sulphur	1·00	3·96
Copper	1·00	9·21
Iron manufactures	1·00	15·61
Furs	1·00	5·25
Raw silk	1·00	2·64
Habutæ (silk tissue)	1·00	8·72
Kaiki (silk tissue)	*1·00	4·28
Gray shirtings	*1·00	13·31

* Figures of 1896 are taken

EXPORTS (*continued*).

	1893.	1903.
T-cloths	*1·00	42·22
Cotton undershirts	1·00	5·94
Towels	*1·00	4·94
Brushes	*1·00	7·53
Clocks	*1·00	4·56
Coral	1·00	18·91
Lamps	*1·00	2·32
Straw plait	1·00	10·01

As most of the above-mentioned goods are those which used to be imported from foreign countries not many years ago, these proportions show not only the progress in those branches of export trade, but in a far greater degree the industrial development at home.

Turning to the imports, the trade returns for 1903 show that nearly 60 per cent. of the total import trade consists of six articles—these are raw cotton, 20·7 per cent.; rice, 16·4 per cent.; sugar, 6·6 per cent.; woollen goods, 5·1 per cent.; kerosene, 3·6 per cent.; iron manufactures, 6·9 per cent. Besides these, machinery, engines, cotton goods, manures, drugs, dyes, paints, flour, etc., are the goods of which Japan imports a supply from foreign countries.

As rice is the principal food-stuff, it has to be remarked that its importation, which amounted to 12,000,000 picul in the last year, was no doubt due to the bad Japanese crop in 1902, and that from the experience of the previous nine years the average deficit of home supply was 2,500,000 picul.

Taking the figures of 1903 and reckoning the imports to and the exports from Japan, her external commercial relations are in the following proportion to the various foreign countries:

	Percentage.
Great Britain and British Colonies ...	31·5
United States of America and Philippine ...	22·1
China	18·2
France and French India	9·9
Germany	5·3
Korea	3·4
Holland and Dutch India	2·1
Russia	1·9
Italy	1·9
Belgium	1·3
Austria-Hungary	0·8
Other countries	1·6
Total	100·0

* Figures of 1896 are taken.

CHAPTER XX

MINING

I. General Survey

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

The geological formation of the Japanese islands may be described briefly as follows: In the sedimentary formations those belonging to the Archæan are gneiss and crystalline schist systems, which are distributed over about 3·78 per cent. of the total area; those belonging to the Palæozoic are the Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous systems, forming about 7·95 per cent.; and those belonging to the Kainozoic are the Tertiary and Quaternary rocks, forming 45·84 per cent., or nearly one-half of the total area. In the igneous rocks, those belonging to the older periods are granite, quartz, diorite, gabbro, diabase, porphyry, and porphyrite, which cover 11·27 per cent. The eruption of granite is especially prominent in the formation. Those belonging to the younger periods are andesite basalt, and liparite, which form 20·92 per cent.

Nothing accurately is known of the origin of the Japanese mining industry, but it is a matter of record that as early as the seventh and eighth centuries gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, and petroleum were produced.

During the fifteenth century many mines were opened, but the workings were carried on on a small scale, and attracted little attention. The tools consisted of a hammer and a small wedge. A drift was generally driven on a mountain-side or in a valley, and the ores were mined from outcrops and along the vein. So narrow and winding were the mine roads that workmen going single file walked with difficulty. Small timber supports were used to sustain the roof and sides, while in lieu of ladders were upright timbers serrated to facilitate climbing. Under such conditions, the ventilation and drainage were so bad as frequently to extinguish the lights, but so little did the miners appreciate the danger, that they were

accustomed to continue work in perfect darkness. These men rarely lived to reach five-and-twenty years of age.

Because of the difficulties of transportation through these narrow passages little children were employed in carrying ore from the mines in small baskets.

Gutters were cut on either side of the mine roads to carry off the natural flow of water, and bamboo or other wooden pumps and pipes were sometimes employed to clear the lower depths. A severe influx of water generally resulted in the permanent abandonment of the shaft, yet under all these disadvantages and dangers the sturdy workers frequently penetrated to a depth of 1,000 feet, and extended their operations over an area of several miles.

Milling was carried on by women and old men, who broke the ore and picked by hand. The selected ores of gold, silver, copper, or lead were put into a stone furnace and calcined with fuel. The calcined ore next was placed in a U-shaped furnace made in the ground, and melted by the bellows system. In the case of gold and silver ores a proper quantity of lead was added and argentiferous lead was formed, which was separated by smelting in another furnace. Copper was generally first roasted, and then the calcined ore put into a furnace for fusion over a charcoal fire. When the ore was melted down, the slag was removed and the molten matter cooled by the application of water, or directly subjected to desilverization by a process known as *mabuki*. The matter produced by the latter process was again calcined, and then removed to a hearth furnace and melted. If there was still any slag left the molten 'matter' was allowed to settle, and if found free from impurities, this was called 'black copper.'

As may be imagined, the inefficiency of these methods occasioned a large proportion of waste. This débris is now frequently reclaimed and reduced at a profit.

In 1867, during the last few days of the Shogunate Government, an Englishman named Erasmus Gower introduced into the country the use of explosives in mining, and at about the same period an American named Pumpelly used an explosive in a lead mine in Hokkaido. In the first year of the Restoration (1868) Kauso Nabeshima, feudal lord of Saga, in conjunction with an Englishman named Glover, sunk the first European shaft in Sakashima.

With the new order of things the Imperial Government took over the mining business, and placed the Sado, Ikuno, Muoi, Aui, Kosaka, Kamaisha, and Okuya metal mines, as well as the Sakashima and Miike collieries, under its direct control. Foreign managers were employed, foreign systems were adopted in mining, smelting, and transportation, and at the same time

(1871) an engineering school was established for instruction in mining and metallurgy. The immediate result was a remarkable and permanent advance in these branches of scientific knowledge. Having accomplished its object, the Government began releasing its mines, to be worked under private ownership, and these private owners, now backed by adequate experience and scientific knowledge, proceeded further to perfect the system and to expand the field of action.

Minerals and mineral ores as recognised by Japanese mining law are as follows :

Gold (sand gold excluded), silver, copper, lead, tin (sand tin excluded), hematite, antimony, quicksilver, zinc, iron (sand iron excluded), manganese and arsenic, plumbago, coals, kerosene, sulphur, bismuth, phosphorus, peat, and asphalt.

Since 1900 foreigners have been able legally to hold mining concessions in Japan, provided they work under Japanese laws. In the matter of trial boring, the right of priority of discovery is not recognised, this right being granted to the one who has first applied for it. The reasons given for this are, first, the difficulty of proving an alleged discovery, and, second, the belief that an accidental discovery should not be regarded as a claim for special privilege. The concessionaire of rights of trial boring is admirably protected by Government, but the period is only one year, to be extended for another year when considered right and necessary by the authorities. Further, the right of trial boring may not be transferred to a third person, nor given as security in any way.

Permanent boring rights are now not limited as to time, and the concessionaire is free to deal with his equity in the usual ways. The scope of a concession has been limited to a minimum of 10,000 tsubo and a maximum of 600,000 tsubo for coal and 3,000 tsubo to 600,000 tsubo for other minerals.

These arbitrary limitations have been fixed in order to prevent the appearance of too large a number of small concessions, or of a limited number of overlaw concessions on the other hand. But under certain conditions, the combination of two or more concessions is permitted to exceed the maximum of 600,000 tsubo.

Each concessionaire must submit for the approval of the chief of the Mining Inspection Office in whose jurisdiction the consession is situated the working plan upon which he has decided. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce may revoke a concession upon which work is suspended, and he also requires a semi-annual plan of the existing condition of the mine ; his approval must be gained where concessions are to be amalgamated or split up, and if it be discovered that the location and shape of a concession differs from that shown in

the plan submitted, the Minister may order the concession marked out anew, under penalty of cancellation of rights.

The right of priority does not vest in the owner of land on which a discovery of minerals is made. The owner of land cannot refuse to lease to a concessionaire such surface rights as are requisite for the undertaking, but he is granted suitable rent and damages, and may demand security for his rent. Further, the owner of land may force the concessionaire to purchase land which he has used for mining purposes for not less than three years.

Subject to the supervision of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, the divisional chiefs of the Mining Inspection Offices have large measure of control in matters affecting the safety of architectural construction both in the mines and in connection with mining, in the protection of the life and health of workmen, and in the protection of the surface of land and of public interests affected by mining.

Strict control also is exercised over the use of explosives, ventilation, construction of chimneys and boilers, provisions against accidents, etc.

The taxes on mining, after passing through various phases, have lately been fixed at 30 sen per 1,000 tsubo on the lease, and, iron excepted, 1 per cent. of the value of the output. The value of the product is determined by the principal market quotations, or, failing that, by the actual sale price.

Sand ore diggings are distinguished by the law from other kinds of ore, in this case the right of priority being granted to the landowner. No foreigner is allowed to hold an interest in this industry, either as a private individual or as a member of a company.

Of mining concessions there were 5,866 in 1901, while 6,862 trial-boring rights were in course of investigation. The chief exports from the mines are coal, from which, in 1901, the amount sent to foreign countries brought in £1,750,000; and copper, which realized £1,390,000 in the same year.

With the growing demand for copper, this metal, of which Japan has unknown quantities, is to be regarded as one of the great national assets. The richest known copper mine in Japan is the 'Innai,' which consists, in the sedimentary rocks, of the Tertiary and Diluvial strata, and in the igneous rocks, of porphyrite, vitro andesite, and pyropene andesite. The veins are embedded in the porphyrite. The principal veins are the Motoli, Astumili, Usumili, and Gorojoli, which are branched off from the Houhi. This latter is from 2 to 18 feet. The Ashio copper mine and its vicinity are formed of the Palæozoic strata, penetrated by a series of liparite, in which latter are found the veins, some thirty or more in number,

striking out from south-west to north-east, and from east to west. The widths of the three principal veins are 33·20 feet and 6 feet respectively.

The Besshi mine contains a vein occurring in the schistic strata, which averages 10 to 20 feet. The ore is copper pyrite, containing a great amount of iron pyrites.

None of the coal seams of the country occur in the carboniferous system, which is known as the chief coal-producing formation in Europe and America. The oldest of Japanese coal-bearing strata are in the rocks of the Mesozoic era. The representatives of this are the anthracite fields extending over the districts of Mine, Hirose, and Toyora, in the province of Nagato; another in the Amakusa district, province of Higo; and the coal-field of Higashi-muro district, in the province of Kii. So numerous and extensive are the coal-fields that even to give a fair idea of their locations and qualities would require a chapter by itself, but some idea of the progress of the coal-mining industry may be gained from the fact that in 1901 there were twenty-two mines from each of which more than 100,000 tons of coal were taken, and that these twenty-two mines alone produce a total of more that 4,500,000 tons. Of this amount the Miike, province of Chikugo, furnished 905,738 tons.

In 1890 the Mining Law, which is still in force, was enacted. According to this law, special concessions or permission of the Minister for Agriculture and Commerce is required for the mining enterprise or the exploration of mines. Of two or more applications for one and the same place, the preference is given to that of the earliest date. The period allowed for exploration is limited to one year (in special cases prolongation within one year is permitted), for which term no other person may apply for the same kind of mineral in the same region. The extent of one mining area must be more than 10,000 tsubo (about 8·16 acres) in the case of coal-mines, in other cases more than 3,000 tsubo (about 2·45 acres), and not exceed 60,000 tsubo (about 49·014 acres). For the sake of the administration of the mining industry the whole country is divided into five districts, each of which has a mining inspection office. Each miner is obliged to make a mining programme every year, which, after being examined and sanctioned by the director of the Mining Inspection Office, must be strictly followed out. In case the miner fails to deliver the programme in proper time, the concession may be repealed. The same applies, also, if the mining enterprise or exploration is prejudicial to the public welfare, if the mining work is discontinued for one full year, or not started before one full year from the date of concession, if the concession or the permission has been given by mistake, or been obtained by fraudulent means, or if the situation and

formation of the mining sett is in discordance with the natural formation of the ore deposit in such a manner as is unfit for the full exploitation of the mines. In all these cases, however, application to the Court of Administrative Litigation is allowed. The director of the Mining Inspection Office is authorized, if he find some part of the mining work injurious to the public welfare or dangerous, to order the temporary suspension of the mining work, or proper arrangements for the prevention of the injury or danger. Special facilities are given to the miner, that he may, with the permission of the director of the Mining Inspection Office, survey any part of the land belonging to other persons without the consent of the owner, and that no one may reject his request to lease any land except railway, tramway, public road, river, lake, dyke, park, building site, etc., if he want it for erecting refineries or other buildings, for constructing road, tramway, railway, etc. It may be added that prior to 1900, Japanese subjects only were allowed to undertake mining industry or become the partners or shareholders of a mining company, but according to the amendment introduced in the same year, any Japanese subject or any company organized in accordance with the Japanese Commercial Code may undertake mining industry in Japan, so that foreigners may now take part in the mining industry in Japan as partners or shareholders of a mining company.

In 1893 a special law for placer mining was enacted, which contained in the main articles of the same purport with those of the Mining Law.

The output of the principal mineral products for the year 1901 was as follows:

		£
Gold		326,178
Silver		205,530
Copper		1,625,244
Lead		24,640
Iron		1,375
Pig-iron	204,146	
Matte	3,288	
Wrought-iron	17,231	
Steel	70,101	
		294,766
Sulphate of iron		2,778
Silica		163
Quicksilver		168
Carried forward		2,480,842

		£
Brought forward ..		2,480,842
Antimony:		
Refined	11,785	
Sulphate	1,695	
		13,480
Manganese	..	10,846
Coal:		
Bituminous ..	..3,020,720	
Anthracite ..	.. 23,040	
Natural coke ..	.. 15,536	
		3,059,296
Lignite	..	1,634
Petroleum	..	227,841
Sulphur	..	38,612
Black-lead	..	1,743
Total	..	5,834,294

II. The Mining Industry and the Ashio Copper-mine

Specially prepared under Mr. Furukawa's* supervision

The largest copper-producing country in the world is at present the United States of America, while Spain and Chili follow. Japan takes the third rank, although her name does not appear in the statistics. Even if her name does appear, it occupies the lowest rank, in spite of the fact that her producing capacity is never lower than third. The amount of copper produced in Japan in 1899 was 40,459,709 catties (1 catty equals about 1⅓ pounds), of which over 10,000,000 catties were produced in the Ashio Mines. Besides being the most important mine in point of production, Ashio is also the most advanced in methods of working, and it is noteworthy that all of the thousands of men and officials and engineers employed are Japanese. There are many copper-mines in Japan, the noted ones numbering as many as fifteen or sixteen, while Ashio alone supplies a quarter of the whole amount of Japan's copper production. The Besshi Mine ranks next to Ashio, but its production has never been more than one-half of that of Ashio. The others are comparatively small mines.

Japan, being one of the old countries of the world, was not ignorant of the work of mining and metallurgy. This was, of course, not only known, but practised, in the earliest times; but in Japan the work was limited to the demand of coal for domestic consumption, and so was of slow development. Moreover, in the days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, foreign trade

* Mr. Furukawa died in 1903.

having been prohibited, the export of mining products was completely stopped. The gold, silver, copper, iron, and other mines in those days were all worked by the Government, and even after the Restoration, when foreign trade was permitted, the principal mines in the country continued to be worked by the Government in such an extravagant way as to prevent them from becoming paying concerns. The other mines that were worked by private capital were not more successful, on account of the want of sufficient capital, and also because of the primitive way of working.

While the mineral wealth of the country was thus undeveloped, Mr. Furukawa undertook to work the Ashio Mine, which under his guidance and leadership has become practically the most successful mining business in Japan financially. In this way he proved the possibility of the successful and economical working of a mine as a private undertaking.

In 1885 Mr. Furukawa bought from the Government the Innai Silver-mine and the Ani Copper-mine, and when the work became fairly established under his management he invested further sums, and became the owner of practically all the principal mines in the northern portion of the Main Island. The work thus acquired was extended and established on a sound basis, gradually proving a business success. The formation of a Copper Syndicate in Europe led to the price of copper suddenly appreciating, thus increasing Mr. Furukawa's profit. The syndicate having been found to be speculative in its transactions, Mr. Furukawa, instead of selling his copper direct to the syndicate, sold it through Messrs. Jardine and Co., to which company he bound himself to sell his total annual production at a fixed price for a term of three years. By this arrangement he luckily escaped the loss consequent upon the disappearance of the syndicate. He utilized all the profits he thus obtained to introduce improvements in the workings of his mines, of which the smelting works received his principal attention. In 1893 he introduced the Bessemer system of smelting matter. He was not only the first in Japan to adopt that system, but the first to adapt the system to copper-mines. Seeing also the necessity of introducing the most improved methods in reduction work, he established the Shinonome reduction system in all his copper-mines in the north-eastern district. In Tokyo he established the Copper Refining Works, where electric refining is employed and copper wires are manufactured. He also has a coke factory, which supplies his smelting furnaces with its output. The mines and factories owned by Mr. Furukawa are as follows:

Ashio Copper-mine, Ani Copper-mine, Daira Lead-mine, Hachimori Silver-mine, Shinonome Reduction Work, Furogura

Copper-mine, Nagamatsu Copper-mine, Otori Copper-mine, Mizusawa Copper-mine, Kusakura Copper-mine, Kune Copper-mine, Katsuno Coal-mine (in Kyushyu), Tokyo Copper Refining Works, Tokyo Coke Factory.

In carrying out the work of the above mines and factories, Mr. Furukawa depended solely on his own capital. He had no partner in his extensive business.

Mr. Furukawa devoted himself to mining, and to his energy is due the present advanced state of the Japanese mining industry. His own opinions on the subject of mining are expressed in the following sentences:

'Since I determined to give myself up to the mining enterprise, I have never engaged in any other business; nor have I allowed myself to be prevailed on by some of my friends, who advised me to quit my present position and take up a far more profitable one in the business world. Secluded as I am in remote mountains, the life of a miner seems to be invariably monotonous and uninteresting; but, far from being so, it very much resembles that of a planter in a new territory, who must be provided with all that is necessary for the preservation of life. For their health and education miners have to establish schools and hospitals. There must be some charity arrangements for the benefit of the poor and the down-trodden. As places of public worship, temples and shrines are erected among the inhabitants, roads and railways must be constructed to facilitate public communication. For the supply of daily necessaries of life market-places must be established and kept opened. These, together with other innumerable affairs indispensable for human existence, go to make up the miner's life—a miniature representation of a national life. How exulting would it be for a commoner to be crowned King of a nation, small though it be! Yet such a triumphant rejoicing awaits an enterprising miner who dares to sacrifice all to his main purpose.'

Everything received his personal supervision, though his son, Mr. Junkichi Furukawa was at the head of the business department. Numerous experts and other officials are employed in the different departments of this extensive concern. The number of employés at the end of 1900 was:

Officials	781
Sub-officials	121
Assistants	268
Miners, etc.	18,136
Total ...	19,706

These numbers are subject to increase by temporary service employed from time to time.

The Ashio Copper-mine is situated in the province of Shimotsuke, close to Nikko; its exact position is latitude 36° 30′ north and longitude 0° 20′ west. The highest part of the mine is 4,400 feet above the sea-level. The office of the mine, even, which is situated in a valley, lies as high as 2,580 feet above the sea-level. It was in A.D. 1610 that the existence of copper here was first discovered, and from the year following the Tokugawa Shogunate undertook the work as a source of revenue. The copper used in the magnificent temples of Shiba, Uyeno and Nikko was all supplied from this mine. In Yedo (the present Tokyo), Osaka, and Nagasaki, depots were established for selling the copper produced. The amount of copper produced in those days is difficult to ascertain, but one-fifth of the amount sold in those depots is said to have been bought by the Dutch and exported. The work of the mine has not been free from vicissitudes, but its richness is so great that even to-day its possibilities cannot be adequately estimated, and the mine still continues to be a most promising and paying concern.

At the commencement of the New Era (the Restoration period), 1867-68, the mine, then under the control of the Nikko Prefecture, encountered its greatest adversity, and the enterprise was far from prosperous. In 1871 the work was transferred from the Government to private undertakings, but this only resulted in an increase in the amount of production of some 25 or 26 tons a year.

In 1877, however, the work began to show signs of improvement owing to the joint efforts of Messrs. Ichiu Furukawa, Eiichi Shibusawa (now Baron), and Naomichi Shiga; later the last two gentlemen transferred their interests to Mr. Furukawa, who thus became the sole owner of the mine.

The mine having been worked for so many years, there are many old levels, but they have been completely abandoned as a result of the introduction of improved methods of working. The present levels are those of Honzan, Ariki, Kotaki, and Tsudo. Their total length is 149,973 feet, and all are connected by shafts and wings. The length of the vertical shafts is 12,269 feet.

The present works in the mine being above the lowest water-level of the mountains, the lodes are worked mainly by the driven levels, and the vertical shafts are sunk where communication between the levels, transportation, or ventilation, makes them necessary. There is no necessity for furnishing power for pumping and winding, which is so great a feature in mines below the water-level, which is a great advantage in the working of the mine.

The underground working faces upon which work is now

actually being done are about one hundred. The working hours of the miners are eight, sometimes six. The day is divided into three or four equal parts according to the class of work. The average amount of ore extracted by one miner (in eight hours) is from forty to fifty kwan. According to the nature of the rock, gunpowder or dynamite is used, while in case of a necessity for more rapid working, rock-drills are always employed. The length of the mining railway for conveying the ores and stones, etc., is 173,159 feet.

The ore is sent to the concentration mill, from whence the dressed ore is forwarded to the smelting department. The number of workpeople employed in February, 1901, was as follows:

Miners	3,047
Timbermen	227
Underground coolies	2,161
Dressing men	560
Dressing women	344
Total ...	6,339 hands.

The smelting department is situated within the mine precincts, and the monthly amount of copper turned out is about 920,000 catties. The number of hands employed in this department is 719.

The most modern and varied machines are employed in mining, dressing, and smelting the ore.

In the practical application of electricity, as a motor both in and out of the mine, Ashio was the pioneer. The work was begun in 1887 and completed in 1889. Since then the electric power has come to be utilized for various kinds of work in the mine. The working of the Ashio Mine being above the water-level of the mountains, comparatively less total power is needed, and, there being numerous streams in the mountains, facilities are provided for obtaining motive power by leading the streams to suitable places for the driving of electric turbines. Thus, the power necessary for the general working of the mine, as well as the electric lighting and railways, is all furnished by the streams of the Ashio Mountains. In winter, however, it is necessary to employ steam-power, as the streams are frozen.

For the health of the workers employed in the mine, as well as for their education and provision against cases of sickness and accident, the mining department has established various institutions. At the mine itself there are three hospitals for the miners and officials. There are also two common schools for the education of their children. Besides this, there is a sum of money set aside for the assistance of the sick and of the

families of deceased miners. This sum is formed by contributions from the owner, the mine officials, the friends, and visitors.

Of all the mines in Japan, Ashio is situated nearest to the capital of the country, and so has the greatest advantage in means of conveyance; and yet, for the working of the mine, as well as for the men and the officials, special measures have had to be taken to insure the supply of necessary articles. For this purpose there were established two special departments—the engineering and the provision. In the engineering department everything relating to the electrical, mechanical, and civil works is dealt with. The manufacture and repair of the mining machinery is undertaken in this department. In the provision department everything relating to forestry, stores, and transport is supervised. Under the head of forestry is included the provision of the necessary timber for the underground workings, as well as the general supply of timber. This timber is procured from far-distant forests, and the question of its transport to Ashio is a very complicated one. Under the head of transport comes the conveyance of the finished copper from the mine, and also the conveyance to the mine of all goods necessary for every branch of work. There is a private tramway which connects the Nippon Railway Company's lines at Nikko Station with the aerial tramway over the mountains to the mine. In the work of transportation many cattle and horses are employed. In the shops at the mine provided by the mine management are to be obtained all the tools and materials necessary for the work at the mine, besides provisions and necessary articles for the officials and men. These things are sold to the men at the original cost, thus enabling them to live very cheaply and economically. Besides these shops, there are thousands of retail merchants in the neighbourhood of the mine, but they find it impossible to compete with the wholesale prices of the mining shops. The cost of articles thus purchased is deducted from the wages of the miners, and the men thus derive greater benefit than they would under the co-operative system in vogue in Europe and America.

CHAPTER XXI

LABOUR

I. Labour Organizations

BY M. KATAYAMA.

One of the evil results of the feudal system was that labour was very much despised, and the labouring classes, whose social position was the lowest of all, enjoyed but few privileges. Since the abolition of the feudal system, however, the industries of the country having made rapid progress, things have totally changed, and the industrial system, which is the backbone of national strength, has begun to be gradually developed. As may be expected, this progress has, on the other hand, tended to cause industrial capital to fall into the hands of a few monopolists. Industrial progress, concentration of capital, and complete organization of the industrial system, have of late seriously engaged the attention of the Japanese. It is evident that the labour problem must always be closely connected with the study of these important questions, and it is needless to say that labourers constitute the principal factor in industrial progress. The important position of them in relation to industry has been long since recognised by the intelligent people of the country, amongst whom may be mentioned Baron Kaneko Kentaro, who, while he was the Minister for Agriculture and Commerce, endeavoured to draw up a scheme of factory legislation.

The war with China in 1894 brought great activity to the industry of Japan, and at the same time the demand for labourers rapidly increased. This increased demand for workmen has since then begun to give prominence to the labour question. Previous to the war there were indeed very few people who paid attention to the study of this question. The only incident of importance in connection with the labour question was the movement set on foot by Mr. Kentaro Oh-i, who, supported by his political following, made some attempts towards the solution of this question; but his efforts were by no

means successful, owing to the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the workmen themselves. Any serious movements in connection with this question must therefore be said to have originated just after the war with China.

In the civilized countries of the world the labour question has become the chief and most important subject for solution, and is always occupying and troubling the minds of public men. President Roosevelt of the United States of America took the trouble to interfere, though it was against the presidential routine, in the great strike of labourers in that country. The German Emperor, too, has made speeches to workmen encouraging the election of labour members to Parliament. The elections held in some European countries and America distinctly show the gradual ascendancy of the labour party, and laws and regulations of the greatest importance passed in the legislative bodies of those countries are mostly connected with matters involving the interests of labourers. That labour problems are thus engaging the public mind, and that the labour party is gaining power everywhere, evidently show that a continuous activity is being carried on in industrial circles. Sooner or later the time will come when Japan, like other countries, must deal with various complicated problems in relation to labour. During the last few years I have been making investigations into this subject, and now I am in a position to give to those interested in such matters my opinion on the past, present and future position of the labour question in Japan.

All the labour organizations of modern character which exist in Japan, including such important bodies as the Iron-Workers' and Printers' Associations, came into existence after the war with China. The year 1897 was the year in which the labour question came most prominently to the front in the public affairs of Japan. Either because the question was very novel, or because its real nature was not clearly understood, the movement was apparently welcomed by the public at large, even the capitalists not appearing to raise any serious objections to it. The following are the principal incidents which have occurred during the last few years in connection with this question:

1897: *June* 25.—For the first time a meeting was held at the Seinenkai Hall in connection with the labour question, on which occasion Messrs. Sakuma, Matsumura, Takano, Katayama, and others, made speeches.

July 7.—The Rodo-Kumiai-Kiseikai, an association for assisting the promotion of labour organizations, was formed, and Messrs. Shimada, Abe, Tsuzuki, Hino, and Sakuma, were elected on the committee.

December 1.—A meeting for inaugurating the Iron-Workers' Association was held in the same hall, where about 1,200 work-

men met, and Messrs. Miyoshi, Shimada, and Sakuma addressed them.

On the same day a labour organ, the *Labour World*, was published.

1898: *February* 20.—The engine-drivers of the Nippon Railway Company were successful in a great strike against the company.

April 5.—An association called the Kyoseikai was organized by the engine-drivers of the company above mentioned.

October 1.—With a view to giving support to the labourers, Mr. Sakuma established a deposit bank called the Kokumin Chochick Ginko.

In the middle of this month a Government draft scheme for factory legislation was submitted to the High Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. The Rodo-Kumiai-Kiseikai opposed certain articles of the draft.

November 2.—Baron Kaneko made a speech in the Seinenkai Hall in connection with labour problems.

1899: *March* 5.—The Printers' Association was established.

May 17.—Mr. Shimada, M.P., was elected President of the Printers' Association.

July 9.—Messrs. Shimada, M.P., Kanai, Kuwada, and Katayama addressed a meeting in the Seinenkai, which was summoned together by the Printers' Association.

September.—Towards the end of the month the engine-drivers of the Kyushyu Railway Company made a strike. Mr. Kentaro Oh-i started a socialist movement in the city of Osaka, where he published a weekly paper called the *Osaka Shu-ho.*

December.—The Iron-Workers' Association came into collision with the Nippon Railway Company. On the 27th an extra number of the *Labour World* was issued, condemning the actions of the company, which unjustly discharged its employés.

1900: *February.*—Police Regulations respecting the preservation of order were promulgated.

March.—The Industrial League established at Koishikawa, Tokyo, an independent co-operative iron-foundry.

September.—The Industrial Association was organized at Wakayama.

The Conductors' League was organized by the conductors of the Tokyo Tramway Company.

1901: *April* 18.—The Engine-Drivers' Association of the Nippon Railway Company convened a large meeting, at which it was decided to solve labour questions in accordancewith the principles of Socialism.

April 30.—At the initiation of the *Niroku Shimpo*, a Tokyo daily paper, a great festive gathering was held at Muko-jima for the benefit of the working classes.

May 20.—A social democratic party called the Shakwai Minshu-to was organized, but suppressed by the Government.

The stokers of the Hokkaido Railway Company made a strike.

June 3.—Another Social Democratic party, called the Shakwai Heimin-to, was organized, but put down by the authorities.

July 5.—The organizers of the Shakwai Minshu-to were acquitted.

September.—The Kansei Rodo Kiseikwai (an association aiming at the organization of labour societies), a similar institution to the Rodo-Kumiai-Kiseikai, was established.

December.—The Engine-Drivers' Association of the Nippon Railway Company was broken up by force through the combined efforts of the company and the police.

1902: *January* 1.—The *Labour World* was turned into a daily paper under the name of the *Naiguai Shimpo*, but its publication was discontinued after three weeks.

March 15.—The Labourers' League was organized.

April 2.—As the result of the prohibition of a labourers' festive gathering, which was to be held at Muko-jima, a great demonstration was held in Kanda, where Messrs. Hatoyama, M.P., Urabe, and others, delivered speeches.

April 3.—The publication of the *Labour World* was resumed.

July 5.—A book on Socialism, called 'Shinshakwai' (New Society), by Mr. Humio Yano, was published.

Three thousand workmen of the naval dockyard at Kure came out on strike.

August 10.—During three weeks from this date, Messrs. Katayama and Nishikawa travelled in the north-east districts, making speeches on labour questions. In the middle of the month the ironsmiths of the Tokyo arsenal came out on strike.

September.—The Government issued an order including labour orations under the category of political speeches.

The above is a chronological statement of the chief events which have taken place during the last few years in connection with the labour question in Japan. The personages who have taken an interest in these movements make it possible to see what progress the question has been making of late.

The *Labour World* has for the last seven years been assuming a very progressive attitude towards the labour question, which it has endeavoured to study in the light of the principles of Socialism. On the other hand, the Printers' Association had in view, when it was first established, the harmony and conciliation of capital and labour. Mr. Shimada, M.P., President of the association, assisted by Professors Kanai and Kuwada of the Imperial University, gave utterance to this effect, but their efforts to inculcate this view was a complete failure.

In the years 1898 and 1899 the labour question was taken up

with fresh vigour. The movements undertaken in relation to it were throughout the country received with great public enthusiasm, which, however, did not produce the results expected, considering the unusual acclamation and curiosity shown by the public. During the next two years labour movements fared very badly, the period being one of confusion and disappointment. Although during this time the labour movement was energetically continued by the Socialists, who had their mouthpiece in the *Labour World*, the greatest difficulty must have no doubt been experienced by them. For the capitalists, who had hitherto assumed an indifferent attitude towards matters relating to labour, began to consider the establishment of labour societies would be injurious to their personal interests. They showed the greatest hostility to any movement likely to increase the power of the labour party, while they treated the labouring classes with severity and contempt, often bringing almost despotic pressure to bear upon them. This, combined with the bad economic condition of the country at that time, intensified all the more the wretched state of affairs amongst the working classes at large. In addition to this, the working classes were placed under a disadvantage by the issue of the Police Regulations for public peace already referred to, the operation of which was no doubt in favour of capitalists. As one of many instances to the enforcement of these regulations, a great festive gathering, to which allusion has already been made, proposed by the *Niroku Shimpo* for the benefit of the labouring classes, was prohibited. Thus, seeing what has occurred during the last few years, it must be admitted the position of the labour question in the past has by no means been a very satisfactory one. Now let us examine how the question stands to-day.

At present the interference of the Government and the opposition of the capitalists constitute the principal features to be noted in relation to the labour problem. It appears that the Police Regulations already referred to have struck an effective blow at the labour party—at least, for the time being. The working classes have been prohibited by these regulations from undertaking any movement under collective bodies, and making any demonstration against their employers in matters relating to wages and working hours. If there is any mention of a strike in a speech, or if there is any action suggesting the same in a labour movement, such speeches or actions are at present being summarily suppressed by the official agencies. Under these circumstances, the power of the various labour societies having become practically nil, their existence can hardly be called more than nominal. While the oppression with which the labouring classes are treated is thus increasing in severity,

they are, on the other hand, feeling more and more the necessity of organizing themselves into a solid combination, which they have been unable to accomplish of late owing to the obstacles in their way. They evince the keenest desire for labour agitations in consequence of the very severe pressure brought to bear upon them by the capitalists, and also in face of the increasing difficulty of existence, which inevitably accompanies the social and economic progress of the country. Moreover, they are beginning to find reliable support in Socialism, and Socialistic movements are therefore heartily welcomed by them. Evidently there are in these phenomena the signs of a great revival of labour problems in the near future.

It may easily be foreseen that, as time goes on, the future aspect of the problem in Japan will be one of closer connection with political movements, for the Police Regulations now in force are not so severe with regard to political activities as they are towards labour movements. While the formation of a labour society is a difficult matter at present, there is no difficulty in organizing a political party. Under these circumstances, there is a natural tendency on the part of the labouring classes to come together under the banners of a political party in their attempts to make any movement under collective bodies, and gradually labour associations will be turned into political parties. Moreover, there is a strong reason for this tendency. This is the increasing influence of Socialism amongst the working classes, who have already begun to adopt its principles. In order to obtain its objects, Socialism will have to gain political support. In future movements, more efforts should be made in demanding a system of universal suffrage than in trying to bring about an increase of wages. A general agitation on a much greater scale, for demanding political power, should be more encouraged than isolated strikes for reducing the hours of the working day. All future movements must be of a political character, and the working classes should unite under a great political party with the object of counteracting the influence of the capitalists. No isolated movement against any particular capitalist or employer is to be recommended; on the contrary, it must be a contest of the masses against the classes. These are the methods, I think, which ought to be adopted in relation to the problems of the future, and by them alone can the difficult question be solved.

II. The Labour Market

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

The revolution of Japanese industrial conditions came with the introduction of elaborate Western machinery. Branches of manufacture that had formerly been what might be termed 'family industries' progressed to the small shops, and from there, with the employment of large capital and with the formation of joint-stock and limited liability companies, to the factory. During the four years from 1897 to 1900 inclusive, the number of companies increased by about 87 per cent., gross capital by about 66 per cent., and paid-up capital by over 75 per cent., while the reserves increased by more than 200 per cent.

Thus, according to official returns, there were at the end of 1900 2,554 Japanese manufacturing companies employing not less than ten workpeople each, and whose aggregate financial standing was: Gross capital, £22,000,000; paid-up capital, £16,000,000; reserve, £1,800,000.

Of the foregoing companies, 1,009 were joint-stock, 1,271 limited liability, and 274 partnership and similar unlimited liability companies. The total number of workshops at the same period was 6,317, as distinct from companies. The employés of these establishments may be summed up, broadly speaking, as follows:

Those in shops using motors of various sorts:

Male employés	98,000
Female employés	182,000
Total	280,000

Those in shops not using motors:

Male employés	137,000
Female employés	253,000
Total	390,000

Grand total = 670,000.

Of this number, there were in the motor-using class of shops, of children under fourteen years of age:

Males	3,681
Females	21,638
Total	25,319

Under fourteen in the shops not run by motor:

Males	...	...	...	4,137
Females	...	...	...	11,994
Total	...	...	...	16,131

Grand total = 41,450.

Operatives may further be divided into two classes, day workers and boarding workers, the former residing in the vicinity of the workshops, and the latter those who have come from distant places, and are provided homes and board by the employers. The majority of the latter are women. It would be difficult to say just what proportion of each of these classes predominates, but it is in the fibre works of various sorts that the boarding system most obtains, some weaving establishments having as much as 70 to 80 per cent. of boarders.

For the purpose of convenient reference, the workshops and their products may be divided into the following five sections:

1. Fibre, including raw silk, spinning, weaving, cord-making.

2. Machine shops, including machine-making, shipbuilding, furniture-making, casting.

3. Chemical workshops, including ceramics, gas, paper-mills, lacquering, leather-making, inflammable substances, artificial fertilizers, drugs, etc.

4. Miscellaneous, including breweries, sugar-refining, tobacco manufacture, tea-curing, cleaning of grains, flour, lemonade, mineral water, confectionery, preserved fruits and vegetables, printing and lithography, paper-work, wood and bamboo ware, leather-ware, feather-ware, straw-plait ware, lacquer-ware, etc.

5. Special workshops, including electricity and metallurgy.

Of the workpeople in the first section given in the foregoing sections, it is safe to say that the greater portion are female, the majority of whom are between the ages of fourteen and twenty. Those above that age constitute, perhaps, 40 per cent., with a small remainder below fourteen years, but for the most part not less than twelve.

In the second section the workpeople are mostly adult males, and where boys are employed they are seldom less than fifteen or sixteen years of age.

In the third section, and especially in glass factories, boy apprentices are employed at from twelve to thirteen years of age, and in rare instances as young as ten years. In this division, as represented by the paper-mills, not a few male and female children are employed, the youngest of whom is sometimes nine years old. This condition also obtains in tobacco manufacture.

In printing, the majority of employés are generally adult males, sometimes with a sprinkling of children under fourteen.

In general, the working hours of operatives are twelve hours a day, although they sometimes extend to sixteen and seventeen hours. In cotton-mills the standard is twelve hours both for day and night workers, the shifts alternating every second day. In filatures the hours are from thirteen to fourteen, in power looms twelve. In hand-weaving great diversity prevails, the general rule being twelve to fifteen hours, according to season, although in some rare cases the days are as long as from sixteen to seventeen hours. In the larger shops, such as come under the second section of our classification, the working time is far more regular, averaging ten hours, with one or two hours overtime. In the third section many of the shops run steadily night and day, in which case there are two alternating shifts of twelve hours each.

Wages are calculated by the day and by piece-work, although monthly rates prevail to some extent. As a rule, accounts with labour are settled every two months, but there are still cases where pay-days are arranged half-yearly, and, more rarely still, yearly.

In the cotton-mills fully 60 per cent. of the workers are paid by the piece, and under this system, which is increasing in popularity, there is a regular fortnightly pay-day.

In a majority of shops coming under section 2 there are daily payments, modified from time to time in cases of piece-work being given out on job contract to two or more artisans.

In filature, cotton, and weaving the adult males receive about sevenpence halfpenny per day, the women about fivepence.

Machine shops and others coming under section 2 pay the ordinary worker from one shilling to one shilling and threepence per day, while to skilled artisans the rate sometimes slightly exceeds two shillings and twopence.

In match factories, on the other hand, the pay is much lower, ranging from threepence to fivepence for ordinary female operatives, and from a penny to slightly over threepence for little girls. In tobacco factories and printing-works ordinary female employés receive about fivepence, and males from tenpence to one shilling daily.

Matters relating to the control and supervision of industry were originally under jurisdiction of a Department of Industrial Affairs; but this proving unsatisfactory, there were various changes of departments, until the recent creation of a Bureau of Commerce and Manufacture, which takes direct control of all industrial matters in any way affecting the public weal. This office deals with experimental work undertaken with a

view to improving the quality of manufactured articles, the position and structure of workshops, the control of boilers, and the employment and management of operatives and apprentices, together with their education, health, relief, etc.

Various acts have been put into operation during a period of some fifteen years, aimed at the formulation of measures or methods which might effectively prevent adulteration or debasement of national products, either raw or manufactured, and after some good and some useless experimental efforts the guild system has lately been pronounced the most effective, these organizations coming under such heads as Credit Guilds, Purchase Guilds, Sales and Protection Guilds, etc., with powers, as corporate bodies, to adopt measures aimed at furthering the business and economy of members. Rules have also been issued for the establishment of local and communal industrial experimental laboratories, or manufacturing training-schools, the objects being the encouragement and improvement of manufacture.

In 1900 the technical schools of all grades throughout the country numbered no less than 1,008, all devoted to the furthering of efficiency in manufacturing enterprise, and to adding to the technical knowledge of the people. The progress along these lines has been directed largely toward making the country independent of the assistance of foreign experts, and the success achieved is proved by the comparatively small number of European and American foremen and instructors now remaining in important or minor posts.

State aid to the extent of about £15,000 per annum is granted toward the work of providing technical teachers of Japanese birth, the principal subjects treated being, dyeing and weaving, metal and wood work, painting, designing, carving, ceramics, casting, pottery, shipbuilding, paper-making, printing, embroidery, sewing, commerce, brewing, sericulture, lacquer-work, etc.

The apprentice system has been rapidly falling into disfavour since the introduction of Western methods, and, although formerly prevailing universally in all branches of technical and manufacturing work, may now be said to exist in any semblance of its former status only in such ancient lines of business as hand-weaving, pottery, and dyeing. Some of the larger industries, such as shipbuilding, still maintain a system by which master-mechanics take under them a number of boys whom they employ at the fatcories or shops at which they are stationed, but the consensus of opinion is that the system is doomed, to be succeeded by regular modes of education.

In the matter of mine employés, the conditions differ from those of factory workers, because of the enormous proportion

of unskilled labour and because of the frequent isolation of the work from the world at large. The mine workers are generally housed in buildings provided by their employers, those coming from long distances frequently settling down in the vicinity, and there making their homes and finishing their lives. Those without families live for the most part in large common rooms, and are provided with food at a low rate of cost by the mine operators.

The pay ranges from about one shilling a day for adult males to slightly over sixpence for adult females, while boys and girls are paid about fourpence halfpenny and threepence respectively. In case of accident while on duty, the employers are bound to care for the injured, and when these are treated in hospitals other than those of the mine, a sum of money must be given to meet the expense. In case of disablement compensation is paid, and in the event of death a stated amount is allowed the family for funeral expenses. In the better class of mines there are mutual aid associations, in which reserve funds are created, and to which, in addition to contributions from the workers themselves, the owners, and sometimes outside persons charitably disposed, make donations. In granting relief from such funds, the amount given is fixed, all things being equal, according to the length of time the recipient has been a member, or according to his position, or according to both these conditions.

III. Factory Legislation

BY MR. K. SOYEDA

(President of the Industrial Bank of Japan)

The condition of labourers is to be pitied by an impartial observer, when compared with those of England. Nothing like Trade Unions exist, and the workmen are quite unguarded and unorganized. On investigation we find that the workers in factories, which include 154,857 men and 248,617 women, according to official calculations for 1900, are poorly fed and overworked. The necessity of doing something in the way of ameliorating their condition is apparent. There is a probability of a Bill being introduced in Parliament by the Government in the future, the outline being somewhat as follows below. It may be far from being satisfactory, but, viewed in the light that something is better than nothing, even this law is to be welcomed.

This Act shall be applied to factories employing thirty or more hands. With respect to factories which are established

temporarily, or in which the hands, being ordinarily less than the above stipulated number, are increased temporarily, a special enactment shall be made. The whole or a part of this Act shall be applied to factories other than mentioned above, by Ordinance, whenever necessity arises.

When a factory is to be established, re-erected, or extended, permission of the competent public authority is necessary, and it cannot be used before permission is so obtained.

Necessary measures shall be taken against danger or injury to the health of employés, and nothing shall be allowed which is against the public morality and public interest.

The provisions relating to the regulation of boarding-houses, annexed buildings, etc., shall be enacted by Ordinance.

Engines cannot be used unless approved by the competent authority.

Engines without an official certificate cannot be used.

Persons under the age of eleven years shall not be employed ; but this limitation shall be relaxed for the first ten years in the following way. Persons of eight years or more may be employed within two years from the coming into force of this Act, and those of nine years or more for three years, and those of ten years or more for five years from that time.

Persons under sixteen years, or women of sixteen years or more, shall not be employed between ten o'clock p.m. and four o'clock a.m. except in the following cases :

(1) In case of a special circumstance, this limitation may be relaxed by Ordinance for some interval.
(2) For factories of special character and for cases of urgency exceptional provisions may be enacted by Ordinance.
(3) In case of an alternative employment of two or more parties, exceptional provisions may be enacted by Ordinance.

For persons under sixteen years, or women of sixteen years or more, limitation shall be made by Ordinance for their employment for upwards of twelve hours.

A provision relating to meal and rest hours not exceeding one hour and a half for persons under sixteen years and women of sixteen years or more shall be enacted by Ordinance.

So far as persons under sixteen and women of sixteen years or more are concerned, holidays of at least two days per month shall be allowed.

Persons under sixteen years and women of sixteen years or more shall not be employed in works involving bodily danger or injury to health.

For those who are wounded or who die while working in factories the employer must pay :

(*a*) The expense incurred by the medical operation and the nursing.

(*b*) Half the wages at least when the condition of the sufferer requires rest for more than five days.

(*c*) The wages for at least two years (250 yen as maximum) when the employé is accidentally disabled for life.

(*d*) The funeral expenses of 20 yen as maximum when accident causes death.

(*e*) An amount equivalent to wages for a year and a half, but not more than 200 yen, to the surviving family, if there be any.

When employés in boarding-houses are injured or become ill, the employer must look after them at least for three months. In case they die, funeral expenses must be borne by the employer.

Factories are under the control of the Prefects, and under the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MERCHANT MARINE

I. Its Growth and Present Condition*

BY RENPEI KONDO

President of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail S.S. Co.)

The history of Japanese maritime enterprise dates back only some forty years. The policy of isolation from foreign intercourse, adopted by the Tokugawa regents during nearly three centuries in order to prevent the spreading of Christianity, which was supposed to have some political designs, and therefore to be dangerous to the safety of the State, checked the natural development of our maritime enterprise. Before these restrictions were imposed Japan possessed large ships, suitable for ocean-going trade. In fact, she carried on commerce by means of her own vessels with some twenty countries and provinces beyond the seas. But, in order to enforce effectually the policy of isolation, a strict veto was officially imposed on the building of large vessels, and the result, necessarily, proved disastrous to the growth of maritime enterprise. Thenceforth Japan had to confine herself to a mere coasting trade, which she conducted with small sailing boats. Things remained thus until visits from foreign steamers and demands from foreign Powers for the commercial opening of the country made our Government realize the necessity, not only of cancelling the prohibitory measures which had been in force for nearly 220 years, but also of encouraging the construction of large ships. This abandonment of that old system of restriction was quickly followed by conspicuous results. Within ten years of the repeal of the veto the Japanese acquired no less than 138 vessels of foreign type.

Naturally, the unsettled condition of the country, both on the eve of the great political revolution of 1868 and in its immediate

* The law for the encouragement of navigation by Government subsidies is given in Appendix I.

sequel, impeded the development of a mercantile fleet. Moreover, the people did not immediately shake off the habits of mind educated by centuries of exclusion from this field. Thus, the first notable private effort in the matter of maritime enterprise after the restoration of peace was made by Mr. Iwasaki in 1872, whose name and that of the company organized by him —the Mitsu-Bishi Mail Steamship Company—will ever be associated with the inception of maritime enterprise in Japan. Another large steamship company—the Union Steamship Transport Company—was started in 1880, and these two, having been amalgamated in 1885, formed the present Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon Yusen Kaisha). Meantime, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha and other smaller shipping companies were formed. Thus there has been a large increase in tonnage and a corresponding increase in the facilities in the home and short distance trade. But distant ocean service was not regularly undertaken until 1892, when the Nippon Yusen Kaisha opened a monthly service to Bombay.

The successful issue of the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, which marked an epoch in the history of Japan, gave a strong impulse to our maritime enterprise. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha opened in 1896 a service between Yokohama and London and Antwerp, which now has fortnightly sailings; a service between Hong Kong and Seattle, which also is now fortnightly; and still another monthly service between Yokohama and Melbourne. Further, a Japanese company, organized under the name of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Oriental Steamship Company), runs a line of steamers between Hong Kong and San Francisco; and the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (Osaka Mercantile Marine Company) has opened various lines—*e.g.*, a service between Shanghai and Hankow, and services between Foochow and Hong Kong, Hong Kong and Angpin, Hong Kong and Tamsui, etc. Many smaller shipowners carry on regular or irregular services between various Asiatic ports. Thus the field of Japanese maritime enterprise has been very largely extended. An arithmetical idea of the progress of our mercantile marine may be gathered from the fact that, whereas the tonnage of our vessels of foreign type (steamers and sailing ships included) in 1879 totalled only 110,000 tons gross, it rose to 220,000 tons gross in 1889, and to 796,930 tons gross in 1900, thus doubling in the first decade of that period and more than trebling in the second period. Japan ranked tenth amongst the maritime nations of the world in 1898, and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha stood seventh in point of tonnage amongst the principal shipping companies.

As to the share taken by Japanese vessels in the outward and inward carrying of trade of the country, statistics show

that, whereas the total foreign commerce of Japan in 1889, less the cost of steamers and ships' gear purchased abroad, was 133,000,000 yen, the value of the goods carried by Japanese vessels represented only 10,125,000 yen, or less than one-twelfth of the total. In 1899, however, out of an aggregate foreign commerce of 428,000,000 yen (similar corrections being applied on account of ships and gear), Japanese vessels carried 140,000,000 yen worth, or one-third of the total.

These facts indicate pretty clearly that much attention and energy have been devoted by our people to the line of enterprise. Nor is the progress confined to a mere augmentation of the mercantile fleet. There has also been a corresponding development of the people's attitude for navigation, which the policy of isolation referred to above had necessarily checked. Considerable proficiency has certainly been attained in the art of navigation, as well as in that of engineering. This may be illustrated by saying that, in 1899, Japanese certificates of competency in navigation and engineering were held by 13,088 Japanese subjects, whereas the number of foreigners holding such certificates had fallen to 302. In fact, the necessity of employing foreigners in responsible positions on vessels owned by Japanese is rapidly disappearing.

Establishments essential to the success of maritime enterprise are not wanting in Japan. More than ten dock companies have been organized, exclusive of the Government yards, and some of these have docks capable of accommodating vessels of from 8,000 to 10,000 tons. Some of these also undertake the building of ships. Among the latter the Mitsu Bishi Company is the largest. During the past few years they have constructed the *Hitachi Maru*, the *Awa Maru*, and the *Kaga Maru* for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, all of which are steamers of more than 6,000 tons.

Such is Japan's present condition with regard to maritime enterprise, nor does it seem difficult to predict the future lying before her. It may be confidently asserted that her people fully realize the necessity of possessing a large fleet, not merely in the interests of the country's commercial independence, but also for military and naval reasons. Further, they are fully alive to the fact that the eyes of the commercial and industrial world are turned toward the growing markets of China, Siberia, and Eastern Asia in general, and that shipping companies and firms of Germany, America, and other countries are already seeking a footing in this part of the world by extending trunk lines or by opening feeding lines. They are also fully sensible of the changes that will probably result from the completion of the great Siberian Railway. These facts, considered in conjunction with the activity Japan has already displayed in

the domain of maritime enterprise, indicate that she will not allow herself to be outdistanced by other nations. It is, indeed, difficult to predict accurately the direction which the extension of her efforts will take, but the fact that they will be extended does not admit of any question. There is no room to doubt that the wealth of Japan has increased largely during recent years. A comparison of the figures relating to the export trade during the years from 1880 to 1900 inclusive shows that the value of exports in 1880 was 29,373,400 yen, whereas in 1890 it rose to 56,603,506 yen, and in 1900 to 204,207,873 yen. Thus, during these two decades there was an increase of nearly 170,000,000 yen; or, to put it differently, the export trade of 1900 was nearly seven times as great as that of 1880, and the average annual increase during the period of 1890-1900 was 14,750,000 yen, against an average annual increase of only 2,750,000 yen for the period of 1880-1890. The returns further show that during the fourteen years from 1880 to 1894, the year of the outbreak of the war between China and Japan, the annual volume of exports was invariably greater than that of imports, with three exceptions only. These facts bear testimony to the development of the country's wealth and economic activity. It is true that, since 1894, the total volume of imports has exceeded that of exports, but when the figures relating to the latter are carefully studied, it is found that, whereas between 1894 and 1900 inclusive the value of the commodities imported exceeded that of the commodities exported by 307,500,000 yen, the outflow of specie during that time aggregated only 19,750,000 yen, this large difference being covered by the indemnity which China paid to Japan.

Further, a considerable portion of the excess of imports took the form of articles for productive purposes, such as steamships, railway materials, machinery, and locomotives. Thus, while disbursing a comparatively small amount of specie, Japan laid in a large stock of materials which will sensibly help her industrial development. Her recent depressed economic condition was simply a natural reaction from the booming time that followed the victorious war of 1894-1895. Nor are the consequences of this depression nearly so disastrous as some foreign journals represent them to be. On the contrary, this small storm has had the salutary effect of purifying the economic atmosphere from the excessive elements of speculation and false buoyancy with which it was previously charged. In the full tide of enterprise that swept over the country after the war, many thousand industries were started, with corresponding waste of capital and labour, whereas the petty crisis through which the people have now passed has reinforced their sobriety, seriousness, and industry. In my opinion, the real benefits

resulting from the stimulus of our victorious war and from the indemnity it brought us were not shown in the exciting time which immediately followed the war, but will be seen in the future.

With regard to the outlook, it is sometimes contended that the rapid increase of wages and the appreciation of commodities during recent years have so augmented the cost of production that Japan will soon cease to possess the special advantage she once enjoyed for purposes of international competition. There is no question that, after wages have risen and labourers have become accustomed to a higher standard of living, great difficulty must be experienced in reducing their emoluments so as to meet a falling off in demand and consequent depreciation of commodities. But low wages are not necessarily a factor of prosperity. On the contrary, small wage-earners are seldom hard-working, and consequently their labour is dear in the end. If Japanese labourers wish to maintain their present standard of living, they must work harder than formerly, and more efficiently. Japan cannot expect that her case will be exceptional in that respect among industrial nations. Thus in neither event does the labour problem in Japan suggest cause for uneasiness. But a question may be raised as to whether the country's natural resources suffice to insure her future prosperity. A little reflection shows that we are not less fortunate in that respect than other countries. Apart from the rich but undeveloped mines, the wide tracts of uncultivated land, the sugar, camphor, tea, fishing, and other industries of Hokkaido and Formosa, and without taking into account the fact that the existing industries of Japan proper are capable of great improvement and development, it can scarcely be denied that the artistic talent of our people constitutes an important resource. This advantage can be utilized to a much greater extent than it is at present. The silk industry furnishes a striking illustration of this. Japan produces raw silk and exports it in large quantities. Why should she not apply her artistic talent and intelligent labour to work up and finish this silk, instead of allowing the French and the Americans to enjoy a practical monopoly of the textile industry? Further, it must not be forgotten that Japan has geographical facilities as well as the recommendation of kinship to promote her commerce with the people of China, whose foreign trade is confidently believed by all keen-sighted business men of the world to have a great future before it. To be so favourably situated in the matter of access to China's markets is an undeniable advantage, and since the Japanese bring to the study of Chinese moods and manners the aids of a common literature and of centuries of close intercourse, their trading relations with their neighbours

are not likely to be hampered by the prejudices that create a barrier between China and Western nations. These things are well understood in Japan, and the people are not slow to avail themselves of such manifest advantages.

Undoubtedly such advantages may justly be regarded as wealth-producing resources, and may be cited in support of my view that Japan's economic future is full of brightness and hope. I admit that we have not acquired the experience and business qualities possessed by some Western peoples, but, on the other hand, I cannot forget that it is only some thirty years since my countrymen entered the sphere of international industry. Considering the shortness of the time, they deserve some credit, I think, for what they have achieved. It is a wholesome sign that they recognise their faults and are anxious to correct them. Judging from the skill, versatility and adaptability they have displayed in other lines of work, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that not many years will be needed for them to develop the qualities essential to commercial and industrial success.

What they really need is more capital. They need it to develop industries; they need it to enable them to conduct their present industries on a larger and consequently more economical scale. I therefore advocate the introduction of foreign capital. Opinion has been expressed that such a course would give renewed activity to the factors responsible for present depression. As to that, it is certainly true that the receipt of the Chinese indemnity, and the consequent inflation of the currency, encouraged the starting of many speculative industries without proper regard to their real worth. But it is equally true that a part at least of the late depression was due to the fact that many hopeful industries have been checked and even brought to ruin owing to want of funds to complete their development, with the result that money already invested in them has been sacrificed. I do not advocate the importation of foreign capital in a lump sum—as, for example, in the form of a loan for buying up private railways. That might result in creating an excessive supply of money seeking investment, and might thus become the means of again promoting speculative enterprise. What I suggest is that foreign capital should be obtained for employment in the development of specific enterprises, now either unessayed or in a languishing condition. At the same time, it must be fully realized that foreign capitalists will not invest their money in Japan without adopting ample precautions to insure the safety of their investments. Such means must be furnished, and I am confident that, were the course followed which I have indicated, the result would be beneficial equally to foreigners and to Japanese.

II. SHIPBUILDING

BY BARON IWASAKI

THE art of shipbuilding in its primitive and rudimentary form, if, indeed, it can be called by such a dignified name, was known among the Japanese from so early an epoch that its origin is beyond the reach of historical investigation. The earliest historical records from which anything can be inferred as to the condition of shipbuilding is found in connection with the eastward march of Emperor Jimmu's memorable conquest in the year B.C. 667, when he is stated to have proceeded from Hyogo to Setsu at the head of a maritime force. From this it may be inferred that the Japanese were then already in possession of vessels of some pretensions. Subsequently, in the reign of Emperor Suijin (about B.C. 80-90), orders were issued for the construction of ships to be used for the subjugation of the barbarian tribes in the North of Japan, and on the opposite shore of the Sea of Japan (now part of Eastern Siberia). Later still, about A.D. 200, the Empress Jingo invaded Corea, and there then sprang up a constant intercourse with that country and China. All this shows that the Japanese had already learned how to construct sea-going vessels of tolerable dimensions.

Coming down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, we find Japanese merchant ships visiting the Philippines, Siam, and even Mexico. As to the structural features of these ships, nothing definite is known. In view, however, of the frequent presence in Japanese waters at this period of Spanish and Portuguese ships, it may not unreasonably be inferred that the Japanese learned from these Europeans the art of constructing large seaworthy vessels.

Just when the art of shipbuilding had progressed so far as to be capable of turning out vesssels adapted for ocean navigation, it suddenly received a check in consequence of the adoption of a new policy by the newly-established Tokugawa Government. That Government perceived that the Catholic religion, which the Spaniards and Portuguese were engaged in introducing into the country, was prejudicial to peace and order, and in order to prevent its propagation interdicted all intercourse with the outside world except with the Dutch and Chinese, who were permitted to trade only at the port of Nagasaki. Merchants of these favoured nationalities were thus allowed, under rigid restrictions, to bring their merchandise in their own vessels;

* The Shipbuilding Encouragement Law is given in Appendix J.

but the Japanese were prohibited, under severe penalties, from constructing any ship of large dimensions, the scope of ship-building being henceforth confined to small sailing craft only adapted for coasting trade.

In the 6th year of Koye (1853) Commodore Perry of America appeared in the port of Uraga with a squadron of warships, and presented official communications to the Shogunate Government, demanding the establishment of friendly and commercial intercourse between the two countries. Previous to this the war-vessels of England, Russia, the United States, and other countries, had, for thirty or forty years, occasionally called at Japanese ports; while the neighbouring country, China, had, in consequence of an unsuccessful conflict with England and France, been compelled to cede Hong Kong and open Shanghai and other ports for foreign trade. Then, again, the King of Holland sent a letter to the Shogun pointing out the unadvisability of the policy of isolation, and urging the advantages of opening relations of amity and commerce with foreign nations. These circumstances combined had helped more or less to disturb the long-continued slumber of the nation, so that when the Tokugawa Government was confronted with the above-mentioned demand of the American Government, its eyes were opened not only to the importance of foreign intercourse, but also to the necessity of creating a navy.

Impressed as the feudal Government of Tokugawa was with the importance of building up a navy, there was, thanks to its own policy of seclusion, no man in the country who possessed the necessary knowledge and experience for undertaking such a task. The country, it is true, was not altogether destitute of men who knew something about the arts and science of the West. Neither was the condition of things abroad altogether unknown to the Japanese. However, long-established institutions and customs did not permit the carrying out of a sweeping innovation like this all at once. The Tokugawa Government had, therefore, to be contented, as the first step toward the creation of the much-needed navy, with the issue of a proclamation revoking the interdiction then in force as to the construction of ships of large dimensions.

The issue of this proclamation was attended with very encouraging results, for, although the Japanese knew little or nothing about the art of shipbuilding as practised in Europe, the issue of the proclamation in question was followed by the construction in various parts of the country of a new style of vessels modelled upon European schooners. To mention a few instances, the Tokuwaga Government built at Uraga a two-masted sailing vessel of this type, 152 by 50 feet in dimensions.

The Clan of Satsuma built two or three sailing vessels of the same type, all three-masted, while the Clan of Mito turned out a similar vessel at Ishikawa-jima in Yedo. The instances just mentioned form the first examples of the European style of shipbuilding in Japan.

About this time an event took place which supplied a powerful stimulus and useful assistance to the development of shipbuilding in Japan. In the 1st year of Ansei (1854) the Russian warship *Diana* had her bottom destroyed by a tidal wave, and was finally sunk at the port of Shimoda, province of Izu. There being no available ship by which the crew of the lost ship, over 500 in number, could go home, they set about building two schooners with the aid of Japanese artisans. These vessels being completed by the spring of the following year, they set sail for Vladivostock. The Japanese carpenters and blacksmiths employed by the Russians on this occasion had a unique opportunity to learn the European method of shipbuilding. They did not throw their opportunity away, for it was by employing them that the Tokugawa Government was afterward able to build a number of sailing vessels similar in style to the schooners constructed by the Russians. The majority of these workmen were subsequently employed under the newly-established Naval Department of the Shogunate; and in course of time they gained so much experience that, when the naval dockyard was established at Yokosuka, they formed the nucleus of its working force.

In the 2nd year of Ansei (1855) the King of the Netherlands presented one of his war-vessels to the Tokugawa Shogun, who renamed it as *Kwan-ko Maru*, and stationed it at Nagasaki as a training-ship. At the same time there arrived at Nagasaki several naval instructors from Holland in compliance with the request made to the Government of that country by the Tokugawa Government in the previous year. The last-mentioned Government selected a number of young men, and put them on board the *Kwan-ko Maru* to learn navigation and naval science under the newly-arrived instructors. This was the origin of the Japanese navy.

Having thus come into the possession of some war-vessels, and having opened a course of training in the naval arts and science, the Tokugawa Government naturally desired to open works where instruction might be given in the art of shipbuilding, beside making the ordinary repairs on these ships. It therefore applied to the Netherlands Government for the purchase of the necessary machinery, and also for the engagement of some experts. The experts and the machinery arrived at Nagasaki in the 4th year of Ansei (1857), and, selecting a suitable site at Akuno-ura at that port, the erection of the works

was at once commenced. The works were completed in the 1st year of Bunkyu (1861). From this small beginning the undertaking, after various changes, finally developed into the present large and prosperous establishment known as the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard and Engine Works.

The Tokugawa Government naval cadets at Nagasaki, besides studying navigation and gunnery, received instruction from the Dutch teachers in the art of shipbuilding. They built under the guidance of these instructors a cutter, which was finished in the 4th year of Ansei (1857).

In the 2nd year of Bunkyu (1862) the Tokugawa Government, with a view to establishing a shipbuilding yard at Nagasaki, opened communications with the Dutch Government for the engagement of engineers and workmen. The latter having arrived at Nagasaki in the 4th year of Bunkyu (1864), the building yard was constructed at Tategami in due course of time. Though preparations were thus made for building men-of-war, actual work was not undertaken, except a few small unarmed steamers, the establishment being ordinarily used only for purposes of repairs. Things continued in this condition until the 4th year of Meiji (1871), when the works at Nagasaki came under the control of the Department of Public Works (since abolished), and, besides the addition of a dry-dock at Tategami, they were extended in various ways. It remained in the hands of the new Government until the 17th year of Meiji (1884), when it was purchased by the Mitsu Bishi firm, under whose management it has since grown to be the most important dockyard in the Far East.

We are, however, anticipating the proper course of our story. Now to return to the latter days of Tokugawa. That Government, considering Nagasaki to be unsuited for the location of the naval shipbuilding headquarters, selected Yokosuka for that purpose in the 1st year of Genji (1864), and at once applied to the French Government for the engagement of some French naval architects. On the arrival of these architects and the machines, also ordered from France, the construction of works was at once commenced in the 2nd year of Kei-o (1866); but before they were finished the Tokugawa Government had to restore all the powers of administration to the Imperial Court. The new Government completed the works at Yokosuka, which have since become the largest naval dockyard in Japan.

It has already been stated that the Goverment dockyard at Nagasaki passed into the possession of a private firm—namely, that of the Mitsu Bishi. Another dockyard, which the new Government established at Kobe in the 7th year

of Meiji (1874), and which was used for the purpose of repairs, was also transferred to private possession in the 17th year of Meiji (1884), the new owner being the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Company, who has lately commenced to take orders for the construction of ships.

To review the general progress of the shipbuilding industry since the new era of enlightenment was inaugurated by the restoration of political power to the Imperial Court in 1868: The effect of the healthy stimulus supplied by the policy of reform and progress pursued by the new Government was at once apparent in the rapid growth of commerce and navigation. The steamships used in the newly-developed carrying trade were, however, all brought from abroad until about the 10th year of Meiji, when small wooden steamers for use in the Inland Sea began to be built at Osaka, Hyogo, Tokyo, Hakodate, etc. A year earlier—that is to say, in the 9th year of Meiji (1876)—the building of a steamship of 1,500 tons, named *Kosuge-Maru*, was commenced at Nagasaki. About the same time the Government commenced the construction of war-vessels at Yokosuka. From that time the shipbuilding industry made such a steady progress that all the steamers required for purposes of the rapidly-growing carrying trade in the Inland Sea were supplied by the home dockyards at Osaka, Nagasaki, Kobe, Tokyo, etc. In the 23rd year of Meiji (1890) three steel steamers, of 700 tons gross each, were launched at Nagasaki. About this time steel steamers also began to be constructed at Osaka and Kobe.

The real development of the shipbuilding industry in Japan, however, dates from the termination of the Chino-Japanese War. In 1896 great stimulus was given to the growth of shipping and shipbuilding in Japan by the enactment of the Navigation Encouragement Law and the Shipbuilding Encouragement Law. About this time the Nippon Yusen Kaisha first organized its European line, and decided to build six steamers, of 6,000 tons each. The construction of one of these steamers was undertaken by the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard at Nagasaki, where it was finished in 1898. This was the first steamer of such dimensions ever built in Japan, and since then the above-mentioned dockyard has been busily engaged in the construction of large ships.

In January, 1903, the ships building there were eight in number, with an aggregate tonnage of 23,500 tons. As to the other private dockyards, the Kawasaki Dockyard of Kobe was then engaged in the construction of several ships, varying in tonnage from 1,000 to 2,000 tons. The Osaka Ironworks, owned by Mr. Hunter, is chiefly busy with the construction of smaller craft for use on the Inland Sea or on lakes and

rivers. The Uraga Dockyard commenced work with the construction of five small gunboats to the order of the American authorities in the Philippines. There are, besides, a number of smaller shipbuilders, which need not be mentioned here. Suffice it to say that the shipbuilding industry has of late years attained great development.

In conclusion we may mention some figures relating to Japanese shipbuilding efforts in the past twenty-six years, commencing with the year 1877, when, as already stated, ships of some pretension were first turned out. The number of merchant vessels of 500 tons and upward constructed during that period of time totalled sixty-eight, with the aggregate tonnage of 88,539 tons. With the exception of seven sailing vessels, of which one was fitted with auxiliary steam-engines, all the rest were steamships. Moreover, with a few unimportant exceptions, the above total represents the result of private enterprise. Besides these ships, over 100 vessels of 300 to 500 tons each were also turned out at private dockyards during the same period.

Of the sixty-eight ships mentioned in the preceding paragraph, eighteen (48,078 tons) were built at the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard at Nagasaki, fourteen (13,827 tons) at the Kawasaki Dockyard of Kobe, and eleven (9,186 tons) at the Osaka Ironworks, the rest being distributed between several minor dockyards. It may be interesting to mention here that, of the eighteen ships built at the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard, four are over 6,000 tons each, two being employed on the Nippon Yusen Kaisha's European line, and two on the same company's American service.

The following were some of the ships building at the leading dockyards at the end of the year 1902:

THE MITSU BISHI DOCKYARD, NAGASAKI.

Ship.	Tonnage.
Aki Maru (steel)	6,320
Chefoo Maru (steel)	1,900
Niigata Maru (steel)	2,100
Nikko Maru (steel)	5,400
Eiko Maru (steel)	1,900
Unnamed (steel)	5,000

THE KAWASAKI DOCKYARD, KOBE.

Ship.	Tonnage.
Kushiro Maru (steel)	1,100
Unnamed (steel)	650
Unnamed (steel)	650
A training-ship	2,200

Meanwhile the naval dockyards have not been idle. The number of the cruisers and gunboats finished at these dockyards during the period of twenty-six years from 1876 to 1901 inclusive was twenty-three, with the total tonnage of 35,021 tons. The largest of these warships is the *Hashidate*, 4,278 tons, constructed at Yokosuka. The total number of torpedo-boats finished by the end of 1902 was twenty-two.

The cruisers and gunboats now building or to be built are eight in number, with a total tonnage of 12,272, while the number of torpedo-boats in course of construction is sixteen.

III. Nautical Education

BY THE PRINCIPAL OF THE SHOSEN GAKKO (GOVERNMENT NAUTICAL COLLEGE), TOKYO

Before entering into the details of nautical education in Japan, let us first glance at the increase of tonnage and number of seamen up to the end of 1902, in order to gain some idea of the present condition of the shipping trade.

In 1897 the total tonnage of the vessels in this country did not exceed over 400,000 tons, including steamers and sailing vessels; but with the expansion of national industry the number and tonnage of vessels rapidly increased, and by the end of 1902 the tonnage amounted to 934,961 tons, out of which 605,122 tons represented steamers, and 329,839 tons sailing vessels. It must, however, be acknowledged that the number able to handle the vessels—namely, the skilled officers of certified ability—were few in proportion. At the present time there are only properly certificated officers, as shown in the following table:

	Japanese.	Foreigners.
Mates	920 ...	213
Engineers	981 ...	118
Total	1,901 ...	331

Such being the case, the necessity of producing good seamen is urgently felt at present, and the Government is making efforts to make the nautical education more effective.

In Japan the only complete establishment for the training of the higher branches of sailors is the Nautical College of Tokyo. It is attached to the Department of Communications. The institution was first founded in 1875 by the Mitsu Bishi Company, but was later transferred to the Japanese Mail Ship Company. In 1885 it was taken over by the Government and reorganized, and has developed into the present Nautical College.

The college trains the young men destined to become officers of the mercantile marine, instructing them in the theory and practice of the subjects pertaining to the higher branches of the seaman's profession. The course of study is divided into two departments, namely, the department of navigation and that of engineering.

The cadets of both departments are enlisted in the navy during their college life, and even after their graduation; and as they are liable to be appointed as naval officers, they are under the obligation of observing the general laws of the navy.

In the navigation department, theoretical and practical seamanship, nautical surveying, marine meteorology, law, and shipbuilding, form the principal studies, and the others are supplementary.

On entering, cadets are placed in the sixth class, and are promoted a class every half-year, receiving their instruction in the college class-rooms until they advance to the first class, when they are taken to the Hojustsu-Renshusho (Gunnery School) at Yokosuka, to be instructed in the art of gunnery for about six months. Finally they serve terms of apprenticeship on board various vessels for two and a half years. Thus, they take five and a half years to complete their education.

In the engineering department the steam-engine, steam-boiler, electricity, drawing, and shop practice, are the principal studies, and the others are supplementary.

On entering, each cadet is placed in the fifth class, and he ascends at the rate of a class every six months. He receives, too, instruction in the class-rooms, as is the case with the navigation department cadets. When he advances to the first class, however, he is placed in some factory or similar works to receive practical training for two years, and then he is taken on board various vessels to serve his term of apprenticeship in engineering for a year. Thus, he requires five years to finish his course.

A great incentive is provided for the students in that the college sends abroad for the completion of their education those graduates who are of promising ability and of good character.

Any boy above fifteen and below twenty-one years old is admitted to the college, provided that he can succeed in passing the entrance examinations. Graduates of Government, public or private middle schools, publicly acknowledged by the Minister of Education as to be of equal standing with the public middle schools, are admitted to the college without entrance examination, requiring only a certificate as to their ability and character from the schools in which they have graduated.

The cadets are of two kinds: those who are supported by loans from the Government or from some mercantile corporation, and those paying their own expenses.

Students of good character and ability, who are considered by the college authorities as of exceptional merit, may be regarded as honorary students, and are freed from their expenses.

The following is a list of the members of the college faculty:

A director; secretaries, 8; professors, 12; instructors, 8; associate professors and instructors, 8; official clerks, 16; lecturers, 12; hired clerks.

The number of cadets residing at the college is:

	Navigation.	Engineering.	Total.
Honorary cadets	1	0	1
Cadets supported by loans	129	77	206
Cadets paying their own expenses	14	11	25
Total	144	88	232

The number of cadets residing at the special factories or on board ships is as follows:

	Navigation.	Engineering.	Total.
Honorary cadets	2	1	3
Cadets supported by loans	149	40	189
Cadets paying their own expenses	82	9	91
Total	233	50	283

The grand total is 515.

In order to enable the cadets to have practice in the making of knots, splices, hitches, bends; in bending and unbending, setting and taking in sails; sending up and down yards and spars, a training-ship, named the *Meiji Maru*, is moored in the basin belonging to the college, where the cadets are instructed after their morning classes are over. They are also drilled in boating, sailing, and steering.

The *Meiji Maru* was built at Glasgow, being of 1,037 gross and 457 net tonnage.

The college owns another sailing vessel, named the *Kotonoo Maru*, used as a training-ship. This was built on the Thames,

and is of 825 gross and 775 net tonnage. This vessel is employed in cruising in the neighbouring seas.

A large sailing vessel, named the *Taisei Maru*, of above 2,000 tons, is now in course of building at the Kawasaki Dockyard in Kobe. When finished, it will be used as a training-ship in navigation. Not only will it sail to different ports in Japan, but also to those of Europe, America, Australia, etc.

Besides the Government Nautical College, the Nippon Kaiin Ekisaiwai (Japan Sailors' Home) contributes to some extent towards the training of higher seamen. The association possesses branches at Tokyo, Kobe, and Nagasaki, where a number of ordinary seamen possessing some experience receive instruction in order to prepare themselves for the examinations for the officers' certificates.

The following schools are the public institutions for training the higher seamen:

Hakodate	Nautical	School,	Hakodate, Hokkaido.
Oshima	,,	,,	Oshima, Yamaguchiken.
Yuge	,,	,,	Ochigori, Ehimeken.
Awashima	,,	,,	Mitoyogori, Kagawaken.
Toba	,,	,,	Toba, Miyeken.
Saga	,,	,,	Sagagori, Saga.
Hiroshima	,,	,,	Toyoda, Hiroshimaken.

In the above institutions navigation and engineering courses may be taken. The institutions are open for boys who have finished their four years' course of education in the high elementary schools, and for those who are regarded upon examination as of equal ability. The course is about six and a half years, the subjects taught being as follows:

NAVIGATION DEPARTMENT.—Moral Code; Reading; Composition; Mathematics; Physics; Chemistry; Drawing; Gymnastics; Elements of Surgery; Foreign Languages; General Principles of Seamanship, Navigation, Marine Meteorology, and Shipbuilding; Principles of Mercantile Marine Business.

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.—Mechanics; Applied Mechanics; General Principles of Electricity; General Principles of Shipbuilding; Principles of Mercantile Marine Business.

The graduates of the above institutions are required to undergo the examination for officers. If successful, they become deck officers or engineers, but the graduates of the Nautical College are granted officers' certificates without examination.

CHAPTER XXIII

RAILWAYS

BY K. INUZUKA

(*Director of the Japanese Railway Bureau*)

THE first railway thrown open to traffic in Japan was that between Shimbashi and Yokohama, in 1872.

In 1869 the Government had decided to build railways, and a line then contemplated was the railway between Tokyo and Kobe, passing through Kyoto and Osaka as the trunk line, with a branch line starting off from a point in the vicinity of Lake Biwa, connecting to Tsuruga.

The construction of the line was undertaken at once. Thus originated the Tokyo-Yokohama railway on this side of Mount Hakone, and shortly afterwards the Kobe-Osaka line on the other side was opened.

Thanks are due to the far-sighted statesmen of that time for having taken proper and decided steps for the furtherance of industrial enterprises, the result of which we are now fully enjoying, despite the fact that they had to fight against many difficulties. In December of 1872 work was commenced on the line between Kyoto and Osaka.

Beginning with these, the progress of railway enterprise has been steady, and the railway mileage has increased year by year. In 1879 the first private railway company was organized under the name of the Nippon Tetsudo Kwaisha, which is the present Nippon Tetsudo Kwaisha operating 800 odd miles of railways. The construction of this line was started in June, 1880, and a year after, in June, 1881, the line between Uyeno and Kumagaye was opened to traffic.

New railway companies soon began to spring up everywhere in rapid succession, like mushrooms after heavy rain, and existing companies have extended the scope and area of their business.

When it is remembered that some thirty years ago there were only eighteen miles of railway, some idea may be gained as to the marvellous nature of the progress which has been

made. The total mileage of railways opened for traffic at the present moment is approximately 4,254 miles, an increase of 232 times that of the first railway opened to traffic.

The progress we have made up to the present is shown below:

MILEAGE.

Fiscal Year.	Government Railways.		Private Railways.	
	Miles.	Chains.	Miles.	Chains.
1872	18	0	—	
1876-1877	65	11	—	
1882-1883	114	63	—	
1887-1888	244	40	293	24
1892-1893	550	49	1,320	28
1897-1898	661	65	2,287	5
1901-1902	1,059	48	2,966	48
May 1, 1903	1,226	64	3,027	21

From the above figures it is seen that the average rate of increase in mileage per year has been about 130 miles for the last thirty years; and in the thirtieth and thirty-first fiscal years 468 and 471 miles of road respectively were opened for traffic.

The date of the opening to traffic of the Tokkaido, Sanyo, Kyûshyu, Hokkaido, and other railways which constitute the trunk lines of Japan, is shown in the following table:

Names of Companies.	Sections.	Mileage.	Date of Opening.
		Miles.	
Tokkaido	Shimbashi-Kobe	375	July, 1889
Sanyo	Kobe-Shimonoseki	329	September, 1901
Kyushyu	Moji-Yatsushiro (through Torisu)	143	November, 1896
	Torisu-Nagasaki	97	November, 1898
O-u	Ueno-Aomori	455	September, 1891
	Shinagawa-Akabane	13	May, 1885
Shinyetsu	Ueno-Takasaki	63	May, 1884
	Takasaki-Naoyetsu	118	March, 1893
	Naoyetsu-Nuttare	85	September, 1899
Hokkaido Tanko ...	Muroran-Shibetsu (through Iwamizawa)	181	August, 1900

The above lines in connection with maritime transportation form the railway backbone of Japan, and promote the facilities of communication very considerably.

Under the present system the railways in Japanare subdivided as follows: Government railways and private railways.

Government railways are under the control of the Traffic and

Construction Bureau, and those of private railway companies are under the supervision of the respective joint-stock railway companies. The total mileage of railways under the control of the Traffic and Construction Bureau is 1,226, and that of the Nippon Railway Company is 860. Next in order of mileage come the Kyushyu, operating 400 miles; the Sanyo, 340 miles; the Tanko, 270 miles.

The smallest railways (under ten miles) are those owned by the Ryugasaki, the Nishinari, the Kanan, and the Sano Railway Companies. Dividing the total mileage owned by private companies by the number of the companies, we obtain an average of ninety-nine miles per company. The following table shows the existing conditions of various companies:

	Under 10 Miles.	Over 10 Miles to 50 Miles.	Over 50 Miles to 100 Miles.	Over 100 Miles.	Total.
Government Railways	—	—	—	2	2
Private Railways ...	3	30	3	5	41

From the above table it is surprising to find how many small railway companies there are in existence.

It is needless to mention that the construction of railways requires an enormous sum of money. The gross capital spent in construction at the close of the thirty-fourth fiscal year aggregated 340,000,000 yen, inclusive of the construction expenses for incomplete lines. Details of this are shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENT.

Construction expenses for open lines ...	100,590,209 yen.
,, ,, incomplete lines	22,334,382 ,,
Fixed operating fund	200,000 ,,
Stores fund	2,215,000 ,,
Miscellaneous	1,893,261 ,,
Total	127,167,852 yen.

PRIVATE.

Construction expenses for open lines ...	202,804,045 yen.
,, ,, incomplete lines	4,598,747 ,,
Fixed working fund, stores fund, miscellaneous	12,306,,640 ,,
Total	219,709,432 yen.

If we distribute the sum equally among the existing companies, the ratio borne by each company is an average sum of 8,600,000 yen. According to the latest statistics, the number of private companies of all sorts of description in the whole empire amounts to 8,598, and the gross capital invested totals 779,000,000 yen. There are in all only forty odd railway companies in existence, while their total capital aggregates one-third of the whole sum invested in all companies in Japan.

In the Government railways a large portion of the original capital was derived from railway bonds, while a certain portion of the current capital necessary is obtained from the railway revenue. In the case of private companies, almost without exception the capital is formed by the issue of shares, debentures, or even by temporary loans.

The details of the latest source of railway capital for private companies are shown below:

By shares	192,811,305 yen.
By debentures	12,839,000 ,,
By loans	6,955,404 ,,
Other sources	7,103,723 ,,
Total	219,709,432 yen.

Regarding the capital as 100, the amount raised by shares is 88, by debentures 6, by loans 3, and the remaining 3 from other sources. The average cost of construction per mile up to the end of the thirty-fourth fiscal year was 75,422 yen. The average cost of construction per mile at the close of the thirty-fourth year of various railways is shown and compared in the following table:

Name of Railway.	Average cost per mile.
Nishinari...	440,000 yen.*
Chuyo (Government), Eastern Section	265,000 ,,
Shinononi Section	207,000 ,,
Kyoto	153,000 ,,
Kanan	30,000 ,,
Hokkaido Government Railway ...	34,000 ,,
Chyuyetsu	38,000 ,,
Nanao	41,000 ,,
Bisai	44,000 ,,
Sobu	47,000 ,,

* This figure includes other expenses quite foreign to the construction cost, and therefore it is impossible to use it for comparison with the others.

The difference in cost of construction of the various lines is due partly to the difference in the market price of commodities and the wages of labourers, but principally to the nature of the construction executed. So it would not be at all reasonable to compare the construction expenses by merely looking at the figures representing the average cost per mile.

In order to learn the proportion that railway revenue bears to railway expenses and the conditions of its increase, the following table has been prepared from the latest statistics:

TRAFFIC RECEIPTS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
6th (1873)	441,615	—	441,615
10th (1877)	910,336	—	910,336
15th (1882)	1,840,394	—	1,840,394
20th (1887)	1,698,873	1,182,345	2,881,218
25th (1892)	4,580,632	5,096,634	9,679,266
30th (1897)	9,727,490	16,800,057	26,526,547
34th (1901)	16,764,219	31,640,328	48,404,547

WORKING EXPENSES.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
6th (1873)	232,830	—	232,830
10th (1877)	526,348	—	526,348
15th (1882)	926,548	—	926,548
20th (1887)	677,124	392,542	1,069,666
25th (1892)	2,166,199	2,437,138	4,603,337
30th (1897)	4,186,048	7,578,047	12,365,096
34th (1901)	8,346,091	15,093,086	23,439,177

NET PROFITS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
6th (1873)	208,785	—	208,785
10th (1877)	384,088	—	384,088
15th (1882)	913,896	—	913,896
20th (1887)	1,021,749	789,803	1,811,552
25th (1892)	2,424,433	2,659,496	5,073,929
30th (1897)	4,941,441	9,222,010	14,163,451
34th (1901)	8,418,128	16,547,242	24,965,370

The above traffic receipts are subdivided into passenger receipts, goods receipts, and miscellaneous receipts. The

working expenses are subdivided into maintenance expenses, traction expenses, traffic expenses, and various miscellaneous charges.

From the above figures it is easily seen that there has been a considerable increase in the traffic receipts during these thirty years. In fact, when we compare the traffic receipts, working expenses, and net profits of the thirty-fourth year with those of the sixth year, the former show an increase of eleven, ten, and twelve times respectively. Working out this rate per average operating mile, the following figures are obtained:

Fiscal Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Profits.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
20th (1887)	6,081	2,258	3,823
25th (1892)	5,378	2,558	2,820
30th (1897)	9,918	4,623	5,295
34th (1901)	12,212	5,213	6,299

The proportion that the profits for the thirty-fourth year bear to the original capital is, on an average, 8·4 per cent. in the Government railways, and 8·2 per cent. in the private railway companies. Its mean value is therefore 8·3 per cent.

Compared with other countries, the Japanese railway profits stand highest of all:

Country.	Year.	Percentage of Profits to Capital.
France	1900	4·21
England	1900	3·41
Germany	1900 1901	6·00

It is very important to see the proportion of working expenses to traffic receipts. In our country the working expenses per 100 yen of traffic receipts are as below:

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Average.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
6th (1873)	52·7	—	52·7
10th (1877)	57·8	—	57·8
15th (1882)	50·3	—	50·3
20th (1887)	39·9	33·2	37·1
25th (1892)	47·3	47·8	47·6
30th (1897)	59·2	45·1	46·6
34th (1901)	49·8	47·7	48·4

From the above figures it is seen that prior to the fifteenth fiscal year the proportion of working expenses to traffic receipts was very much higher than that of late years. When compared with that of the twentieth fiscal year the difference is more marked. The cause of this may be found in the fact that comparatively greater working expenses were required at the start, and, after a gradual diminution of the expenses, a tendency to increase has been shown of late, owing to long-distance travelling and the adoption of the necessary modern improvements to meet the needs of the public.

The progress of railway enterprise having now been sketched, let us investigate how the railways are used by the public at large. In order to do so, it is necessary to examine minutely how the railways at present existing are distributed over the whole country.

In Hokkaido, though it comes next to Honshyu in order of size, the ratio of mileage per square mile is small, being 7·7 miles per 100 square miles of area, and the ratio of mileage per number of inhabitants is very large (40·1 miles per 100,000 inhabitants), as compared with those of others, on account of its being thinly populated.

In Shikoku both of these ratios are very small, on account of its having a limited operating mileage.

The ratios of mileage per square mile in Honshyu and Kyushyu, as compared with those of the other islands, show high figures; and the ratios of mileage per number of inhabitants, though lower than those of Hokkaido, still show a good figure.

In order to derive the utmost benefit out of railway enterprise, it is quite important that the distribution of railways should be suitably arranged all over the country. It is also important that the old railway appliances on existing lines should be gradually replaced by modern improvements to satisfy the needs of the public. The construction stage is now completed, and it is necessary to examine the existing conditions of traffic.

Details of the passenger and goods traffic and receipts therefrom on Government and private lines are given below.

NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
23rd (1890)	11,265,383	11,575,247	22,840,630
25th (1892)	12,873,547	15,590,168	28,463,715
30th (1897)	27,922,577	57,175,600	85,098,177
34th (1901)	32,074,254	79,136,954	111,211,208

GOODS TRAFFIC.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
23rd (1890)	671,561	1,088,645	1,760,206
25th (1892)	982,404	1,719,316	2,701,720
30th (1897)	1,558,194	7,073,315	8,628,509
34th (1901)	2,659,602	11,750,150	14,409,752

PASSENGER TRAFFIC RECEIPTS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
23rd (1890)	3,183,383	1,966,532	5,149,915
25th (1892)	3,335,609	3,122,946	6,458,555
30th (1897)	7,003,795	9,904,292	16,908,087
34th (1901)	10,648,762	16,929,621	27,578,383

GOODS TRAFFIC RECEIPTS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Total.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
23rd (1890)	778,798	998,742	1,777,540
25th (1892)	1,075,342	1,743,455	2,818,797
30th (1897)	2,064,716	6,055,547	8,120,263
34th (1901)	4,404,917	11,431,032	15,835,949

Comparing the figures for the thirty-fourth fiscal year with those for the twenty-third year, the former show a fourfold increase in the number of passengers; an eightfold one in the goods tonnage; a little over a fivefold one in the passenger revenue; and nearly a ninefold one in the goods revenue.

Within the last twelve years remarkable progress has been made. The goods traffic shows a more decided increase than does the passenger traffic. Judging, however, from the statistics of existing conditions, it would appear as though the passenger revenue is always greater than the goods revenue.

The ratio that the goods revenue bears to the passenger revenue per 100 yen is shown below:

	Yen.
23rd fiscal year (1890)	34·5
25th ,, (1892)	43·7
30th ,, (1897)	48·0
34th ,, (1901)	57·0

Now let us compare this with the following table:

		Percentage of Goods Receipts to Passenger Receipts.
France	1898	205
	1899	203
	1900	187
England	1898	159
	1899	161
	1900	160
Germany	1898-99	249
	1899-1900	249
	1900-01	259

From the above figures of foreign countries it is seen that the goods receipts as compared with the passenger receipts show an excess of from 50 to 200 per cent. Generally speaking, in railway enterprises passenger receipts exceed the goods receipts in the beginning, and afterwards, when the railways have reached a certain standard, the goods revenue seems to increase compared with the passenger revenue. This fact seems to hold good in all countries. Even in England, where there is such an enormous goods traffic, the passenger receipts were much higher than the goods revenue in the early days, quite contrary to the expectations of the promoters. But, as shown above, at present the goods receipts exceed by far the revenue resulting from the carrying of passengers. It seems probable that our railways may follow on the same course, for even now the goods receipts seem to be increasing more rapidly than does the passenger revenue.

To illustrate the existing state of the railways, the following tables have been prepared, showing the average mileage per passenger, the average mileage per ton of goods, and the traffic receipts in both cases:

AVERAGE MILEAGE PER PASSENGER.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Average.
23rd (1890)	25	16	21
25th (1892)	23	18	20
30th (1897)	22	15	17
34th (1901)	23	15	17

AVERAGE MILEAGE PER TON OF GOODS.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Average.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
23rd (1890)	38	37	37
25th (1892)	46	53	87
30th (1897)	64	44	48
34th (1901)	81	40	55

PASSENGER REVENUE PER PASSENGER PER MILE.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Average.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
23rd (1890)	1·12	1·06	1·10
25th (1892)	1·12	1·13	1·11
30th (1897)	1·12	1·18	1·16
34th (1901)	1·47	1·44	1·45

GOODS REVENUE PER TON PER MILE.

Fiscal Year.	Government.	Private.	Average.
	Sen.	Sen.	Sen.
23rd (1890)	3·03	2·48	2·69
25th (1892)	2·40	1·90	2·06
30th (1897)	2·80	1·94	1·97
34th (1901)	2·05	1·99	2·00

By these figures it is shown that, while the average mileage per passenger has diminished, the average mileage per ton of goods has considerably increased.

Also the receipts per passenger per mile have increased, whereas the receipts per ton per mile have diminished.

The causes for these results may be explained as under. The reason for the diminution in passenger mileage is to be found entirely in the great increase in short-distance journeys, and the increase in the goods mileage owes its origin to the increase in the length of the total mileage. As regards their respective revenues, the increase in the passenger receipts is due to the increased passenger tariff enforced, and to the reduction in the rates for goods under special contract.

The decrease in the average mileage per passenger may be regarded as a good sign of the progress in railway enterprises, and it is hoped that an increased number of short-distance journeys may in the next few years place Japan in the foremost rank in railway matters in the world.

Comparing the goods and passenger traffics and distances travelled with the present population, we find the following figures:

		Per Head of Population.
Passenger	Number of persons ...	2·39
	Miles travelled	40·5
Goods tonnage	Number of tons... ...	0·3
	Miles transported ...	16·4

The above table is compiled from the latest statistics, and the result shows that our people travel on an average only a little over twice per annum, and for a distance of forty miles, and also that only a third of a ton of freight is transported for a distance of sixteen miles per head of the population. These analyses show very clearly that as yet the use made of the railway by our people is still in its infancy. In order to encourage a more comprehensive use of the railways, it is necessary on the one hand to arrange for more direct communication, and on the other hand to adopt all the most important modern improvements in railway appliances and methods, so as to induce the public to become accustomed to railway travelling. The existence of so many small railway companies, each independent of the others, is not without its drawbacks in the way of advancement. If those isolated companies were to be consolidated, and enabled to carry on business in a more homogeneous and regularized system, might it not be regarded as a step in the direction of real progress of railway enterprise?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LEGAL SYSTEM*

BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

IT is but thirty-five years since the government of Japan was in the hands of the Tokugawa Clan, and the country was divided into over 270 small independent States, each under the semi-military rule of a feudal lord holding his authority from the Imperial Court.

The legal system to-day is vastly different from what it was then. The change has been gradual, and the successive stages of development may be traced in the history of the country during the past three decades. In the main, the present enlightened system is derived from Occidental nations, but the power of assimilating Occidental ideas Japan owes to nobody; it is the native genius of her people.

Two thousand five hundred and sixty-two years have passed since the inauguration of Jimmu-Tenno, founder of the Empire of Japan. Throughout that long period of time the nationality of Japan has remained intact, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of government through which she has passed. At times the real governing power has been transferred to the hands of subjects, yet they have always held that power as commissioners of the ruling Sovereign, and from the very foundation of the empire the distinction between Sovereign and subject has been clearly preserved.

In the ancient records is to be found a decree which Ama Terasu Omi Kami (Great Goddess of Heavenly Light), an ancestress of Jimmu-Tenno, addressed to her grandson: 'This fine rice-producing country is destined to be the kingdom in which our descendants shall reign; you, grandson, fix your station and reign thereover.' Ama Terasu Omi Kami was named also Hatsu Kumi Shirasu Tenno, or First Reigning Empress. Prince Yamato-take-no-Mikoto (died A.D. 13) said: 'I am a son of the Emperor Otarashi-hiko-Oshiro-Wake, who resided in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku, and who governs

* Tables relating to the legal system are given in Appendix L.

the country of Eight Great Islands.' On his accession to the throne, the Emperor Mommu (A.D. 697-707) declared: 'As long as Emperors shall beget sons, We shall, each in succession, govern the Country of Eight Great Islands'; and the same Emperor also said: 'We shall reduce the realm to peace, and bestow Our loving care upon Our beloved subjects.'

Such, briefly, is the principle by which each Emperor has been guided on his accession to the throne. Latterly the phrase 'O-Yashima-Shiroshima Sumera-Mikotot' (the Emperor reigning over and governing the Country of Eight Great Islands) has come to be used as a regular formula in Imperial proclamations. Herein we may trace the source of the text of the Constitution contained in Article I.: 'The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors which shall remain unbroken to all time.'

From the beginning of the Empire the changes which have taken place in the legal system may be divided into three periods. Of these, the first, extending from the date of Jimmu-Tenno's accession to the throne (B.C. 660) to that of Ko-toku Tenno (A.D. 645), was the era of a stringent legal system, which for the following 1,300 years contained no provisions for dealing with any foreign element. At this time ancestor-worship was religiously carried on, and was one of the Government's most important concerns. A special pontifical office existed in the central Government, but locally pontifical functions were discharged by general administrative Governors.

Offices of Government, both central and local, were then almost exclusively filled by succeeding members of various clans, according to their genealogical importance and social standing. Even the ranks of the military profession were recruited entirely from the members of two or three clans and from their retainers, while other clans, again, monopolized the chief industries. The head of a clan had absolute and unlimited power over all his followers. The finances of the Imperial Court were derived mainly from the revenues of its territory and from contributions or gifts from clansmen and foreign countries, but later a few trifling taxes were imposed.

About this time agriculture began to be carried on. The private possession of land was common, and this led to the evil of absorption of property by the wealthier and more powerful clans. The provisions of the criminal code dealt chiefly with offences against ecclesiastical rites, and as a rule penalties were light. A ceremony of purification came into vogue whereby the polluted bodies of offenders might be cleansed and then blessed by the deity.

The second period extends from the accession to the throne

of Ko-toku Tenno to the beginning of the Meiji era—that is, from about A.D. 645 to thirty-five years ago. It again may be subdivided into two parts, the first of which ends in A.D. 1200. In this period the principle of the centralization of administration prevailed, and portions of the Chinese legal system were freely adopted. (China was then in the flourishing age of the Tung Dynasty, and under it her administrative organization and legal system were undoubtedly as highly developed as at any other time in history.)

The principal points on which the new system differed from the old may be briefly indicated. The pontifical office, or Board of Ecclesiastical Rites, was placed on the same footing as the Government (the highest administrative office). Under the Government were established eight departments, somewhat like the Ministerial departments of the present day, but with this difference, that the modern Ministry constitutes the Government itself in all its branches, and forms the Cabinet, with general control of the national affairs. The departments of former days were under the direction and superintendence of Government. The country was divided into prefectures, districts, and villages, each of which had its chief officer to supervise ecclesiastical rites and act as general administrator. The residents of every five houses formed a union which was locally self-governing, but was jointly responsible to the State. Hereditary tenure of office was abolished, and all were eligible for appointment according to ability, regardless of class distinction. The hereditary principle was set aside also in professions and trades, in which all were now free to engage. The military system was revised and conscription introduced. One third of all men above the age of twenty, except public officials and infirm or sickly persons, were liable for military service. Private occupation of land beyond space required for places of residence was prohibited, and a severe blow was thus dealt at the evil of absorption. All the land within the realm was recognised as national property, and everyone, from Prince of the blood to peasant, received his allotted piece of ground, which remained his during his life, and at his death reverted to the State. No sale or bequest of land was permitted, and its owner had power to let it to another for one year only. Certain lands were set aside for the maintenance of various temples and shrines, and strict supervision was exercised over the Buddhist priests. A land tax and a kind of *per capita* tax were for the first time levied. The national income was augmented by rents derived from letting State property and interest on money loans from revenue. Schools were established in the capital and its neighbourhood, pupils from which were afterwards selected by Government for office by means of

competitive examination. A system of communication was organized in order to facilitate intercourse between the central Government quarters and district offices. The criminal and civil laws—the latter containing minute regulations concerning the family—were both codified.

It will thus be seen that the legal system of the second period made fundamental alterations in the older system. In some of its essential points, however, the ancient system of Japan remained unchanged. The ranking of the pontifical office on the same level with Government as the highest authority, in especial, is not adopted from the Chinese system, while in laws relating to the family much of the former system was preserved; but it was in the predominance of principles adopted from the Chinese that the State found its way towards progress and enlightenment. Development in the matter of jurisprudence was one of the main features, but this again began to decline in the course of time, not being suited in all respects to the national circumstances of Japan. For one reason, in a country where the prosperous pursuit of agriculture had led to the vigorous practice of individual land tenure, great difficulty was found in applying the principle of nationalization of the land. Again, the power of clans was so great and hereditary succession so widely recognised that the appointment to office of men of capacity was very difficult, and public posts soon came again to be monopolized by the influential classes. The custom of allotting land fell into disuse, and private occupation of large tracts by the more powerful clans and the guardians of temples and shrines again became common. The reformed military system was so ineffectually applied that the Government had only the strength of some powerful clan to rely upon in case of need, and this had the inevitable consequence of increasing the power of the military class. At last the right of civil administration itself fell into the hands of the military class, and thus was prepared the way for the feudal system.

During the last part of the first division of this era the influence of the central Government gradually declined. The stronger members of the military class seized control of the respective local divisions, often waging war one upon the other in order to acquire each other's territory. Amongst the military classes, the member who was strongest and most capable of preserving peace within the realm took the reins of government, with authority from the ruling Sovereign. Thus commissioned, he would establish a separate central Government under the designation of Bakufu, otherwise the Government of Shogun or Generalissimo; and from that date onward the actual ruler was the Shogun, who has been supreme in all

State administration with the exception of the pontifical office. The Sovereign Ruler was a personality deemed too sacred and apart for connection with affairs of general administration, which were thus vested in the Shogun, the ruler always retaining the sovereignty in his own hands. The Shogun then allotted districts of country to such retainers as were deemed worthy to hold them, and clansmen who had made allegiance were permitted to remain in possession of their property in a state of vassalage. Such vassals were, however, allowed by the Shogun to exercise practically unbounded powers of administration throughout their territory, but always under the strict supervision of the Bakufu.

Amongst many dynasties of Shoguns, that of the Tokugawa —lasting from A.D. 600 to some thirty-five years ago—was the one which most efficiently established the feudal system. No other Shogunate ever approached this either in duration or in excellence of organization.

The legal system of the Bakufu relied mainly on custom and usage, but its few written laws were of a thoroughly practical nature. Although many of these regulations had their source in Chinese practices, much of the formal written code of the Chinese legal system, predominant in the first half of this period, ceased to exist in the second. Its influence in Japan, however, has until recent days permeated the national legal theories. The fundamental principle underlying the written laws of the Tokugawa Dynasty was that 'The people should obey the law, but should not know the law.' Most of the written code was consequently kept secret, and few were acquainted with it beyond those directly concerned in its administration. The most important part of this written code was that which treated of relations between the Imperial Court and the Bakufu or Shogunal Government, and the relations of the Bakufu with the local vassals or daimyo. Another important division of it became celebrated as 'The Tokugawa Dynasty's One Hundred Articles,' of which the penal code of the present day is an almost identical reproduction, and it was on these hundred articles that the feudal lords modelled their own penal codes for use within the boundaries of their respective domains.

As regards its political constitution, the Bakufu, although it held in its hands the real power of administration, was obliged to make representations to the Crown either before or after the act in any urgent case of national importance. It remained the privilege of the Emperor to appoint the Shogun or Generalissimo, to grant degrees of honour, to determine the names of the years (bestowing titles such as 'Meiji,' which signifies 'brilliant tranquillity"), to approve the inauguration

of new Buddhist temples, and to appoint or depose Buddhist officials. The Bakufu Treasury or Shogunal Court had to contribute a fixed amount, in money and rice, towards the Imperial revenues, and for the maintenance of lords and dignitaries in the service of the Court at Kyoto.

All rights relating to foreign intercourse and military administration, the issue of coin and working of gold, silver or copper mines, and all matters concerning Buddhist or Shinto places of worship—generally all affairs of national importance were in the hands of the Bakufu. The jurisdiction of the capital and all other other places of consequence was also administered by the Bakufu through agents appointed as local Governors. Territory other than the above was, as has been stated, in the possession of retainers of the Tokugawa Clan, or in that of other feudal lords who had sworn fidelity to the dynasty. To these lords, who numbered over 270, was entrusted the internal administration of their domains, as if each were an independent State. The wives and children of such lords were, however, obliged by the Bakufu to reside in Yedo—now Tokyo—so that their presence in the capital might be security for the fidelity of the lords. The Bakufu in addition enforced the attendance of each lord at their Court in Yedo for a fixed period every year. In the event of any lord being guilty of grave default, his territory was forfeited. All territorial lords were under obligation to supply horses and arms in time of war, and funds for military expenditure in time of peace; while they were also liable for the expense of any engineering works on a large scale which the Bakufu might at any time desire to carry out. Finally, there was no restriction to the power enforced by the Bakufu over the feudal lords, subject always to the superior authority of the Tokugawa Clan.

Two important points in the legal system of the Tokugawa dynasty may be mentioned. The first is found in the severe restrictions in all matters of foreign intercourse imposed by the Tokugawa Dynasty from considerations affecting the welfare of the Government. To the same motive was due the prohibition of Christianity in the country.

The second deals with the system of social policy. In order to meet the evil of the absorption of large tracts of territory by a few of the more powerful clans and families, it has been previously shown that, in the former period, a system of allotment of land in equal portions came into force. But in the end this method proved a failure. Under the Tokugawa Dynasty, the people were divided into classes, such as Bushi (warriors), Heimin (common people), and the like. To the Bushi so many measures of rice were allowed, and they were prohibited from engaging in trade or any money-making occupation. On the

other hand, the Heimin, or common people, were not allowed to enter the military or civil professions, but were expected to engage in commercial pursuits. The sale of landed property was strictly prohibited, lest it should lead to a recurrence of the former evil of absorption. Several trades were set aside as monopolies, and outside competition was not permitted, and a system whereby relatives and neighbours were obliged to support each other came into force. On the whole, it was intended that every person should have a peaceful living secured to him, and that none should try to attain a condition unwarranted by his circumstances. Hence, for nearly 300 years, until the dawn of the era of Meiji, a period of unparalleled tranquillity prevailed.

The third period is distinguished by the introduction of Occidental systems. At the beginning of this period the ancient ideas were still so much in force that the organization of the central Government and the criminal code were nearly identical with those of the second period, when adaptations from the Chinese system were in vogue. Public opinion, however, has come to be taken into consideration with regard to the organization of the Government, and a new legislation has been derived from customs prevailing amongst the Western nations.

The reformation of 1868 was due mainly to the patriotic action of the chiefs of feudal States within the realm, and in the result the new Government has had to rely on these same patriots for the enforcement of all measures which have been undertaken by it. It was in July, 1871, that the feudal lords were deprived of all administrative authority. The whole realm was then reapportioned into districts and prefectures under control of the central Government, in place of the former feudal States and territories, and the foundations of the new Government were thus made secure. The next step was the revision and amelioration of the military system, and of all matters relating to finance, communication, education, banking, and judicature, according to models found in European countries and the United States of America.

No point was left untouched by revision, and all relics of feudalism or class privilege were swept away by the eager adaptation of Western methods.

The Restoration of 1868 was indeed a step of unparalleled importance in the history of our nation. As the reaction from such a great event, there were disturbances here and there throughout the kingdom, and some untoward happenings, but none of any importance compared with the sudden advance which divides the past from the Meiji era. Many obstacles to the change of administrative system have been encountered

during the short reign of new methods, but nothing daunted His Majesty the Emperor Mutsuhito from pursuing the work of reform in accordance with fixed principles, aided by such distinguished men as Okubo, Kido, and Saigo, who are responsible for the present condition of progress in its first stage.

In June, 1873, the first annual Budget was published, and since 1875 annual accounts have been issued. In April, 1895, the Senate and Court of Cassation were instituted, the systems affecting legislation and judicial administration being meanwhile revised. In July, 1878, Fu or Ken (Provincial) Assemblies and Town or Village Assemblies were established. March, 1880, saw the official installation of a Board of Audit. In July of the same year the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure were promulgated.

In October, 1881, an Imperial decree proclaimed that an Imperial Diet should be held, dating from the twenty-third year of Meiji (1890). In February, 1889, the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, the House Law, and the Law of Finance, were published, and in June, 1890, the Law of Administrative Adjudication—all these laws coming into force from the date on which the Imperial Diet was to be held (November of the following year).

Meantime there were promulgated several important laws relating to the organization of the central Government; the organization of cities, towns, and villages; and the organization of Fu or Ken; along with the Civil Code, the Commercial Code, the Code of Civil Procedure, and the revised Code of Criminal Procedure. The Civil and Commercial Codes, however, were found still to contain inconvenient provisions, so the date of their taking effect was postponed in view of further revision, to be decreed by the Diet at the session of the same year. Subsequently, in order to meet shortcomings generally felt in commercial circles, the more important provisions of the Commercial Code—such as laws relating to companies, bills and notes, and bankruptcy proceedings—were made effective. At the same time the revision of the Civil and Commercial Codes was undertaken by a Committee specially appointed for the purpose in March, 1894, and these two codes in their revised form have already come into force. The Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Code of Civil Procedure, likewise in turn came to be revised by the same Committee. The first two of these codes have now been completely revised for submission to the Diet. Considerable revision was made not only in laws concerning the jurisdiction of the Judicial Department, but also in those relating to general administration. The administration laws especially required unification in accordance with more enlightened

principles, since, although they had been modified before this date, they were yet full of variations to suit their sphere of operation, owing to their having previously been entrusted to the efficiency of local Governors.

The legal system of Japan has thus made great progress since the date of the Restoration. At the time of its commencement, in the organization of central Government as in the criminal laws, the influence of the Chinese system was predominant; but the legal methods of Europe have now been taken into consideration in the revision of all systems as required. Amongst all the European legal systems which have been introduced into Japan, our authorities have shown no prejudice in favour of one over the other. In the Judicial Department the jurisprudence of France and Great Britain have hitherto been most freely adopted. The provisions of the Civil Law, with the exception of a few statutory clauses, are based mainly on custom; but, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining local customs in the changed circumstances brought by the Restoration, it has been found necessary in adjudication to take into consideration the legal provisions of France and England. More recently, much of the German system of jurisprudence has been adopted amongst the more popular adaptations from France and England, while in public law the jurisprudence of that country has been pre-eminent in our system since the earliest days of the Restoration.

CHAPTER XXV

POLICE AND PRISONS

I. POLICE

BY BARON SUYEMATSU
(Ex-Minister of the Interior)

IN Japan the police system is essentially a part of the State organization. It has nothing to do with the communal corporations. The police force is organized in each prefecture under a universal regulation of the central Government, with local option of making some trifling modifications to suit the condition of the locality, such as the average amount of the salary of the policemen and the total number of such men.

The system in force in the prefecture of Tokyo, which comprises the city of Tokyo and some suburban *guns* (counties), forms an exception. The general control of the police forces belongs to the Minister of the Interior. In his ministry there is a special bureau for management of police affairs, with a director who acts under him. In prefectures the Governors have the control of police affairs, each in his prefecture being under the general control of the Minister of the Interior. In each prefectural government there is a division of officials, with a chief who takes charge of police affairs under the Governor.

The general expenditure of the police force is included in the prefectural Budget and defrayed out of the prefectural taxation. But part of it is subsidized by the central Government, and, besides the salaries of the officials and some small specific expenses, are also paid by the Treasury. The Budget is, of course, submitted for the consideration of the Prefectural Elective Assembly in each prefecture, and thus the local assemblies have a voice in determining the average amount of the salaries of the men and the number of men employed. The State subsidy is one-sixth part of the whole expenditure (modified Imperial Ordinance of 1888), and the number of the men is one for from three hundred to eight hundred of popula-

tion in cities and one for from one thousand to two thousand in counties (Imperial Ordinance of 1896).

In the case of the prefecture of Tokyo the system differs from other prefectures in that there is a police governor, who is also under the general control of the Minister of the Interior, with an office quite independent of the ordinary Governor. Here the police governor and the ordinary Governor carry on their functions separately, but, of course, they have in many matters to execute their authority conjointly. It resembles very much the system in force in Paris. In Tokyo, moreover, the State aid to the expenditure is four-tenths, instead of one-sixth in other prefectures.

In each *gun* (county) there is a police-station with a certain number of men allotted to it under a police officer. Branch stations are often established. In the rural districts generally one particular policeman is allotted to look after the police affairs within a certain compass of the locality, and he resides therein. There are several classes of branch stations and sub-branch stations according to their importance, but it is scarcely necessary for our purpose to dwell upon them here.

According to the Government statistics, there were in the year 1901 2,116 police-officers, and 31,833 men; total, 33,949; and the average number of population per head of this total was 1,332.

In the above description Formosa is not included, although Yezo (Hokkaido) and Liuchiu (Okinawa) are. But even in Formosa the system does not differ much, except that there is no prefectural assembly. This is also the case with Liuchiu.

The duties of the police force are pretty much the same as in any other civilized country. They are various, but may be summed up as being 'to keep peace and order'; nay, not only to keep peace and order, as they are, but also to promote the welfare of the people without being over-officious. Hence they have to look after the sanitary conditions or such like of the people and enforce sanitary regulations and such like. As a rule, their actions are expected chiefly to be 'preventive' in the first place, and 'suppressive' only in the second place. There is another function belonging to them, that is the so-called 'high police,' which means the observation of political movements or intrigues which may be fostered within the Empire.

They have also another function, which is that of 'judicial police.' This function comes into action when an act which is punishable by law is committed by a person. Here the police force is to be considered as forming a part of the officers of the law court, and they are expected, as assistants of the court, to

search and arrest the offender. For searching or arresting an offender there are stringent rules for preventing abuses of authority, but that is a matter to be discussed separately. When stating all this, it must, of course, be understood that no individual officer or man is expected to undertake them all. On the contrary, the division or rotation of the tasks is regulated by minute rules and regulations.

Fire brigades form a separate organization apart from the police, but they are also under the control of the police authorities.

In the eyes of the law in Japan, policemen, low as their position is, are regarded as a part of 'Government officials,' and not as mere servants. As a matter of fact, their social standing is comparatively higher than that of the Western nations. True, they are incessantly taught to be civil and obliging to all they come in contact with, and not to display any official arrogancy; but they are not expected, nor do they feel it their duty, to do some things which appear to me quite common among Western nations—I mean they would not oblige one by doing a thing which is, *primâ facie*, inconsistent with their dignity, and, therefore, one would rather offend them if he were to expect some such thing to be done for him—say by offering them a 'tip.' For instance, they would not come officiously to your carriage and open the door for you if there were not some special reason for them to do so—say an apprehension of accident. This is a very important matter for foreign visitors to Japan to keep always in mind. It is desirable that foreign visitors should not judge our policemen hardly on account of that difference from the Western point of view. I do not in the least mean to say that our system is in any way better. The Western methods and habits have their good points. They are very useful and well adapted to the requirements of their countries. I only mean to say that our customs and habits differ in these respects.

In Japan the police force in its modern shape was formed only after the abolition of the feudal system, as one may well surmise, though it has gone through much evolution. There was a time when thousands of the young samurais had lost their employment, and it was chiefly those samurais who were enrolled in the police force. The standard of their social position and intellectual culture was of a rather higher degree than that of those with whom they had to come into daily contact. That condition has never been lost sight of. Even now only those who pass a certain special examination prescribed for them are taken, and the examination is not a very easy one. Such being the case, it will not be difficult to understand the cause of the difference which exists between the Western police and those of

Japan. Here I will call attention to a detail of some importance. It is the constant desire of our authorities that the police should be especially civil and obliging to foreign visitors, but I fear some unhappy incidents may sometimes occur without intention. I once read in a newspaper that in a country town a policeman went up to a foreign lady who was watching the Crown Prince and Princess as they passed and requested her to take off her bonnet. In Japan it is the usual custom that men should take off their hats on such occasions. Of course, our women wear nothing on their heads. The policeman in question did not know the Western custom concerning ladies' bonnets, hence the request to take it off. There was no wrong intention in the matter. At another time I heard of an incident taking place of a foreign Prince, incognito, shooting pigeons in a temple contrary to the law. A policeman, without knowing who he was, and knowing that he was only doing his duty, tried to stop him. Both these occurrences were very unfortunate, but, of course, they were soon satisfactorily explained, and the matter ended. It is our hope that foreign visitors will always make certain allowances, remembering that they are in a foreign land, and that they, on their part also, will take the trouble of explaining calmly rather than becoming irritated. I may also add that discrimination in treatment according to the social position of a person with whom one comes in contact is, as a rule, a matter of great difficulty in Japan, especially on the part of such people as policemen. Here, therefore, some allowance must be also made. Apart from the police question, it is needless to say that there are many things which are socially permissible in one country and not so in another, and many things quite *vice versâ*. It is therefore desirable for foreign visitors to keep these facts always in mind, and make due allowances in such cases.

But to return to our subject. Although it is the endeavour of the Japanese authorities to keep up the standard of the police, the tendency of late years has shown that it is difficult, inasmuch as the remuneration given them is not sufficient either to men of the same standing as in former days to enlist or to remain long in the service. The salaries have been lately increased to some extent, but they are, after all, small, for they vary from between 9 yen to 15 yen per month, and this scarcely keeps pace with the general development of the country. The increase of local expenditure, however, prevents any significant augmentation. There is a system of pensions for policemen of long service, or for those disabled in the discharge of their duties. There is a regulation of rewards for conspicuous services done by them, and a few other kinds of inducements; but all these are not quite able to maintain the old standard.

A few words more. There is in Tokyo a college called the Police and Prison College, under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. It is not a college in the strict sense. It is a place where police and prison officers are trained for the discharge of their special duties both in theory and practice. Each Governor selects a certain number of the most promising young officers from amongst the police force of his prefecture, and they are the police officers who are sent to and trained in the college. When they finish and go back to their prefecture, they in turn instruct others at the training station of their several prefectures. This college was instituted in the year when the old treaties with the Western Powers were revised, and has proved very successful. The majority of the teachers were foreigners at first, but their places are now mostly taken by natives.

And yet another word. With us there is a system of the so-called 'applied-for policemen.' A bank, or any great commercial firm, or municipal corporation, private schools, or even private families of sufficient standing, may apply for the permanent despatch of a number of policemen to their premises, and so establish a kind of police-station therein. These policemen do not differ from their colleagues in any way, except that the expenses pertaining to them are defrayed by the applicants. To make it more clear, there is a fixed sum, which is determined by the Governors, with the concurrence of the respective prefectural assemblies, to be contributed to the authorities for each of the men applied for. These men are not always the same, but the necessary number of them is always stationed on the same premises and keep watch, a plan which has proved both convenient and successful.

II. Prisons

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

The supreme supervision of prison administration in Japan is vested in the Minister of Justice, who has the central prisons under his immediate control, while the local prisons are under the control of the local prefect under his discretion. The work of prison supervision is looked after by a special prison bureau in the Ministry of Justice on behalf of the Minister. At present this bureau consists of a director, three prison superintendents, fifteen clerks, and nine minor employés. The bureau is divided into three departments: First, the Department of Prison Management; second, the Department of Prison Income and Expenses; and, third, the Department of

Prison Statistics. Over each department is placed a prison superintendent, and the work of the bureau is divided amongst the three divisions. Each department has its own special work, the division being made as follows: The first department deals with everything pertaining to pardons, parole rehabilitation, leave to dwell outside granted to criminals condemned to transportation, temporary release from police surveillance, the execution of the death sentence, and other general prison business. The second department has charge of all the questions of prison labour and the revenue and expenditure of the prisons. The third department has charge of the drawing up of all the statistical reports relating to prisons and prisoners. All plans for the building or repairing of prisons are drawn up by competent architects in the architectural section of the Bureau of General Affairs in the Ministry of Justice.

There are at present 139 prisons in Japan. Of these, 4 are central prisons, and 2 are branch institutions of these; 51 are local prisons, with 82 branch institutions. The central prisons and their branches are used for the confinement of male criminals sentenced under the present Penal Code with penal servitude, and for those sentenced to imprisonment for life under the old laws in force before the promulgation of the new Penal Code. The local prisons and their branches are used for the imprisonment of male and female criminals sentenced to confinement, detention, imprisonment or attachment, and of female criminals sentenced to penal servitude. Both the central and local prisons have special governors appointed to supervise the criminals and all affairs connected with them. In the branch institutions the place of these governors is taken by specially-appointed sub-governors. The sub-governors of the branch institutions of local prisons are appointed from among the prison clerks without altering the official status of these, whereas in the branch institutions of the central prisons the sub-governors are specially-appointed officials.

Under this system there are fifty-five governors specially commissioned for the administration of central and local prisons, and two governors for the administration of the branch institutions of the central prisons. Besides these there are in all 11,995 prison functionaries, divided as follows: In connection with the central prisons there are 88 clerks and chief warders, 15 physicians, 1,071 warders, 15 chaplains, 65 instructors, and 120 employés in the labour section—in all 1,377 persons. In connection with the local prisons there are 734 clerks and chief warders, 15 interpreters, 7,037 warders, 249 instructors and warders, 227 physicians, 160 chaplains, 433 matrons for female prisoners, 633 gaolers, 390 labour instructors, 35 honorary

prison physicians, 28 honorary chaplains, and 626 employés—in all 10,676 persons.

The allotment of warders, matrons, and gaolers to the various prisons is governed largely by the number of prisoners and also by the nature of the buildings. The general rule is for there to be 75 warders for every 500 male prisoners, and this proportion is maintained by the addition or withdrawal of 5 warders for every 50 male prisoners admitted or discharged. Matrons are employed in the proportion of 5 for each 25 or less female prisoners, one being added or withdrawn on the increase or decrease of the female prisoners by 25. Eight gaolers are distributed in the proportion of 10 to every 500 male prisoners, one gaoler being added or withdrawn for every change of 100 prisoners.

The salaries of the prison officials naturally vary considerably, according to rank and local conditions. Governors receive from 600 yen to 1,800 yen (£60 to £180) annually inclusive. The salary of prison clerks and chief warders varies from 15 yen to 75 yen (£1 10s. to £7 10s.) per month inclusive, while that of warders runs from 9 yen to 25 yen (18s. to 50s.) a month inclusive. Matrons receive from 6 yen to 15 yen (12s. to 30s.) a month, while gaolers can earn from 5 yen to 15·50 yen (10s. to 31s.) a month.

For long the prisons used to be supported by local taxation, and there was thus a great lack of uniformity in their administration. It was often difficult to obtain the consent of the local authorities to rebuild prisons when the necessary expenditure would have rendered still more great the increase in the local taxes, already heavily burdened to provide for the making of suitable improvements in engineering work, education and sanitary affairs. Thus it came about that many of the prison buildings were in a very tumble-down and bad condition. In 1900 the Government transferred the support of the prisons from the local authorities to the Central Treasury, as being the only way to remedy the condition of affairs. Shortly after this change the central authorities began the reconstruction of the Kojibashi Prison in Tokyo, and prisons in the prefectures of Chiba, Nara, Ishikawa, Nagasaki, and Kagoshima. For this an annual expenditure of 400,000 yen for six years was voted, and it is intended to continue the scheme of reconstruction in other localities, should the financial conditions permit, until finally all the prisons throughout Japan shall have been put completely in order. According to the above plan of reconstruction the new prisons in Nara and Nagasaki will be of brick, and that in Kagoshima partly of wood and partly of stone. In Chiba the new prison is to be of wood and brick; in Tokyo the Kojibashi prison will be of wood, as will also be the

prison in Ishikawa. In all these new prisons a mixed system of separation and association is to be employed. The separate confinement cells will be one-third of the total number of cells in the prisons, the remaining two-thirds being still founded on the principle of the associate cell system. The windows will be specially large, to allow of plenty of air and light in all the cells.

Practically all the old prisons are constructed of wood, and are arranged on the associate cell system. The separate cell system is especially adapted for foreign criminals, and these are provided with clothes, beds, and other articles to which they are accustomed, while special attention is paid to their habits, so that they may not suffer from the different prison customs of Japan.

In 1889 a school was established for the training of prison officials. Unfortunately, however, unavoidable circumstances necessitated the temporary abandonment of the project, and the school was closed shortly after the first body of students had completed the fixed course of study. The great difficulty experienced by the Government in finding competent officers to carry out satisfactorily the improvements contemplated again prompted the establishment of a special training school for prison officials, and in 1900 a second attempt was made at Tokyo, which school is now rendering valuable assistance in the interests of education.

The students are chosen by local prefects from prison clerks and chief warders in their respective prefectures, and their term of study is one year. The course includes a general outline of jurisprudence, constitutional law, the Penal Code, Code of Criminal Procedures, penalogy, prison hygiene, criminology, statistics, the Civil Code, and military drill. The figures given show that the students vary in number each year, fluctuating between eighty and one hundred; those graduating in February, 1903, numbered seventy-one.

While the training of upper prison officials has been the main object of these schools, yet the Government has not neglected the education of those occupying subordinate positions in the prisons. Before entering upon the performance of their duties the latter must, for more than two months after their appointment, undergo practical training in the prisons. Examinations are held at convenient intervals during this term of probation, and the minor employés under training are not allowed to retain the posts to which they have been appointed unless they successfully pass the final examination at the end of the term. As a rule, the training officers are selected from those prison clerks and chief warders who have previously passed through the entire course of special training.

The subjects of training of the minor prison officials are as follows:

1. Prison regulations, and rules pertaining to the operation of prison regulations.
2. Rules for the performance of distinctive functions of warders and prison employés.
3. General outline of the Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure.
4. General outline of the disciplinary regulations of civil service.
5. General outline of all laws and regulations relating to prisons and prisoners.
6. General guide to the exercise of care and discipline of prisoners.
7. General guide to the treatment of prisoners.
8. General guide to the transaction of business in connection with prison labour.
9. General guide to the sanitary condition of prisons, and the treatment of criminal patients.
10. General guide to the manner of entering data in the several registers, and the preparation of reports.
11. Some remarks on bodily posture, manners, dress, and other formal matters.
12. Practical drill, such as military-exercises, use of disciplinary instruments, fire-drill, bamboo fencing, jujitsu—an art peculiar to the Japanese of throwing and capturing others by dexterity; the method of registering and reporting inquiries concerning the physical condition of prisoners, objects found on their persons, physiognomical expression.

The population of the prisons varies considerably from year to year, but since 1899 the general tendency has been towards a decrease. The numerical relation between prisoners and the general population in Japan is maintained at the ratio of 3½ to 1,000. On the one hand, the number of felons and misdemeanants is annually decreasing, while, on the other hand, contraveners are gradually increasing in number.*

Pardon is proposed by the Public Procurator of the Court which delivered judgment, or by the prison governor, to the

* This is shown by the tables given in Appendix M. These deal with the following subjects:

Sentences of newly-imprisoned convicts for offences of a serious nature for seventeen retrospective years from 1900 to 1884 inclusive.

Annual population of prisons at the end of each year for twenty retrospective years from 1901 to 1882 inclusive.

Classification of felons, misdemeanants, and contraveners amongst the annual number of newly-imprisoned convicts for thirteen retrospective years from 1900 to 1888 inclusive.

Nature of serious offences of newly-imprisoned convicts for thirteen retrospective years from 1900 to 1888 inclusive.

Minister of Justice, at the same time setting forth the good behaviour and wretched circumstances of the condemned criminal in a form of petition to the Emperor for His Majesty's mercy. This petition is presented in writing for His Majesty's sanction by the Minister of Justice, who also gives his own view of the matter.

In 1897 there were 28 criminals pardoned; in 1898, 33; in 1899, 19; in 1900, 70; and in 1901, 92.

Parole or *libération préparatoire* is proposed by the prison governor to the Minister of Justice, at the same time setting forth specific conditions worthy of his attention on behalf of the condemned for felony or misdemeanour who have served three-fourths of the sentence imposed, and who have, by good conduct and careful observance of prison discipline, shown a disposition to live more worthily. These specific circumstances are considered by the Minister of Justice, and, if judged satisfactory, he then accords to the prisoners in question the petitioned benefit of conditional liberation by an administrative measure, at the same time putting them under special police surveillance during the remainder of the sentence. The following list gives the number of conditionally liberated criminals for the five years subsequent to 1896:

In 1897 there were 321 criminals conditionally liberated; in 1898, 338; in 1899, 398; in 1900, 346; and in 1901, 323.

Our long experience has taught us that capital punishment is the necessary penalty for the following crimes: murder, manslaughter, robbery with violence, homicide, or wounds inflicted by children or descendants against their fathers or mothers, or grandfathers and mothers, and arson.

The death penalty has been inflicted much oftener in cases of murder, manslaughter, and robbery with violence than in the case of the other crimes above enumerated, but in general the number of all these crimes has of late gradually decreased. The following number of persons have suffered capital punishment for the five years following 1896:

In 1897 there were 21 criminals executed; in 1898, 29; in 1899, 39; in 1900, 34; and in 1901, 26.

In accordance with the prison regulations now in force, medals are granted by prison governors as rewards to any criminals in their custody who have shown their amendment by carefully observing prison rules, properly conducting themselves, and labouring diligently since their incarceration. The medal can only be awarded three times to an individual, this restriction having the two-fold effect of, first, forming a sort of standard usually followed by governors in proposing pardons or conditional liberation; and, second, it is of assistance in determining various forms of lenient treatment, according to

the number of medals earned. Such lenient treatment is accorded in the following ways:

1. All medallists are supplied with superior kinds of garments and other articles.

2. Each medallist is allowed to send out two letters per month.

3. Medallists enjoy the privilege of bathing prior to other prisoners, hot water being used in accordance with the general custom of the Japanese people.

4. The supply of accessories is increased in quantity every week for medallists, according to the number of medals granted, to the extent of an increased expense of two sen or less for one meal per person. This increase is granted once a week to the possessor of one medal, twice a week to the possessor of two medals, and three times a week for each possessor of three medals.

5. The allotment of earnings is made in the following proportion, the remainder being applied to prison expenses:

Three-tenths to each felon to whom one medal has been granted.

Four-tenths to each misdemeanant to whom one medal has been awarded.

Four-tenths to each felon having been granted two medals.

Five-tenths to each felon possessing three medals.

Six-tenths to each misdemeanant granted three medals.

Disciplinary punishments to be inflicted upon criminal inmates of prisons are divided into three kinds: (1) Solitary confinement in a windowed cell; (2) the reduction of food supply; and (3) solitary confinement in a dark room. The first is a solitary confinement for two days and nights or less in a cell removed from ordinary cells or prison functionaries' offices, where the confined prisoner is required to work during working hours. The second is the reduction for a week or less of the supply of food to one-half or a third of the ordinary quantity. The third and last is disciplinary punishment, confining the prisoner alone for five days and nights or less in a dark room, where he is only supplied with half or a third of his usual quantity of food, and is not allowed to have a bed or its furniture. When juvenile offenders of less than sixteen years, or non-condemned children kept in the special establishments of disciplinary correction, have infracted the provisions of disciplinary prison regulations, they are punished by solitary confinement or the reduction of their food-supply, according to the degree of their infraction. This solitary confinement involves their living alone in a room for seventeen days and nights or less, and the reduction in their food-supply consists in lessening it for at least three days to one-half or one-third of its usual quantity.

As a result of recent reforms in prison administration, the attention of the Government has been specially drawn to the

sanitary conditions prevailing in prisons. In this connection the authorities are now making every effort in their power for the maintenance of the health of the prisoners. All prisons are provided with adequate accommodation for the free admittance of light and air. Every possible precaution is taken against infection by contagious diseases, and cleanliness is warmly encouraged. Inmates suspected of having infectious diseases are carefully isolated and intercourse prohibited between them and healthy individuals. All accused persons, condemned criminals without obligatory labour, and offenders are required to walk or take other exercise in grounds laid out for that purpose for more than half an hour daily. Bathing in general is, of course, permitted every fifth day in summer and every tenth day in winter, though a distinction is made between prisoners where the nature of their respective labour or other circumstances demands. For foreign criminals there are provided special individual bath-tubs best suited to the custom of their country. There is a marked difference shown between the food given native and foreign prisoners, the former being supplied with a mixture of rice and wheat boiled together in the proportion of four-tenths and six-tenths. Not more than three go* are given to one person at a meal, though the amount is regulated according to the labour or other circumstances of the prisoner, but all necessary food is provided from good, nutritious materials, according to its cost, at the rate of 3 sen or less for each person. Much better food is supplied to foreign prisoners, according to their taste. The following report shows the amount of illness and number of deaths among the prisoners for the five years from 1896 to 1900 inclusive :

Year.	Patients.	Deaths.	Number of Deaths among each 1,000 Prisoners.
1896 ..	1,456,058 ..	3,864 ..	8·59
1897 ..	1,131,480 ..	2,830 ..	6·13
1898 ..	1,346,926 ..	3,166 ..	6·88
1899 ..	260,069 ..	1,731 ..	4·28
1900 ..	287,804 ..	1,212 ..	3·06

In most cases the object of imposing obligatory labour upon prisoners, except in some cases of condemnation without labour, is to give them careful training in useful labour, and to encourage diligence, so that on their discharge from the prison at the end of their term of imprisonment they will find less difficulty in obtaining employment. The Government has therefore provided various kinds of useful work which is not injurious

* One go is equal to about a third of a pound ; nine go equal, therefore three pounds.

to health. The labour is apportioned in two ways: (1) for the Government, and (2) for private individuals or bodies or individuals. In the former case the capital invested is supplied from the fund set aside for prison expenditure, and materials, tools, implements, etc., are purchased from this fund. But in the latter case the trades are controlled as a private business by individuals, companies, or partnerships, who either obtain the necessary supply of labour from the prisons direct, or engage the employed prisoners at reasonable wages on application. Capital and materials are, of course, supplied by employers in each instance.

The Government work consists of the manufacture of articles required by the prisons themselves and other Government departments, also of mining and engineering connected with those offices. The principal branches of industry are as follows: Loom-working, carpentry, joinery, needlework, smith-craft, straw-work, brick-making, coal-mining, paper-making, and construction and repairs of buildings. Brick-working, among other industries, fully answers all demands of the Government departments.

Where the supply of labour is obtained from the prisons by private employers the work is usually of the following nature: the manufacture of silk-stuff, soles of Japanese socks, cotton-flannel, mats, Japanese socks, bricks, matches, Japanese cloisonné, *uchiwa* (a Japanese fan, round and not to be folded); quarrying and work in cotton-mills.

Originally all prison expenses in Japan were defrayed from the Central Government Treasury; but in 1880 the support of local prisons established for the incarceration of those undergoing confinement or other lower punishment, and the custody of all other accused persons, was transferred from the Treasury to municipal and local purses, owing to the abolition of paper currency and the general report of financial administration. This change did not, however, affect the salaries of prison officials or prison expenses in Hokkaido, Okinawa-ken, and the island of Ogasawara, where local taxation was not yet levied; nor did the change affect the expenses of central prisons established for imprisoning male criminals condemned to penal servitude or transportation under the existing code, or to imprisonment for life under the old law—all these depending on the National Treasury for their existence. Later, with the progress of civilization, the sum of local expenditure has been gradually increased in the interests of education, engineering works, and the encouragement of agriculture and industries of various sorts. In these circumstances it is not surprising that an adequate sum of money was not available for the maintenance of the prisons, and the result of this unsatis-

factory condition of affairs was the diversity shown in the several localities in their supply of food, clothing, and bedding, as well as their treatment of prisoners, with a consequent lack of uniformity in administration. Thereupon the Government determined to remedy the conditions which had prevailed for twenty years, and by Law No. 14, passed in 1900, took the support of prisons from the control of the local purse and gave it into the hands of the National Treasury once more. This change was the signal for general activity in prison administration reforms, and various improvements have since been effected in the treatment of prisoners. It is hoped that still further reforms will be instituted in the near future.

The present expenditure and revenue are as follows. The total amount of this revenue is 25 per cent. of the ordinary expenditure.

Expenditure.

	Yen.
Ordinary expenditure	5,620,164
Extraordinary expenditure	402,280
Total	6,022,444

Note.—Extraordinary expenditure covers the whole amount of expenses of building and repairs.

Revenue.

	Yen.
Profits from the labour of prisoners ..	1,424,856
Miscellaneous profits	86,434
Total	1,511,290

For a long time prison statistics in Japan reported only a part of the facts respecting prison administration, owing to imperfect compilation, with the consequent failure to supply accurate information. But of late years the method of compilation has, to a large extent, been improved. Meantime we have had tables furnished us giving almost all the minute details regarding prison affairs, and these statistics have shown a gradual improvement. Every effort is made to secure accuracy and perfection of detail for these tables, and to this end minute inquiries are made into the personal characters and circumstances of prisoners by means of card-recording, which method was first adopted in 1900. These inquiries are made in the various prisons under the system of local separate investigation, each prison having a statistical reporter specially appointed for that purpose.

We are convinced that prison reform is probably coextensive

with the development of benevolent work for the maintenance of ex-convicts or discharged prisoners of good conduct, but we regret to state that the work of such a social nature as the support of discharged prisoners is still in a state of infancy amidst the rapid progress of affairs in Japan since the Restoration. According to the report of November, 1900, there are at present in our country thirty-two societies for aiding such persons, and eight of them have been incorporated as legal bodies. These societies claim to have looked after 3,358 discharged prisoners up to the present time, but owing to the short time they have been in existence their methods of business are still imperfect, and their efforts have failed of any very great success. Be that as it may, however, they are introducing many improvements into their plans, and the number of such societies is increasing yearly, which augurs well for the future, and it is probable that ere long the social condition of Japan will have greatly improved by reason of the further progress of civilization and the gradual development of philanthropic ideals.

CHAPTER XXVI

ART AND LITERATURE

BY BARON SUYEMATSU

Of late I have often been told by Europeans that Japan had made extraordinary progress in so short a time as thirty or forty years. Some even go so far as saying that it was a matter of amazement, as Japan must have been in a state of semi-barbarism before that time. The phase of our modern progress is new, and, of course, we recognise our great indebtedness to the Western nations; we frankly avow that our present forward movement in the path of civilization is mainly based upon European methods of thought and reasoning. But, at the same time, I must say that it would be a matter of great misconception if the Europeans were to think that this kind of complete transformation was possible without some solid antecedents which would have made it feasible.

Japan has had ideas and feelings of her own for many centuries; without some intimate knowledge of those ideas and feelings it would seem almost impossible for outsiders to understand what Japan is, and hence their amazement. The ideas and feelings of a nation are chiefly manifested, and are mainly traceable, in objects of art and in works of literature. I am glad to see that there are numerous books published in European languages, English being the principal one of them, if not the foremost. I have glanced at some of them; their generalization and classification are generally splendid, always displaying the excellent scholastic attainments of the Western writers, though in the domain of literature their number seems to be less than in that of the arts. From these I can say that there is plenty of means for Westerners to study the history of the ideas and feelings of Japan without much difficulty. They are, no doubt, already studied to a great extent by a certain section of Western people, but it seems that this is done by them more for the sake of art or literature as such, and not for the sake of studying the Japanese ideas and feelings. Our hopes are that it should be done so more in the near future with the aim of understanding the Japanese. If these books are not popular reading, why should there not

be some modified editions or special books written by good writers for this purpose? While paying this tribute to the Western books of the kind, it must be understood that now and then almost ridiculous errors are committed, in spite of the profundity and minuteness of the writers' researches. I have often seen in the Japanese newspapers 'Pall Mall' being phonetically written as if it had the sounds of 'paul maul,' basing their analogy upon such words as hall or wall; and I have once seen the word 'ball,' in the sense of a dancing-party, translated as a game at ball in the sense of a round object. This kind of mistake is only natural for foreigners, and therefore it is not a matter of surprise that on the part of the Europeans they should also commit similar mistakes in the matter of the terms employed by Oriental nations. With all Mr. W. G. Aston's knowledge of Japan, in his 'Japanese Literature,' which I have just peeped into here and there, I found 'Koga' (name of a country seat of a Daïmio, a patron of the famous Hakuseki) written as 'Furukawa,' a mistake arising from reading the Chinese character in a more common Japanese way; and, again, I found him describing the father of Hakuseki as a '*Metsuke*' or inspector of the Daïmio's Yedo Mansion, and adding a footnote to '*Metsuke*' thus: 'This is the word usually rendered "spy."' '*Metsuke*' means a superintendent, inspector, or overseer. It was formerly employed to designate certain offices held by individuals who might be in some instances of high rank and in others of lower rank, the distinction being made by the addition of a prefix indicative of the duties involved. If, therefore, he means to say '*Metsuke*' equals inspector he is correct, though if he means it equals inspector of the Daïmio's Yedo Mansion he is wrong. But to speak of it as equivalent to a spy is detestable, and I am at a total loss to imagine how and whence he could have got such a notion. How much more are similar errors to be anticipated in works undertaken by less competent hands! In books written by foreigners, moreover, it often happens, when carefully scrutinized by the native eye, that some important points are overlooked, and that trivial points are treated with great prominence. These kinds of mistakes, however, must be overlooked, and on the whole I recognise the far outweighing merits in those books written by the Westerners on those subjects we are speaking of. They may be read with advantage for the purpose I recommend.

I. ART.

The subject is so wide and complicated that it is a matter of absolute impossibility to deal with it satisfactorily in a short article; further reference, therefore, must be had to some good

books on the subject. I would, however, herein sketch the general outline of the history of our art and our notions about it. The Nara period, which corresponds to the Western eighth century, was one of the great, if not the greatest, epochs of our art. Nara was our Imperial capital preceding that of Kyoto. The remnants of the art of this period, including many of the previous century, are to be seen to this day mostly in the Prefecture of Nara. The highest excellence of art attained at this period was in the images, both in bronze and wood, and also in the dried lacquers; the pictorial art was also excellent, side by side with the architectural. Even artificial stone (concrete) was in use. Many of the Buddhistic temples of olden times are still remaining, and numerous images of the above description are to be seen in them, besides an Imperial museum. Nara, with its suburban districts, is one of the few localities possessing exceptional interest for foreign visitors. I would not for a moment dare to place the art products of Japan on the same level with those of the Greeks, but it is most flattering to us that when our sculpture of this period is spoken of by experts some references are generally made to those of the Greek, and some kind of comparison is drawn. Dr. Anderson, speaking of this period in his 'Pictorial Art of Japan,' sums it up as follows, which will give my readers a fair idea of the period:

'Whatever be the credibility of the majority of the early records, it is certain that the level reached by the Japanese in the sculpture of metals upwards of a thousand years ago was remarkably high, and many of the products of this period of art culture demonstrate a breadth of conception and a courage of effort that could only emanate from an intellectual and energetic race; but, unfortunately, the subsequent errors have contributed little to increase the fame won by the authorship of the great bronzes that adorned the ancient capital of Nara.'

Captain Brinkley says in his great work on Japan, after alluding to the originality of the Japanese of this period (though, at the same time, his according to its pictures only a secondary place is perhaps open to criticism):

'Men that could conceive and construct the colossal bronze figure of Vairochana Buddha at Nara, and numerous images preserved in the temple there, cannot have experienced much necessity to employ Chinese or Corean hands. Nevertheless, though glyptic art, the lacquerer's art, and the inlayer's art unquestionably attained to a high stage of development in this epoch, pictorial art remained in a secondary place . . . the features which constitute the chief charm as well as the speciality of Japanese genius in later ages had not yet been evolved . . . but as sculptors they unquestionably stand at the head of Far Eastern artists, and although the degree of supremacy varied from age to age, the fact could never be questioned.'

As a matter of fact, the colossal Daibutsu, bronze Buddha, of Nara, as also other similar objects, would be worth anyone's seeing. It is true the head of the great Buddha of Nara is not good—it is comparatively a new one put up by far less competent hands after the original head had been lost in a fire caused by war; but from the artistic surroundings of other parts, it is assumed by competent native experts that the head must have been equally as good as, if not better than, that of the great Buddha of Kamakura, which was a product of the latter part of the twelfth century. Of this latter big Buddha, all experts of the Western nations agree in placing it in a very high position among the art products of the world. I may here only give an extract from 'The Ornamental Art of Japan,' quoted from a French expert, who winds up his analytical observations thus:

'A people who could thus embody the most illusive of metaphysical mysteries must have had an exceedingly lofty conception of the capacities of art.'

After Nara we come to the Heian period. Heian is modern Kyoto. It was our Imperial capital, lasting from after the Nara period to the beginning of the present Imperial régime, for eleven centuries; but when we speak of it as a period we mean about four centuries of its early part. Art flourished, together with general culture, to a very high degree in this period, but somewhat in a different way from that of the Nara epoch. In the Nara period we have seen that art achieved a very high standard, but it was, as it seems, subservient to religion. It does not seem to have played its part independently as such; hence the individuality of an artist did not make much distinctive mark. If a picture was painted it was almost always a religious subject, and it was used for religious objects, not as a product of an artist for the sake of associating his name with it, and admiring his representation of the picture as a picture. But in the Heian period things seem to have changed to a significant degree, especially in pictorial art, which came to be admired as such, and individuality in artists became more marked in the public estimation. It was then that artists like Kanaoka and Nobuzane appeared. Pictures founded upon scenes in narratives or actual landscapes came to be generally appreciated. On the whole, the art of the Heian period seems to have become more extensive. To show in what sort of relationship pictorial art and society stood towards each other in this period, there is a very good illustration in the famous 'Genji Monogatari,' contained in a chapter under the title of 'Ye-awase,' which means 'pairings of pictures.' At that period there was a very common practice of so-called 'uta-awase,' which means 'pairings of poems.' It was done in this way: Ladies and gentlemen who were versed in composing poems were to meet at an appointed place at an appointed

time, and successive competitions would be made by pairing two of them at a time, one on the left and one on the right, the competitors producing their verses and submitting them to competent critics, who would judge which side of the pair was the better, and when one pair's work was finished with, that of the next pair went through the same scrutiny. The pairings of pictures were no doubt an imitation of the pairings of poems. The performance of the pairings of pictures appears rather quaint, but it will give a very good idea of the society of the time, so I give below a full account of it from my own translation of the 'Genji Monogatari':

'The Emperor was very fond of pictures, and painted with considerable ability. Lady Plum, too, as it happened, possessed the same taste as the Emperor, and used often to amuse herself by painting. If, therefore, he liked ordinary courtiers who exhibited a taste for painting, it was no matter of surprise that he liked to see the delicate hands of the lady occupied in carefully laying on colours. This similarity of taste gradually drew his attention to her, and led to frequent visits to the "Plum chamber." When Gon-Chiunagon was informed of these circumstances, he took the matter into his own hands. He himself determined to excite a spirit of rivalry. He contrived means to counteract the influence of painting, and commissioned several famous artists of the time to execute some elaborate pictures. Most of these were subjects taken from old romances, as he conceived that these were always more attractive than mere fanciful pictures. He also caused to be painted a representation of every month of the year, which would also be likely, he thought, to interest the Emperor. When these pictures were finished he took them to Court, and submitted them to his inspection; but he would not agree that he should take any of them to the Plum chamber, and they were all deposited in the chamber of his daughter.

'Genji, when he heard of this, said of his brother-in-law: "He is young; he never could be behind others." He was, however, unable to pass the matter over unnoticed. He told the Emperor that he would present him with some old pictures, and, returning to his mansion at Nijio, he opened his picture cabinet, where numbers of old and new pictures were kept. From these, with the assistance of Violet, he made a selection of the best. But such pictures as the illustration of the "Long Regrets" or the representation of "O-Shio-Kun" were reserved, because the terminations of these stories were not happy ones. He also took out of his cabinet the sketches which he had made while in Suma and Akashi, and showed them for the first time to Violet, who was a little angry at his not having shown them to her sooner.

'It was about the tenth of February, and the face of Nature began to smile with the approach of spring, making the hearts and tempers of people more calm and cheerful; besides, it was just the time when the Court was unoccupied with the keeping of any festival. There could be no better chance than this for such an exhibition of pictures to attract the attention of people enjoying leisure. Genji, therefore, sent his collection of pictures to the Palace in behalf of the lady of the Plum chamber.

'This soon created a sensation in the Palace. Most of the pictures that were in the possession of the lady of the Plum chamber were from old romances, and the pictures themselves were of ancient date, being rare, while those of Kokiden were more modern subjects and by living artists. Thus each of them had their special merits, so that it became difficult to say which were more excellent. Talking of these pictures became quite a fashionable subject of conversation of the courtiers of the day. The Imperial mother happened to be at Court, and when she saw these pictures and heard different persons at Court discussing their relative merits, she suggested that they should divide themselves into two parties, right and left, and regularly to give their judgment. This was accordingly done: Hei Naishi-no-suke, Jijiu-no-Naishi, and Shioshio-no-Meifu took the left, on the side of the lady of the Plum chamber; while Daini-no-Naishi-no-suke, Chiujio-no-Meifu, and Hioye-no-Meifu took the right, on the side of the Kokiden.

'The first picture selected was the illustration of the "Bamboo Cutter," by the left, as it was the most appropriate to come first for the discussion of its merits, as being the parent of romance. To compete with this, that of "Toshikagè," from "The Hollow Wood," was selected by the right. The left now stated their case, saying: "The bamboo—indeed, its story too—may be an old and commonly known thing, but the maiden Kakuya, in keeping her purity unsullied in this world, is highly admirable; besides, it was an occurrence that belongs to a prehistorical period. No ordinary woman could ever be equal to her, and so this picture has an excellence." Thereupon the right argued in opposition to this, saying: "The sky, where the maiden Kakuya has gone away, may indeed be high, but it is beyond human reach, so we may put it aside. When she made her appearance in this world she was, after all, a creature of bamboo; and, indeed, we may consider her even lower than ourselves. It may also be true that she threw a bright radiance over the inside of a cottage, but she never shone in the august society of a palace. Abe-no-oshi's spending millions of money in order to get the so-called fire-proof rat, which, when obtained, was consumed in the flames in a moment, is simply ridiculous. Prince Kuramochi's pretended jewel branch was merely a delu-

sion. Besides, this picture is by Koshe-no-omi, with notes by Tsurayuki. These are not very uncommon. The paper is Kamiya, only covered with Chinese satin. The outer cover is reddish purple, and the centre stick is purple sandalwood. These are very common ornaments. Now, Toshikagè, though he had undergone a severe trial from the raging storm, and had been carried to a strange country, arrived at length at the country to which he was originally despatched, and from there returned to his native land, having achieved his object, and having made his ability recognised both at home and abroad. This picture is the life of this man, and it represents many scenes, not only of his country, but of foreign ones, which cannot fail to be interesting. We therefore dare to place this one above the other in merit."

'The ground of this picture was thick white-tinted paper, the outer cover was green, and the centre stick jade. The picture was by Tsunenori, and the writing by Michikaje. It was in the highest taste of the period.

'The left made no more protestation against the right.

'Next, the romance of Ishé by the left, and that of Shio Sammi by the right, were brought into competition. Here, again, the relative merit was very difficult to be decided at once. That of the right had apparently more charms than that of the other, since it beautifully represented the society of a more recent period.

'Hei-naishi, of the left, therefore said:

'"If, leaving the depths of Ishé's night-sea,
We follow the fancies of new-fashioned dreams,
All the beauty and skill of the ancients will be
Swept away by the current of Art's modern streams.

Who would run down the fame of Narihira for the sake of the pretentious humbug of our own days?"

'Then Daini-no-Naishi-no-suke, of the right, replied:

'"The noble mind that soars on high,
Beyond the star-bespangled sky,
Looks down with ease on depths that lie
A thousand fathoms 'neath his eye."

'Upon this, the Empress-Mother interceded. She said that "the exalted nobility of Lord Hioye may not, indeed, be passed over without notice, yet the name of Narihira could not altogether be eclipsed by his.

'"Though too well known to all may be
The lovely shore of Ishé's sea,
Its aged fisher's honoured name
A tribute of respect may claim."

'There were several more rolls to be exhibited, and the rival protestations on both sides became very warm, so that one roll occasioned considerable discussion.

'While this was going on, Genji arrived on the scene. He suggested to them that if there was any competition at all it should be decided on a specially appointed day, in a more solemn manner, in the presence of the Emperor. This suggestion having been adopted, the discussion came to an end.

'The day for this purpose was fixed. The ex-Emperor, who had been informed of this, presented several pictures to the lady of the Plum chamber. They were mostly illustrations of Court festivals, on which there were explanatory remarks written by the Emperor Yengi. Besides these, there was one which had been expressly executed at his own order by Kimmochi. This was an illustration of the ceremony which took place at his palace on the departure of the lady for Ishé some time back, when she had gone there as the Saigu. It was also probable that some of his pictures came into the possession of her rival, the Lady Kokiden, through his mother (as the mother of the former was a sister of the latter).

'When the day arrived every arrangement was made in the large saloon at the rear of the Palace, where the Imperial seat was placed at the top. The Court ladies of both parties—those of the lady of the Plum chamber and those of the Lady of Kokiden—were ranged respectively left and right: the left, or those of the lady of the Plum chamber, facing southwards, and those of the right northwards. All the courtiers also took the places allotted to them. Here the pictures were brought. The box containing those of the left was of purple sandalwood. The stand on which the box was placed was of saffron, and over this was thrown a cover of Chinese brocade, with a mauve ground. The seat underneath was of Chinese coloured silk. Six young girls brought all this in, and arranged it all in order. Their kazami (outer dress) was of red and cherry colour, with tunics of wistaria lining (light purple outside and light green within).

'The box which contained the pictures of the right was of "Jin" wood, the stand of light-coloured "Jin," the cover of Corean silk, with a green ground. The legs of the stand, which were trellised round with a silken cord, showed modern and artistic taste. The kazami of the young girls was of willow lining (white outside and green within), and their tunics were of Kerria japonica lining (or yellow outside and light red within). Both Genji and Gon-Chiunagon were present, by the Emperor's special invitation, as also the Prince, Lord-Lieutenant of Chikushi, who loved pictures above all things, and he was, consequently, chosen umpire for this day's

competition. Many of the pictures were highly admirable, and it was most difficult to make any preference between them. For instance, if there was produced by one party a roll of "The Seasons," which was the masterpiece of some old master, on selected subjects, there was produced also, by the other party, a roll of sketches on paper, which were scarcely inferior to, and more ornamented with flourishing than the ancient works, in spite of the necessary limitation of space which generally makes the wide expanse of scenery almost too difficult to express. Thus the disputes on both sides were very warm.

'Meanwhile the Imperial Mother (the Princess Wistaria) also came into the saloon, pushing aside the sliding screen of the breakfast-chamber. The criticisms still continued, in which Genji made, now and then, suggestive remarks. Before all was finished the shades of evening began to fall on them. There remained on the right one more roll, when the roll of "Suma" was produced on the left. It made Gon-Chiunagon slightly embarrassed. The last roll of the right was, of course, a selected one, but it had several disadvantages in comparison with that of "Suma." The sketches on this roll had been done by Genji with great pains and time. They were illustrations of different bays and shores. They were most skilfully executed, and carried away the minds of the spectators to the actual spots. On them illustrative remarks were written, sometimes in the shape of a diary, occasionally mingled with poetical effusions, in style both grave and easy. These made a great impression on the Emperor and on everyone present; and, finally, owing to this roll, the left was decided to have won the victory.'

In the famous Makura-no-soshi we see the following, as quoted and rendered into English by Mr. Aston:

'On the sliding doors of the northern front of the Mikado's private apartments there are painted fearful pictures of creatures that live in the wild ocean, some with long arms, others with long legs. When the doors of the ante-chamber are open we can always see them.'

This will show that pictorial art was made use of for chamber decoration. The ideal of pictures entertained by the gentry of this period may be well illustrated by the following extract from the 'Genji Monogatari.' It is contained in a chapter where different kinds of female characters are discussed, and therefore it is only discussed incidentally; but it will give a fair idea, and so I give the extract in full:

'Again, therefore, he took up the conversation, and said: "Call to your mind affairs in general, and judge of them. Is it not always true that reality and sincerity are to be preferred to

merely artificial excellence? Artisans, for instance, make different sorts of articles, as their talents serve them. Some of them are keen and expert, and cleverly manufacture objects of temporary fashion, which have no fixed or traditional style, and which are only intended to strike the momentary fancy. These, however, are not the true artisans. The real excellence of the true artisan is tested by those who make, without defects or sensational peculiarities, articles to decorate, we will say, some particular building, in conformity with correct taste and high æsthetic principles. Look, for another instance, at the eminence which has been attained by several of the artists of the Imperial Academy of Painting. Take the case of drawings in black ink. Pictures, indeed, such as those of Mount Horai, which has never been beheld by mortal eye, or of some raging, monstrous fish in a rough sea, or of some wild animal of some far-off country, or of the imaginary face of the demon, are often drawn with such striking vividness that people are startled at the sight of them. These pictures, however, are neither real nor true. On the other hand, ordinary scenery of familiar mountains, of calm streams of water, and of dwellings just before our eyes, may be sketched with an irregularity so charming, and with such excellent skill, as almost to rival Nature. In pictures such as these the perspective of gentle mountain slopes and sequestered nooks surrounded by leafy trees are drawn with such admirable fidelity to Nature that they carry the spectator in imagination to something beyond them. These are the pictures in which is mostly evinced the spirit and effectiveness of the superior hand of a master, and in these an inferior artist would only show dulness and inefficiency.

'"Similar observations are applicable to handwriting. Some people boldly dash away with great freedom and endless flourishes, and appear to the first glance to be elegant and skilful. But that which is written with scrupulous neatness, in accordance with the true rules of penmanship, constitutes a very different handwriting from the above. If, perchance, the upstrokes and downstrokes do not, at first sight, appear to be fully formed, yet when we take it up and critically compare it with writing in which dashes and flourishes predominate we shall at once see how much more of real and sterling merit it possesses.

'"Such, then, is the nature of the case in painting, in penmanship, and in art generally. And how much more, then, are those women undeserving of our admiration who, though they are rich in outward and in fashionable display, attempting to dazzle our eyes, are yet lacking in the solid foundations of reality, fidelity, and truth! Do not, my friends, consider me

going too far, but let me proceed to illustrate these observations by my own experience."'

It must not, however, be understood that art in religious subjects had disappeared; on the contrary, there are many pictures of this kind, produced at this epoch, still in existence in many temples, and which are of highest merit. From the latter part of the twelfth century Kyoto had lost its importance, because from that time the actual ruling power of the country had left the hands of the Imperial Government, and had been transferred to the Shogunate Government. From that time down to about the middle of the fourteenth century Kamakura became the seat of the Shogunate Government. This interval was called the Kamakura period; there were many conditions in this period which were adverse to progress in the field of art—you may even say it showed some decadence—and yet there were many art products both in picture and sculpture. The Daibutsu of Kamakura, referred to above, was itself a product of the earliest part of the thirteenth century. It is a masterpiece of its kind, and will go a long way in showing what artistic workmanship then existed in Japan.

I may here interpose just a few words. The progress of culture was not necessarily limited to Kyoto only. About the beginning of the Kamakura period there existed a centre of refinement in the northern part of Japan: namely, in the province of Osiu. There a great feudal lord had his establishments at his seat of government, and all their surroundings, made in imitation of Kyoto, and from what remains there now of old objects, and also from the old map of the place, we can judge very well in what a flourishing state that capital of the feudal chieftain must have been before it was crushed by the invading forces of Yoritomo the first Shogun.

After the Kamakura period, the Ashikaga period comes in for about two and a half centuries. During this time the chief seat of the Shogun Governments was in Kyoto, side by side with the Imperial Court, though there was also a kind of branch Government in Kamakura. In the early part of this period the country was not yet ripe for general progress in art; but from the beginning of the fifteenth century most of the Shoguns of the epoch extended much patronage towards art, especially in pictures, several of them being artists of no mean ability themselves. It was then that Japan produced many eminent artists, such as Cho-densu, Siubun, Sessiu, Siugetsu, Sotan, Masanobu, Motonobu, Sesson, and many others, whose masterpieces we are proud to show to any other nations to-day, and whose names are immortal in our annals. Their styles, indeed, were not identical, but, taken as a whole, they were akin to one another, and differed from their predecessors

to a very conspicuous extent. Their art was founded more upon the best ideals of the Thang and Sung dynasties of China. They had no rivals among the contemporary Chinese. It is said that when Sessiu went to China to study art he lamented that there was no master to study with. The art of the Nara period and the early part of the Heian period was distinguished by an excellent sobriety of religious feeling: it was the very embodiment of the period; it could never be resuscitated again, any more than that of Raphael or Michael Angelo could be revived in Europe, and therefore even Siubun and Sessiu could not compete with their predecessors of those early periods in that respect; but in their own way they stood very high, and these are the kind of pictures which are most admired and appreciated by the native Japanese of later years, inasmuch as they embrace the highest conceptions of fine art in their productions independently of any direct subserviency to religion. Between the Ashikaga period and the Tokugawa period is interposed the short Oda-Toyotomi period. Some time before this period the country was in a turmoil owing to the internal dissensions of different military chiefs, which were ultimately assuaged and the feuds extinguished by the efforts of Oda and Toyotomi. The latter—*i.e.*, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who is known as Taiko-sama by foreigners, and spoken of as the Japanese Napoleon—was a great factor in the revival of art. Through his patronage it was that Japan produced Yeitoku and Sanraku, whose boldness of design was unsurpassed even by the best of the Ashikaga artists. The castle of Fushimi, built by Hideyoshi, where the genius of these artists was chiefly engaged, and where architectural art was also evinced in a remarkably high degree, was pulled down some time after the death of that great hero, but its remnants, together with some other productions, are still to be found in different places; those who have seen them are the best judges in appreciating how pictorial art, without being converted into a conventional form of pure decorative art, may be utilized for decoration.

After the Oda-Toyotomi period came in the Tokugawa period, which lasted over 270 years, until our own time. The greater part of this period enjoyed perfect peace; and though the country was hampered in some respects by the further development of the feudal system, it witnessed more prosperity than any other period, and different branches of art made significant progress. As is seen from the last sentence of Dr. Anderson's remark quoted above, the grandeur of the Nara period has never been revived, nor had we under this period any such master-hands as Siubun or Sessiu of the Ashikaga period; but, speaking generally, there is no doubt that all branches of art have made great progress in dimension, if not in depth. The

lacquer-works and porcelains were beyond doubt a monopoly of this period. True it is that the lacquer-works existed from very remote periods, and those of the Higashiyama period (a section of the Ashikaga period, when Sessiu, Sotan, and the like flourished) were excellent, especially from an antique and æsthetic point of view. The full development of them, however, was a conspicuous achievement of the period under our view. As to porcelains, though they may not fall in the proper sphere of art, they had their development essentially during this period, their growth being comparatively a matter of a recent epoch. There was cloisonné, but the rapid and full development of it was left to our own time. Ukiyoye (popular pictures) of the Ukiyoye School and those of the artisan style are also entirely the new growth of this period.

I must here interpose some explanations. Old styles of pictures, especially Kano and Tosa, had spread their influence very widely among the gentle classes. In this period, too, there were numerous eminent painters, among whom we may mention Tannu as the greatest; but, speaking generally, their styles became more stiff and conventional. They failed to arouse popular feeling with their novelty and audacity, and, besides this, they were not within easy reach of the common town people; hence out of the tendency to revolt from the hackneyed old style, as well as out of the vulgar demands of common people, arose the new style of these Ukiyoye and artisan schools. Besides, the artists of these schools generally lacked refinement in themselves, belonging usually to the vulgar classes, whereas the artists of the older schools generally belonged to the gentle class, often holding samurai rank under the patronage of some feudal lord. Such being the case, these new schools are far from being the ideal of the Japanese cultured classes. There are, however, great geniuses to be recognised amongst them, Hokusai being the greatest of them; and in their way they had many excellent points, especially in their manipulation of colours and their aptitude in hitting on new ideas taken from daily life. It is due to the credit of European critics more than to ourselves that their merits were accorded their proper place. Only, the cultured Japanese never can be induced to appreciate these schools in the same degree that the Western critics do. Korin and his school form an entirely different category in our art. The pictures of this school are grotesque at first sight, and their merits can be discerned only by those who have especially the type of observant mind which enables them to appreciate hidden craft. I think it does great credit to the European experts who appreciate the merits of this school with the same eye which rivets itself on the paintings of those schools of vulgar origin.

It is utterly impossible to dwell upon the different phases of the pictorial world of this period, but I must not neglect to make passing allusions. The Shijio School, the real originator of which was the great Okio, and which has exercised, and is still exercising, such vast influence upon our art world, was a growth of this period. Its only fault is that it is apt to be too realistic and lack depth. The rise and development of the Chikuden style, which was more in the nature of scholastic attainment, and which has resulted in exercising much influence in the latter part of this period, and also the influence exercised by Bunchio and his school, which were somewhat inclined toward Chikuden in some respects, but more powerful and varied, keeping the Kamo and Tosa at defiance, belong to this period. I must also remind my readers of Kokwan and Denzen, who introduced, both independently and simultaneously, the European style of pictures and copper engravings at the end of the eighteenth century. Nor can I forget to mention the name of the celebrated Watanabe Kwasan, who put an end to his own life as a consequence of his ardent desire to introduce Western enlightenment, and who was at the same time a great amateur artist.

We are now in the Meiji era, which has lasted already thirty-seven years. The commencement of this era was the destruction of everything old. There was a time when fine antique temples were pulled down, precious pictures of some thousand years or more were thrown into dust, and good lacquer-works were burned in order that the gold might be taken out of the ashes. Everything must be renovated and founded upon European ideas. It is sad when we look back upon it from the present time, but it was the necessary outcome of the spirit of the time. I know several of the best artists of the day, having no occupation, proceeded to take lessons in European drawings, and engaged themselves as draughtsmen in the engineering offices of public departments. But things could not remain in such a state for long, though no relaxation was occasioned in our emulation of things European, both material and intellectual. We have betaken ourselves once more to the art of old Japan; this was also due, to a great extent, to our Western advisers and patrons, to whom we must express our gratitude. We have now succeeded, to a considerable extent, in reviving our old art, not only in pictures and sculptures, but also in many branches of semi-industrial and semi-artistic objects. Great encouragement has, of course, been given by foreign patronage, but greater pains have been taken by the natives, and no small encouragement has been given by the Emperor and Empress themselves. Of course, in some industries the application of art has necessarily been changed to some other branch, as, for

instance, metal sculptors, who have no more occasion to make helmets or sword ornaments, make vases or such-like, which may be used for up-to-date purposes.

We are now in a transitory state in every branch of art. We have not yet been able to speak of the grandeur of the Meiji era, but on the whole I am of opinion that improvement is perceptible in every branch, and I feel quite confident that if more encouragement, especially from abroad, be given, we shall be able to produce a memorable epoch. Some foreigners speak of a kind of deterioration of art objects; I dare say there is, but if so it must be excused on the ground that we are in a transitory state; and, besides, foreign customers themselves also cannot escape participation in the responsibility. Let me explain this a little more fully: Lacquer-work artists, for instance, can do just as good work as those of 200 years ago, provided that they are given time, and corresponding remuneration, and the proper expenses for the materials, a thing which modern purchasers will not do. Hence, artists cannot venture to make works of real art, except to special order, whereas in former days such artists usually had some special patrons in the persons of the feudal lords, who do not exist now. Foreign critics often speak of the designs of new objects as being bad imitations of European articles of the kind, and speak of them as 'deterioration.' This, perhaps, is true in many cases, although there is behind this spurious art a really serious and progressive art of which less is known. Just fancy how many foreign patrons there are who appreciate the old style, whereas there is a comparatively large number who would only cast their eyes upon those objects which have some similarity to things that they themselves are accustomed to see; and, besides, the lower the price the more the purchasers —hence the dealers' encouragement of this kind of article. My readers may think it vulgar that I speak about the prices of these objects, but perhaps I may be allowed to do so, as it is not from any mean motive. I say the prices of these Japanese articles are far lower than those of similar kinds in Europe, but as they are produced in a country which has been hitherto considered as inferior to theirs, the European purchasers seem to make up their minds that they must be purchased at a comparatively lower price. How, under such circumstances, can one expect objects of superior quality to be produced incessantly and sent abroad?

As to our pictures, I must add a few words more. The European oil-paintings and water-colours also are studied in Japan. There are many artists engaged on them, but hitherto we have not been able to produce great artists in those lines. Naturally, therefore, I must speak more about our native

pictures. The style of our pictures differs from oil-paintings, as everyone knows, and the nearest approach is, perhaps, to water-colour in the case of colour-painting. The chief stress we lay upon pictures is the force of the brush and the effect of impression. I do not say that the oil-painting overlooks this important point, but there seems to exist some difference in manipulation between ours and the oil-paintings, for in the case of the Japanese a little failure or mistake will show itself more readily than in the case of the oil, as there is no possibility in our case of correcting any trifling mistake when it is once committed. But, on the other hand, as our aim is directed more to impression than to minuteness of detail, our pictures are not generally so thoroughly and finely done as the oil pictures, except, indeed, in cases of ancient religious pictures. Hence there are to be observed great defects in anatomy and perspective. The sculptures and pictures of Nara and Heian were advanced in the direction of anatomy in an admirable degree, and it is a matter of great regret that later art has become more and more deficient in that respect. Again, in matters of geometrical proportion, or rather perspective, our pictures are greatly deficient. These defects are, of course, to be remedied. It would be silly to keep such defects because they exist in our old style of painting. At all events, the artistic world of Japan has also to make some movement to meet the circumstances and demands of the period, and I am most sanguine that if these matters are thoroughly imbibed by the artist so as to grasp a true conception of his opportunities he will become much better off, but until then some allowances and excuses must be made. In this respect the efforts of the new era ought to be sympathized with rather than assailed.

Since about twenty-five years ago all sorts of art exhibitions —pictures, of course, being the principal ones—have been held in Tokyo as well as in provincial towns, the numbers being increased year after year. There are also several associations the object of which is the encouragement of art in one way or another. At the exhibitions the merits of the objects exhibited are submitted to the judgment of experts, and appropriate prizes are awarded. Such exhibitions are opened at the best seasons of the year, spring or autumn. They are much in the same method as those of Paris or London. They materially differ in style and scale from those quaint competitive 'pairings' of the Heian Court referred to above. All the exhibits are generally for sale: they are all genuine and their prices are affixed, and, as a rule, are not high. In the case of pictures, they are really insignificant when compared with the prices asked for such works in Western salons. Of course, our pictures generally do not take so much time and pains as oil-

paintings, and this is the reason why they are not dear. The prices vary from £1 to £3 for those by ordinary painters—there may be some that are even cheaper, but good enough to look at. Pictures by first-rate artists are dearer, but even such rarely exceed £15. It would, therefore, be a matter of great advantage for foreign visitors, as regards their own pleasure, and good encouragement for artists, if they were good enough to purchase them more freely than they do. I occupy the position of president of one of these associations, and I often find some difficulty in giving good encouragement to the artists, from the fact of purchasers not being found in sufficient numbers at the exhibitions, though the artistic tastes of the people at large, and consequently the demand for art objects, have become strikingly extensive of recent years. The lower classes of towns and villages, that were once contented with paper-mounted or printed 'ukiyo' pictures, have now become anxious to possess pictures of much higher standards.

I must not omit to make reference to the work done by the College of Fine Arts, an institution in which a knowledge of sculpture, painting, and the arts in general is imparted to large numbers of students under the supervision of a Minister of State. The head institution is to be found in the capital, but collateral establishments exist in many of the large provincial cities and towns, conducted at the cost and under the control of the local authorities. There are also many private establishments of a similar character.

Although it may not be a proper place in this paper to speak of the art of making gardens in Japan, I cannot refrain from just touching on the subject, because our art in making gardens has much similarity to the landscape pictures, and has much of real art in it. Even on the smallest scale a garden is laid out in such a way as to represent a picturesque view as depicted in pictures. Hence artificial hills, natural rocks, and, where it is permissible, artificial lakes or cascades, are designed. We can say it is based upon the principle of fine art, but in the case of European gardens it seems to me that their original ideas were derived from the old 'commons,' and their later developments have been based more upon the principle of industrial art; to wit, there are fountains, but in the shape of mechanical apparatus, and not in the shape of natural springs—there are hewn stones, iron rails, iron bridges, and if there is any water at all it is mostly in the shape of a round or square tank. When they, the Occidentals, plant flowers they make the beds invariably in the shape of a square or triangle, as geometrically as though designing a carpet. They seem to have no idea of finding regularity in irregularity, or, rather, harmony in differentiation. In towns in Japan there are

numerous stone shops where natural stones are sold, but no such place exists in any part of Europe. Of course, there is one drawback to our gardens—*i.e.*, they are more ornamental than useful: this is a drawback which must be modified, and it is already being modified in many cases; but, on the other hand, European gardens seem to lack artistic elements to altogether too great an extent. It is almost incomprehensible to me that in the case of Europeans, who are fond of hanging in their rooms landscape pictures, and who are so fond of travelling in mountainous regions, running after beautiful scenes and views of landscapes of different types, it should never have entered their minds to apply to their gardens the same ideas. In this respect I can venture, without any diffidence, to say that Japan is above any nation in the world, and foreigners would be much benefited if they would begin to appreciate our style of gardening. I am glad to see that there are several Westerners in different countries who have already begun to do so.

II. Literature.

The Japanese attainments in literature are in some measure inferior to those in art. In art we can talk with a certain amount of confidence with foreigners, though not always on equal terms, but in literature we do not feel the same confidence when we come to talk with the people of the Western civilized nations. We have, however, a sufficient stock of our literature accumulated through centuries to amply show our national minds and feelings.

An article by the late lamented Sir Edwin Arnold, and published in an issue of the *Daily Telegraph* a few days after his death, begins thus:

'The time will come when Japan, safe, famous, and glad with the promise of peaceful years to follow, and to reward this present period of life-and-death conflict, will engage once again the attraction of the Western nations on the side of her artistic and intellectual gifts. Already in this part of the globe persons of culture have become well aware how high and subtle is her artistic genius; and by-and-by it will be discovered that there are real treasures to be found in her literature. Moreover, England, beyond any other European country, is likely to be attracted to this branch, at present naturally neglected, of what may be called the spiritual side of Japanese life.'

I, as a Japanese, cannot pretend to guarantee this saying of Sir Edwin Arnold as being perfectly correct, but, at all events, a great deal seems to be contained in it. We have already seen that our arts were in a state of great advancement in the Nara period; but in literature we have nothing of that

period left that is worthy of notice save its poetry. We have the Manyōshiu (Million Leaves), a book which is a collection of poems dating from some time previous to the Nara period down to the early parts of the Heian period. The collection seems to have begun at the end of the Nara period, but to have been finished by a great poet who lived in the Heian period, and hence the incorporation of some poems of the latter period.

From this book we can fairly judge that the art of poetry has never again attained to that pitch by any subsequent generation throughout the whole of our history. The scale of our poetry is small on the whole, although that of the Nara period contains a good deal worth reading.

Speaking of the poetry of this period, Mr. Aston writes thus:

'While the eighth century has left us little or no prose literature of importance, it was emphatically the golden age of poetry. Japan had now outgrown the artless effusions described in a preceding chapter, and during this period produced a body of verse of an excellence which has never since been surpassed. The reader who expects to find this poetry of a nation just emerging from the barbaric stage of culture characterized by rude, untutored vigour will be surprised to learn that, on the contrary, it is distinguished by polish rather than power. It is delicate in sentiment and refined in language, and displays exquisite skill of phrase, with a careful adherence to certain canons of composition of its own.'

This, I think, will be a sufficient survey of the subject.

We come next to the Heian period. Here we see that literary culture was greatly developed. All kinds of books were written—histories, books of law and ceremony, travels, diaries, memoirs, romances, narratives, and anecdotes. The study of Chinese was much in vogue at the time, and many of these books are written in Chinese. Our native literature also sprang up, and made wonderful progress, and it was then that our native classical books came into existence. They were written entirely in the pure phonetical alphabet, almost entirely consisting of vernacular words, terms of Chinese derivation being used very rarely, except, perhaps, the names of offices or those of the concrete objects having Chinese origin. True it is that they have not yet devised a mode of dividing words from words, so that readers may see at once every word separate; but this was also the case with the ancient Greeks and many others. Neither did they know how to make use of the signs such as the full-stop, the comma, and the note of exclamation, etc., so as to make reading easy, and at the same time to give the reader some kind of sense and idea beyond the words themselves. Had the native literature of the time been kept up, and had there been

made such improvements in the modes of writing as those above stated, Japan would have had by this time great credit for her literature, which is essentially her own, and the great boon of having a good system of writing different from the cumbrous system still employed. That this was not to be so was owing to circumstances which prevented the development of this kind of writing, but I will not touch upon it at any great length.

The light literature—that is to say, romances, novels, and such-like—of the Heian period is written in the native classical style. It is mostly by female hands. As the study of Chinese was thought to be more useful, and often a more masculine and higher attainment, most men seem to have gone in that direction, having left the task of preserving the native style in the hands of women.

'Genji Monogatari' and 'Makura-no-Soshi' are generally considered the best of the kind, though they differ in style and purport. I will give below some extracts from the 'Genji Monogatari,' which, though rather lengthy, will afford a fair idea of both the argumentative and descriptive style of the native literature of the period.

(A) This is put into the mouth of a character in the story): 'Trying to show off small accomplishments is a characteristic of thoughtless people, and that without distinction of sex. This is in the highest degree unpleasant. As to the ladies, it may not, indeed, be necessary to be thorough masters of "the three great histories" and "the five classical texts"; yet they ought not to be destitute of some knowledge of both public and private affairs. That knowledge, however, can be imperceptibly acquired without much study, which, though not profound, will enable them to talk pleasantly with their friends. How contemptible, nevertheless, that would seem if this made them vain! The "mana" style and overglaring phrases are not meant for them. If they make use of them, the world will only speak of them, "Would that she remembered that she was only a woman!" and they would only incur the reproach of being pedants, as is the case with many ladies, especially with those of the upper classes. Again, while they should not be altogether deficient in versification, they should never be slaves to it, nor allow themselves to be betrayed into using strange quotations, the only consequence of which would be that they would appear bold when reticence is required, and abstracted when practical duties are to be attended to. How utterly inappropriate, for instance, it would be on the May festival if, while the attention of all present is concentrated on the solemnity of the occasion, fair ladies were to be mentally wandering on their own versicular imaginations about the iris; or if, again, on the

ninth-day festival, when all the nobles present are exercising their inventive faculties on Chinese poems, they were to volunteer to pour forth their high-flying ideas on the dew-laid flowers of the chrysanthemum, thus endeavouring to rival their opponents of the stronger sex. There is time for everything; and all people, more especially women, should be constantly careful to observe the propriety of occasion, and not to air their attainments at a time when nobody cares for them. They should practise sparing economy in displaying learning and eloquence, and should even, if circumstances require, plead ignorance on subjects with which they are familiar.'

(B) 'It appears that people were peeping out of the casement on the western side, probably being anxious to catch a glimpse of the Prince, whose figure was indistinctly to be seen by them from the top of a short screen standing within the trellis. Among these spectators there was one who, perhaps, felt a thrill run through her frame as she beheld him. It was the very moment when the sky was beginning to be tinted by the glowing streaks of morn, and the moon's pale light was still lingering in the far distance. The aspect of the passionless heavens becomes radiant or gloomy in response to the heart of him who looks upon it. And to Genji, whose thoughts were secretly occupied with the events of the evening, the scene must have only given rise to pathetic emotions.'

(C) 'One morning early, Genji was about to take his departure, with sleepy eyes, listless and weary, from the mansion at Rokujio. A slight mist spread over the scene. A maiden attendant of the mistress opened the door for his departure, and led him forth. The shrubbery of flowering trees struck refreshingly on the sight, with interlacing branches in rich confusion, among which was some convolvulus in full blossom. Genji was tempted to dally, and looked contemplatively over them. The same maiden still accompanied him. She wore a thin silk tunic of light green colour, showing off her graceful waist and figure. Her appearance was attractive. Genji looked at her tenderly, and led her to a seat in the garden, and sat down by her side. Her countenance was modest and quiet; her waving hair was neatly and prettily arranged. . . . At this juncture a page in Sasinuki [a particular kind of loose trousers] entered the garden, and, brushing away the dewy mist from the flowers, began to gather some bunches. The scene was one which we might desire to paint, so full of quiet beauty; Genji rose from his seat, and slowly passed homeward. In those days he was becoming more and more an object of admiration, and we might even attribute

the eccentricity of some of his truant adventures to the very popularity he enjoyed. Where beautiful flowers expand their blossoms even the rugged mountaineer loves to rest under their shade, so wherever he showed himself people sought his notice!'

(D) 'It was one evening in April of the following year that Genji happened to be going to the villa of "the falling flowers," and passed by the mansion of the Princess. There was in the garden a large pine-tree, from whose branches the beautiful clusters of a wistaria hung in rich profusion. A sigh of the evening breeze shook them as they hung in the silver moonlight, and scattered their rich fragrance towards the wayfarer. There was also a weeping-willow close by, whose pendent tresses of new verdure touched the half-broken walls of earth underneath.'

The plot of the 'Genji Monogatari,' it is regrettable to say, displays a great laxity of morals, but the sentiment is fine, as is universally the case in similar works of the period. 'Of coarseness and pruriency, moreover,' says Mr. Aston, 'there is none in the "Genji," nor, indeed, in the literature of this period generally. The language is almost invariably decent, and even refined, and we hardly ever meet with a phrase calculated to bring a blush to the cheek of a young person.' It seems, moreover, there was a prevailing custom at the time of man and wife living separately, so that all stories of ancient days about a man and a woman relating to their love affairs did not necessarily mean anything clandestine. Lady Aoi, daughter of the grandest officer of the State, and lawful wife in every respect of Genji, a Prince of royal blood, is represented in the 'Genji Monogatari' as living at her father's, with a suite of separate rooms. When we take this into consideration, the denunciation of immorality applied to that romance may, to some extent, be relaxed.

Toward the end of the twelfth century, as I have already described, the ruling power of the Imperial Court was transferred to the military government of the Shogun. This was the Kamakura period, which was followed by those of Ashikaga and Oda-Toyotomi. At these periods, together with that of Tokugawa, the country was in the state of military domination, the Court and its nobles having been reduced to a miserable condition. Wars were also incessant, though often at long intervals. Hence we can well imagine that literary culture showed a great decadence. Books were written mostly in the form of history. They were history, because their facts were real historical ones, but they were also a sort of romance because their diction and expansion of description were more

of the shape of a romance, so that they may be called 'romantic histories.' Several of them are well written, with more spirit than the Heian literature, and one of them—*i.e.*, 'Heike'—is even tuned to the biwa (a kind of four-stringed lute), and sung by professional blind singers, reminding one of Homer. These historical works still exercise significant influence over the minds of our youth, in no less degree than the heroic stories of the later dates to be spoken of presently. The famous 'Jinkō-seitōki,' which is also an historical work, but differs very much in style from those above described, was written about the middle of this epoch, when Japan, unfortunately, had two Imperial Courts. It is a sober political and philosophical vindication of the Imperial cause which the writer had espoused. Apart from its mythical commixture, it has exercised, and still exercises, a considerable influence over the minds of the Japanese, which must be somewhat inexplicable to outsiders. The 'Tsuredzure-Gusa' is also a production of about the same date. It is a collection of occasional notes. It contains much of philosophical, religious, and humorous reflection, and has much literary value. It is written in pure phonetical Japanese, as the Heian romances, but in much more concise and smart language. Notwithstanding all this, taken as a whole, the Heian culture was a thing lost to these periods. Poems were composed, but in them, too, the force of the Muse of Nara was no more; and they did not even reach the standard of the Heian verses. In fact, for the greater part of these three periods the monks of the Buddhist temples became almost the sole repositories of literary knowledge.

It was under the Tokugawa period that a great revival of literary culture took place, and expanded itself to a degree unknown before.

But before proceeding to this latter period we must note one thing which has no small merit and interest: I mean the 'No.' It grew about the middle part of the Ashikaga period, derived to some extent from another kind of a singing dance which was much more antique and simple. It passed through the Oda-Toyotomi period, and was kept up with lively interest even to our own day. It is a kind of dramatic play, which is like an opera on a very limited scale. The written texts are sung by the people acting; there is a principal and a secondary character and a sufficient chorus in each piece. I once saw a Greek play acted by the undergraduates at Cambridge in imitation of the ancient Greeks, and I have read some Greek dramas, and I noticed some similarity between them and our 'No,' though, of course, the scale of our 'No' is only a miniature compared with the dramas of the Greeks. The texts of the 'No' are called 'Yokioku' or 'Utai.' They are studied

and sung by its admirers even without action. They have been popular with the upper classes, and of late years their practice has revived among the gentry extensively. The plots and actions are not complicated, but they are refined, and some passages of the texts are superb, though not classical. Their tone is elegant and elevated, and therefore fit to be associated with the upper classes; hence 'No' was performed even on great occasions at the Courts of the Shogun. Closely connected with, and having grown and developed similarly to, the No, there is a series of farcical performances called the 'Kiogen.' The word 'Kiogen' literally means 'mad utterances.' The texts of the Kiogen are comical dialogues, satirical without vulgarity, and have no poetical element. They are meant to be laughing-stocks, and therefore their merits lie in the condensed form of their comical elements. They are never sung; they are only adapted for action, and played after the 'No' drama, though occasionally the 'Kiogen' alone are acted without the 'No'; there is, however, a good deal of credit to be given to them. They often represent great feudal lords as their chief characters, and in many of them the plots are made so that such lords are made fools of by the other characters; they were acted in a period when feudal discipline was most rigid, and yet this merry-making was acquiesced in. This will show how cunningly the comical parts were displayed, so that even the very feudal lords before whom they were played could not take offence. These are the essential points of their unquestionable merit.

In the Tokugawa period, as I said above, literature and the study of books spread itself in all directions, and philosophical dissertations played no small part in men's lives, whilst previously to this period Japanese literature had very little of philosophy. Histories were written, classical annotations were composed, ethical expositions and moral teachings were also produced, all in immense numbers. Works of fiction also made their appearance in astonishing numbers; but I think it would be better for me to describe this progress in a concise manner, even if I only give an outline of it.

After the establishment of the Tokugawa Government at Yedo, now Tokyo, the country enjoyed a long period of peace, extending over 270 years. During that time both art and literature made great progress, as has already been shown. Schools were established, not only in Yedo, but at almost every seat of the provincial governments of the feudal lords, besides many private schools which were established by renowned scholars on their own account. In these schools began the tutoring of the Samurai families, and many of the Samurai themselves, whose business and inclination in former days were

all towards fighting, began to study books; in the case of private schools many aspirants among the commoners also betook themselves to study. There was a set of learned people whose business it was to study, to read, to write, and to teach. These were mainly Chinese scholars, their chief work being to expound the Confucian doctrine; they were called the *Ziusha*, and commanded high respect. In the beginning of the period they were classed with priests or physicians, but as time went on it was thought that this classification was not sufficient for them. They must be regarded as something higher, and they were given comparatively high places among the Samurai, their occupations not being considered as professions. This was, of course, where the teachers were engaged in the official schools, but a similar kind of respect was also accorded to the masters of private schools. It was these learned people who wrote vast numbers of books on different subjects, more especially based upon the Chinese ideas of the classical period, but mostly in such a way as to make them more suitable to the conditions of the hour in our country. Many improvements were also made. These ideas, blended together with the chivalric code of honour of native growth, went a long way in forming the moral aspects of the Japanese character. There was also another movement which took place at this period. It was the revival of the study of Japanese ancient literature and the resuscitation of the ancient spirit of the Imperial régime preceding the introduction of the feudal system. This has also gone a long way towards forming the national character of the Japanese, side by side with those agencies described above. Teachers belonging to this category have also written many books, especially on the interpretation of the ancient vernacular language, and the exposition of the ancient Japanese books and classical literature. These were then the more serious and elevated sides of our literature of the period, but there was also a popular side—I refer to works of fiction, including romances, novels, and dramas.

The works of fiction of this period had their origin in a somewhat similar manner to the popular school of paintings (Ukiyoye), which took root in opposition to the pictures of the older and more conventional style. They were truly things for the people, and not for the aristocracy. The serious side of our literature of the period was almost the monopoly of the higher classes. The common people had no access to or liking for it, except those who had been favoured with better chances or higher aspirations than their neighbours. And yet they began to feel a kind of longing for novelty, and this was utilized by some clever popular writers. The readers were such,

and the writers were men of the same class, or at least they were *hommes déclassés*, or pretended to be such by using fictitious names. Generally speaking, therefore, much vulgarity is palpable in this class of literature, in a somewhat similar way as the popular school of pictures betrays that taint when compared with those of other schools. Nevertheless, there is great merit to be found in these books. Their plots and representations are, in many cases, so good that they deeply touch our feelings.

Speaking of Bakin, who may be considered the greatest heroic romance writer of the period, a critic says, as quoted by Mr. Aston:

'In short, Bakin comprises in himself the best points of many men. We see in him numerous resemblances to Shakespeare. It is not only women and children, tradespeople and peasants, who admire him. Even educated gentlemen are frequently moved to tears or laughter, or made to gnash their teeth and strain their arms (with rage) by his writings.'

This conclusion may fail in some respects to hit the exact mark, and it may be so considered by foreigners who are unable to understand precisely our modes of thought; but if it does not exactly reach the point, at least it is not far from it, and this remark may also be applied to many works of the same kind.

Perhaps I may here give, with advantage, a rough classification of these works. There are historical romances, comcal romances, and novels; the latter are called by us Ninjio-bon (book of human nature), and love affairs are their principal plots. Female characters in these novels generally do not belong to desirable classes, so that they are often at variance with modern tastes. If, however, we make allowances for the fact that it must have been exceedingly difficult for the authors of those days to make heroines always out of the daughters of the higher classes, just as we are ready to do for the introduction into their works by Greek and Roman playwrights of numerous courtezans and parasites, we shall not fail to find easily much merit in their depiction of human nature. From the literary point of view, moreover, we can find much to commend in many of these works of fiction, inasmuch as many of them, especially in the case of so-called 'Kusazoshi,' were written in the pure phonetic alphabet and colloquial Japanese. Historical romances of the Bakin school generally contain Chinese letters in their lines to an almost surprising degree, and, therefore, in the way towards a nationalization of our written language they have not much to deserve our future consideration. On the other hand, with regard to those that are written in the pure phonetic alphabet, they have succeeded to a very creditable

degree in reviving the mode of writing similar to that of the classical literature of the Heian period after it had been almost totally disused for so many centuries. For those, therefore, who wish to remodel our written language on the same lines as the spoken language these works will come to be taken into greater consideration.

There is one more important kind of literature which deserves our attention. It is the popular drama. In speaking of dramas it is necessary to speak first of the books relating to them. There are numerous books under the categorical name of 'Joruri-bon' or 'Gidayu-bon.' They are books containing not only the dialogue, but are also descriptive of the scenes concerned. They are written in such a way as to resemble a novel, but, of course, in a shorter form, and in such euphonic diction as may be sung. They were originally written for marionette theatres, experienced singers singing the lines at the corner of the stage, while the marionettes were being worked with realistic effect on the stage concurrently with the singing. They could also be sung without the marionettes, and therefore the singing of them is widely studied and practised by even men and women of the higher classes. They can also be adapted to the ordinary stage, perhaps with a little modification of the dialogue, to more fully conform to the movements of the actors. Ordinary theatres also grew up almost simultaneously, but their development was a little slower. There were professional playwrights connected with the stage, and plays were written by them which were much like the 'Joruri-bon,' but naturally with less chorus and more dialogue. These plays thus written specially for the ordinary theatres, however, were far less elaborate, and, as literature, had little value; in fact, none of them was even printed until a very recent date. I may here just remark, in passing, that most foreigners think there are no actresses in Japan, but it is not true. At the beginning of theatrical performances, some 300 years ago, actors and actresses played together, but after a time this was for some reason or other prohibited. In later times also there were many actresses, though not so many as there were actors, the actors and actresses formed their own companies separately, and each performed independently. In the actors' companies some of them, as on the Western stages of the olden times, played feminine parts; and in the actresses' companies some of them played the parts of men, both with admirable success. Occasionally they act together on the same stage, but it is very rare and exceptional. The tendency, however, is towards some fusion of interests, and they will, perhaps, before long be seen together more commonly.

Both the ordinary stage and the marionettes were originally

intended for common people, and, unlike the 'No,' they have never been patronized by the upper classes. It was only at a very recent date that even great actors began to attain their position in society. (As to this, I may be permitted myself to state that in the efforts for the elevation of the stage, and of the position of actors, I was able to do something useful for them by creating a widespread outcry for stage reform on my return to Japan after my previous stay in England.) Such being the case, it was no wonder that in former days much vulgarity was mingled with representations on the stage, both marionette and ordinary, and was found in the 'Joruri-bon' themselves; but when we make a good selection from the numerous books of this kind, we find that there are many parts which display high literary merits, and parts that may be sung by men and women of the highest classes without any shame before any audience. My wife herself is a tolerable chanter of the kind, she having first been recommended by a medical man of high reputation to make good use of her voice for the sake of her health, and this kind of singing was selected for her.

Speaking generally, however, I admit that vulgarity exists in many of them still, as I said before; but here I must make a remark which will be almost astonishing to Western readers. I mean to say that these books of dramas, these stages, and the heroic stories contained in these historical works of fiction, plus the 'Gundan,' a particular mode of telling tales of heroism, have had a great share in making the Japan of to-day. The gallantry of our sailors in trying to bottle up the entrance of Port Arthur, and of the soldiers who fought the battles of the Yalu, Kinchau, and Nanshan, owes a great deal of its potentiality to the influence exercised by them upon Japanese subjects at large. Of course, I do not ignore the fact that the vast influence of the serious side of our education and traditions also have made them extremely loyal and patriotic to their country and to their Emperor; but, for all that, the influence exercised by the dramatic acts, dramatic literature, and the romantic tales of heroes and heroines, can never be overlooked.

For this there is reason. In Japan the idea of the 'encouragement of what is good, and the chastisement of what is bad,' has always been kept in view in writing works of fiction or in preparing dramatic books and plays. I know very well that there is some opposition to this idea. They say that the writing of fiction should be viewed as an art. Hence, so long as the real nature and character are depicted, there is an end of the function of these works. I do not pretend in any way to challenge this argument, but I simply state that it was not

so regarded in Japan. Consequently, with us, some kind of reward or chastisement is generally meted out to the fictitious characters introduced in the scene, and these representations, either in books or on the stage, are carried out to such a pitch as to leave some sort of profound impression on the minds of the readers or of the audience. Whatever the other remaining parts may be, these features always remain uppermost in the minds of the reader or of the theatre-goer. The prominent point thus produced is generally a transcendent loyalty, such as a loyal servant would feel for his master; the great fortitude and perseverance which one exhibits in the cause of justice and righteousness; severe suffering for the sake of a dear friend; the devotion of parents and their self-sacrifice; great suffering, or even self-sacrifice, of a wife for her husband, or of a mother for her son to enable the fulfilment of duty to the lord and master. I can myself remember many times shedding tears when reading works of fiction, or when listening to the singing of dramatic songs, or while witnessing dramatic performances. This peculiarity seems to be wanting on the Western stage. I remember once in London, years ago, my eyes becoming moist when I saw a character on the stage, who was being taken away as a prisoner, shaking hands with the man who had been his dear friend, but who ought to have been suspected as the cause of his being taken prisoner, and told him, as he went, that he would never suspect or ever forsake him, giving the audience a strong impression of chivalric moral strength. But that was only a solitary experience.

If I say anything about Shakespeare, I fear I should at once be considered to be overstepping propriety; but I must say that even Shakespeare's plays, some of which I have read or seen performed, have never given me such impressions as do the plays of Japan. Whenever we go to the Western stages we appreciate the decorations, we admire the splendid movements and good figures of the actors and actresses, and, so far as we can understand it, the striking elegance and powerful delivery of their dialogue, and we enjoy ourselves as much as could be hoped; but on coming home we find nothing left on our minds which might serve as an incentive in our future career. No inspiration, no emulation! Such, then, seems to be the difference between our dramatic works and those of Western nations. If ever the good points of our dramatic works are appreciated by the Western peoples, we shall feel highly flattered.

I must now leave off speaking of the Tokugawa period, and must deal with the Meiji era, in which we are now living. The infusion of European ideas made all things very different with us, and literature is also making a new move. I cannot, however, deal with the subject at length; I can only state a few

words. Works of fiction have been, and are being, written a good deal. We have not yet produced any great genius such as the geniuses produced in the Tokugawa period, but in some ways we have made improvements. Whilst writers of works of fiction in the Tokugawa period had no great enlightenment in themselves, as I have described above, modern writers are mostly men of proper training and regular education; many of them are graduates of the University, and many of them have knowledge of Western literature. If only the public would give more encouragement to them to continue their toil, I have every confidence that they would succeed. I may also say that theatrical plays are being written by the new men of the present generation. They have not, however, up to now turned out much that can be considered a success. The 'Chiushingura' (48 Ronin) or the 'Sendaihagi' (Lespedeza bicolor of Sendai) of the Tokugawa period have been surpassed by no works of our own day as yet.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PRESS

BY MR. ZUMOTO

(Editor of the 'Japan Times')

In gauging the degree of progress in civilization attained by a people, there is, I believe, no guide so sure and reliable as its public press. The press is a faithful mirror of the life of a people in its manifold aspects. The press may be bad, or it may be good, but it cannot be much worse or much better than the people among whom it exists.

There are men and women who denounce the press of their country, or a section of it, and say hard things about the poor drudges of the editorial room, quite forgetting that they are all the time giving substantial encouragement and instigation to these editors by purchasing, and even enjoying, the abominable productions of their pens. So, in the last analysis, it is not the editor, but the general public, that makes the press. I do not say this in defence of the yellow journals—we have enough of them and to spare; all I want to say is that the press of a country is the best and surest indication of the advance made by its people in culture, manners, and all other things that go into the make-up of the mixed product we call civilization.

In Japan the press has become for good or for evil a great power, and has really attained to the rank of the fourth estate in the land. Its personnel has contained, and still contains, some of the most intellectual men, while several Ministers of State and many leading politicians have gained their early experience on newspapers. It may even be said that in Japan the press serves as a nursery for statesmen.

The origin of newspapers in Japan dates back to very early times. The Chinese boast of the possession of the oldest existing newspaper in the world—their *Metropolitan Gazette* (the *Kin-Pao*), which is still published in Peking, being nearly 400 years old. If we cannot claim quite the same sort of distinction, we can still claim for our journalism a history of which we need

not be ashamed, when I say that the origin of Japanese journalism dates back as far as the early part of the seventeenth century. Long before our doors of seclusion were forced open by the impatient nations of the West, our ancestors had found a device by which they kept themselves in touch with current events and news. The news-sheets of those days were roughly got up, being printed from wooden blocks hastily purchased for each issue. They were meagre in news, uncouth in form, and quite irregular in appearance, there being no fixed date for publication. Neither were they issued by any particular and fixed publisher. Anybody could issue them, and at any time they pleased. These sheets were called *Yomiuri*, which, being translated, means sold by hawking.

The oldest of these sheets that have been preserved in the archives of some of our princely families bear the date of the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and contain very vivid illustrations of some of the tragic scenes of the fall of the renowned Castle of Osaka, a war which consummated the definite establishment of the Shogunate dynasty of Tokugawa. It is quite possible that even before that time there may have been in existence something corresponding to a *Yomiuri;* but if so, history has not made any mention about them. We have, then, no valid excuse for carrying back the origin of our journalism further than the beginning of the seventeenth century. That is, however, a sufficiently long record for a comparatively young nation like Japan.

These early newspapers, however, even in the heyday of their prosperity, did not attempt to educate their readers by means of editorials; they were content to give the news. Their example might well be followed by editors of the present day, to the relief of the readers. Even in those early days, however, there was competition over the gathering of news, and too premature 'intelligent anticipation' of events led to incorrect news being published. But no time was lost in those early newspaper-offices in getting rapidly on the streets with news of great interest. The story is well known of the immortal fame of the forty-seven *rôn-in* of Ako, who, after years of most painful and heroic struggle, succeeded in avenging the death of their beloved lord in the early part of the year 1703. History records that on this occasion a full printed description of this tragic event was hawked about the streets of Yedo within a few hours. Considering the imperfect means of communication and the primitive state of the contrivances then in use for gathering and publishing news, this feat speaks volumes for the enterprise and pluck of the poor, much-maligned purveyors of news in those days.

These early newspaper sheets were only published in the

great cities, such as Yedo (Tokyo), Osaka, and Kyoto. People not fortunate enough to inhabit these cities had to wait for their news until their friends could send the sheet to them. There was in existence a system of distribution of mails, which could work most expeditiously when there was urgent public need. By means of relays of fleet-footed carriers stationed at short intervals, mail-bags were frequently sent over 200 miles in twenty-four hours.

In Japan the art of printing was known some five centuries before the Restoration, and at that time there were thousands of books which had been printed from movable type. There were many imperfections in these movable types, and the results offended the artistic feelings of the people, and prevented them from becoming too popular.

Besides the *Yomiuri* publications, which were private publications, the feudal Government of Tokugawa published a gazette called the *Gosata-Juki*, copies of which were supplied to officials and a few privileged persons. It was a daily publication, excepting holidays, and was in this respect more like a modern newspaper than was the *Yomiuri*. But it contained only official appointments, notifications, and Court news. Exactly when it was started it is impossible to say, but it was generally believed to have been nearly as old as the dynasty itself under which it prospered. It was the progenitor of the *Dajo Kwan Nisshi*, published immediately after the restoration of political power to the Imperial Court thirty-five years ago, and later still of the *Official Gazette* of the present day.

After the country was opened for foreign intercourse, during the latter days of the Shogunate Government, about thirty newspapers or periodicals were started in Yedo and Yokohama, a few of them being founded by Japanese in co-operation with foreign residents, but the majority of them were under Japanese management.

Thirty-five years ago the first newspaper worthy of the name, known as the *Chugai Shimbun*, was started in Tokyo. This was during the first year of the present reign. It was a weekly production, printed at first from wooden blocks, and subsequently from movable types. This paper was edited by Shunzo Yanagawa, a well-known scholar of the day, and he was assisted by a few writers of distinction, including the late Baron Kanda. Unlike the *Yomiuri*, it was not content with the self-effacing rôle of simply publishing news; it was ambitious enough to print editorial comments on current topics. The contents of its ten pages were very commonplace compared with the newspapers now circulating in Japan.

The business departments of early Japanese newspapers were

hardly up-to-date, as may be judged from the following notice which appeared in one of them:

> 'The editors note with satisfaction the growing prosperity of their venture, and notify their subscribers that, in view of the increased labour and trouble entailed on them by their increasing circulation, the gracious subscribers will kindly spare them the trouble by sending for their copies, instead of having them delivered to them as before.'

The time arrived when the first daily newspaper of modern type in Japan was to be published. In 1871 the *Mainichi* made its appearance at Yokohama, and was afterwards transferred to Tokyo, where it still maintains an honourable position. This venture was soon followed in Tokyo by a number of new dailies, some of which now hold foremost places in the field of Japanese journalism. Among these are the *Nichi-Nichi*, the *Hochi*, the *Nippon*, and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. In 1872 an Englishman named Black, who had done brilliant service under the new Imperial Government, started a daily paper, which was printed in the Japanese language. Himself a consummate master of the language, his paper, the *Nisshin-Shinji-Shi*, did much to help on the development of Japanese journalism. Unfortunately, the life of Black's paper was only short, but it had accomplished its work. From that time on the growth and improvement of the Japanese press was rapid and steady, until at the present time there is to be found no town with over 10,000 inhabitants that does not have two or more newspapers. In 1899 the number of newspapers and magazines had mounted to 978, of which only half were devoted to political affairs and news, the others dealing with religion, literature, or science.

As is natural, Tokyo is the principal centre of journalism in Japan, and there are daily published something like thirty or forty newspapers. Of these, the most important are the *Jiji*, the *Nichi-Nichi*, the *Kokumin*, the *Mainichi*, the *Yomiuri*, the *Chugai-Shogyo*, and the *Nippon*. These papers consist of eight to sixteen pages, and contain editorial articles, general news, miscellaneous matter, and fiction. These leading papers have great political influence, and it is from their staffs that many politicians have arisen.

The people of Tokyo, like the Parisians, prefer to hear what is going on in their own town to hearing news of the outside world. They have a profound contempt for provincial matters, and although they publish dispatches from Osaka or other great towns, it is rather in a perfunctory way. The best energies of

the Tokyo papers are devoted to the city news, which is considered as an indispensable attraction. Serial novels, sometimes translated from the English or French, are equally attractive.

Formerly there was a belief that the newspaper could be divided into two broad classes—the great papers and the small. This division was based upon the contents rather than upon the size. It used to be considered undignified for the great papers to publish personal news and police-court reports. They relied upon political news for their principal reading matter. The *Jiji*, *Nichi-Nichi*, and *Kokumin* were classed as great papers, while the *Yorodzu* and *Miyako*, and later the recently suppressed *Niroku*, were minor papers. The success of these minor papers showed to the more important sheets that stories of human interest were valuable copy, and they began to include police-court news. It is the newer minor papers which form the Yellow Press of Japan, which it seems must exist in every country.

These yellow papers count among them some of the most widely circulated journals; they are undoubtedly the most prosperous. Most people affect to denounce these papers, and, I believe, some of them consistently; but many of these respectable persons are said to be less consistent, for they somehow manage to keep themselves well informed of the contents of these papers.

According to a malicious rumour, men read them every morning on their way to business; their wives pore over them in their absence; while a third copy finds its way to the servants' hall. You must not, however, suppose that we take these sensational papers seriously; while enjoying their personal notes and scandals, we attach so little importance to what is contained in their columns that, when our names appear there in unequivocal light, we simply leave the matter alone without taking any notice of it. When these papers are presumptuous enough to meddle with any serious question of State, the rebuff for them is even more signal. I may cite a characteristic story to the point. While the negotiations about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance were going on, and while nobody in Tokyo—except the Government—had even the slightest suspicion of the matter, one of the yellowest journals came out one morning in the December or January before the treaty was signed with a note, under big black headlines, saying that communications were then in progress between London and Tokyo with a view to the conclusion of an alliance between the two countries. Of course, the conductors of the paper expected to create a big sensation all over the country, if not the world; but their self-congratulations were quite unavailing, for, thanks to their well-

established reputation, their announcement—which was really a big scoop—attracted absolutely no notice whatever.

As to their circulation, our newspapers fall far behind their foreign contemporaries. The sensational papers, as is the case in every country, sell better than their sober and respectable neighbours. Of these journals, the *Niroku*, which undoubtedly printed the largest number of copies, claimed a daily circulation of over 150,000; while the *Yorodzu*, since the suppression of the *Niroku* the most popular paper of the same class, issues probably 120,000 copies every morning. The others fall far below them. Few newspapers of the respectable class claim, with two exceptions, a circulation of much over 30,000 at most. The average, I believe, is somewhere between 10,000 and 15,000. The exceptions I have named are the two leading papers in Osaka, one having a daily circulation of 150,000, and the other a little over 100,000. In political influence they do not compare with the great dailies of Tokyo. But they stand at the head of journalism in Japan from a business point of view, partly owing to good management, but principally because of the splendid facilities which the unique geographical situation and the long-established business connections of Osaka afford to these papers for getting hold of the most populous and best-developed parts of the empire.

There have been established in Tokyo eight news-agencies, very similar to those in existence in London to-day. The business of these is to supply news to the newspapers. So assiduous are these agencies that it would be possible to start a newspaper in Tokyo without any editorial staff or reporters, and fill the pages with news-agency copy. This agency news is found mostly in the larger papers, there being very little room to spare in the small sheets of the Yellow Press. For instance, the *Yorodzu* consists of four pages, the last being filled with advertisements. The first page contains a few editorials, some poetry, and an instalment of a novel, also some advertisements. The second page consists of financial, economic, and general news, with special political news. The third page is filled with interesting, smartly-written articles, dealing with items of human interest often collected in the police-court. It was the *Yorodzu* which first introduced Dumas to the newspaper readers of Japan, to the despair of the rest of the Yellow Press, who could not find anything so attractive to run. But although the yellow journals have a great sale, they do not have any great weight, save among the lowest classes. This task of moulding public opinion is reserved to the larger papers. As has been said before, many statesmen and leaders in the political world have passed from the training-ground of the newspaper-office to official and Parliamentary life.

Mr. Yukio Ozaki, ex-Minister of Education, and now leader of the Constitutional party in the House of Representatives, had been a journalist for many years; so had Baron Suyematsu, who has occupied several important Cabinet posts under Marquis Ito. Mr. Hara, an able statesman of the younger school, formerly editor of the *Osaka Mainichi*, was the Minister of Communications in Marquis Ito's last Administration; and Mr. Inukai, who presided over the Department of Education in Count Okuma's last Cabinet, made his name in journalism. The present chief editor of the *Hochi*, Mr. Minoura, has been Vice-Minister of Communications, and Mr. Komatsubara, of the *Osaka Mainichi*, made a distinct mark in Marquis Yamagata's last Cabinet as Vice-Minister of Home Affairs. Besides these, there are many equally distinguished politicians who graduated in the school of journalism. Such are Mr. Tokutomi, of the *Kokumin;* Mr. Asakina, of the *Nichi-Nichi;* Mr. Kuga, of the *Nippon;* Mr. Shinada, of the *Mainichi;* and Mr. Oska, of the *Chuo.*

Ever respected and honoured in the history of Japan must be the memory of Mr. Fukuzawa, the founder and editor of the *Jiji.* He did more than any other person to raise the Japanese press to its present high position, where it wields an authority commensurate with the intellect of those who direct it.

The newspapers in Japan are controlled by the Press Law, but this does not mean any serious hampering of their activities. I may safely say that it is practically as liberal as in any other country. From year's end to year's end the newspapers are actually criticising most freely the policy and conduct of the Government without any fear of official interference. The only restrictions imposed on the liberty of the press relates to the divulging of State and military secrets in time of contingency. Before this restriction comes in force, however, a previous notice is given to the press, so that there is no danger of a patriotic or right-minded editor being caught in the net of the law unawares.

Lady journalists are coming to the fore in Japan, and are to be found on many of the newspaper staffs. In the opinion of one leading Japanese editor, these young ladies are very clever as writers on social topics and as interviewers. It is, however, to my mind, an open point whether ladies entering journalism will not be sorry for their having taken this decided step.

The newspapers of Japan have always been encouraged by a deep feeling of friendship and admiration for the British nation—a feeling which has found unstinted expression on all important occasions. In its endeavours to lead and educate the people in politics, in commercial development, in national

expansion, the Japanese press has invariably pointed to Great Britain as a model and example. And nine out of ten editors looked, and still look, to the noble treasures of English literature for inspiration and information in the prosecution of their daily work. It is English journalism and its unique traditions that the best section of the Japanese press constantly keeps in mind in its humble efforts to be a worthy factor in the elevation of its beloved countrymen.

The future before the press of Japan is growing brighter, and so long as it continues in its present way along the path of progress it will increase in power as a guide to the people of Japan.

CHAPTER XXVIII

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE BUREAU OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

I. The Postal Service

A POSTAL service on the European system was first inaugurated in March, 1871, by the establishment of a letter post between Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Yokohama.

A fairly regular service for the carrying of official correspondence had been in existence a long time previously. Private correspondence, however, had been carried by town carriers, and this service had developed more and more since the sixteenth century (period of Kambun).

In 1871 the first issue of postage stamps appeared, and postal regulations were established. The carrying out of these regulations, and the sale of postage stamps, were placed under the direction of the Governors of Departments. As the working of this system became well regulated, postal routes were extended to Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, Hakodate, etc. The official journal, newspapers, books, and samples of merchandise were considered as articles of letter post.

By 1872 the postal routes extended to nearly all the towns of the Empire. The postal charges were not yet uniform, but regulated by the distance traversed. Moreover, there was a difference of charge on postal matter circulated in the same city, postal matter delivered outside of this radius, and that sent out by local authorities and distributed within the limits of an Administrative District.

In 1873, to overcome the inconveniences of unequal charges then in force, a reformed tariff was adopted, which was not based on the distance traversed, except in the case of postal matter submitted to special charges. This same year the transportation of letters by private enterprise was abolished, and it became the exclusive monopoly of the State. Post-

cards, as well as stamped envelopes and wrappers, were issued to facilitate the means of communication, and, in short, the postal service was organized in a satisfactory manner.

A convention concerning the interchange of telegrams was concluded in 1874 with the United States, and put into execution in the following year.

The Government desiring to develop the postal system beyond the Empire, established in 1875 a service of mail-boats between Japan, Shanghai, and the neighbouring Chinese ports. In 1876 Japanese post-offices were established in China and Corea.

In 1877 the Government joined the Universal Postal Union, and this connection being advantageous to international relations, gave Japan great facilities for postal communications with foreign countries.

In 1878 the Japanese delegates to the Universal Postal Congress at Paris signed the Convention of the Universal Postal Union, drawn up at that congress, and enforced in April of the following year.

An arrangement concerning interchange of the parcel post was concluded in 1879 with the Postal Administration of Hongkong, and put into execution the following year.

In 1882 all parts of the Empire were united by the postal routes, and the post-offices increased to a number hitherto unknown. The postal regulations, although altered several times, became more and more inefficient to meet the changed circumstances, and were replaced the same year by a new postal law, abolishing special charges, and establishing a uniform rate.

In 1883 the Postal Administration, in order to simplify the work of extension, modified the control of local services. The entire country was divided into Postal Districts, in each of which a branch of the Central Administration was established, charged with the control of the local services formerly confided to the Governors of the Departments.

In 1885 reply paid postcards were issued. The same year the delegates sent to the Postal Congress at Lisbon signed the additional Convention concluded at the Congress, which was put into force in April of the following year.

In 1886, with a view to still further ameliorating the supervision of the service, the branch offices of the Administration established in the postal districts were changed to Departmental Directorships of the posts, to which the Administration hand over to a great extent the administrative duties of the posts in their neighbourhood.

The fusion of posts and telegraphs was advantageous to the extension of the system, and advisable for economic reasons,

and the offices of posts and telegraphs were united little by little.

In 1889 administrative duties were confided to postal and telegraph offices of the first class; at the same time the Departmental Directorships of posts were abolished. In the same year the postal law was revised with a view to reducing by one-half the periodical publications belonging to postal matter included in the third category; to increase the maximum limit of the weight of books, designs, plans, and samples of merchandise included in the fourth category; to include seeds of agricultural products in the fourth category; and to reduce the charges applicable to the postal matter belonging to the last category.

A convention was concluded in 1890 with Canada for the interchange of parcel post, and put into execution in the course of the same year.

The Japanese delegates at the Universal Postal Congress at Vienna signed the Acts concluded by the Congress, which were put into force in July of the following year.

The inland parcel post service, for several years the object of special investigation, was introduced in 1892. This innovation, so advantageous to commerce and industry, gave great facilities to the transportation of articles of small dimensions. The charges for parcels were not yet uniform, but governed by the weight and distance traversed. Parcels delivered outside of towns were charged extra—a regulation soon abolished.

The regulations of the military postal service were established at the time of the expedition of the army into Corea, in June, 1894. These regulations dealt with the treatment of correspondence sent to Japan by the military forces, the sailors and persons attached to the service of army or navy when these were sent into strange countries in time of war and extraordinary emergencies. This correspondence was carried free.

Some months later, war being declared against China, the need of a military postal service made it necessary to instal field post-offices for the correspondence of the expeditionary forces in China. These were authorized to send mails, issue postal orders, and receive savings bank deposits.

Formosa became a Japanese possession by virtue of the treaty of peace with China in 1895, and the postal system was organized there in April, 1896.

In 1895, with a view to encouraging agriculture, seeds, on which the postal charges were reduced anew one-half, were classed in the newly-created fifth category of parcel post.

In 1896 the extra charge for delivering parcels outside of city limits was abolished, the distance limits were greatly

extended without a corresponding rise in cost, and the maximum weight of parcels increased. In the same year a Japanese post office was established at Soochow, at Hangchow, and at Shashi (China), and in the year following at Mokpo (Corea).

The postal tariff for the International Service was changed in 1897, on the occasion of the adoption by the Government of the Gold Standard. Japanese delegates were sent to the International Congress at Washington, and the conventions and arrangements concluded there were put into force in January of the following year.

In 1898 the maximum size-limit of parcels for the inland postal service was increased.

Post-Offices and Postal Agencies.

Post-offices at the creation of the postal service were not divided into classes. It was only in 1873 that they were arranged in four classes, and in 1874 another class was added.

In 1875 these offices were divided anew into five classes. For the towns having several offices, one of them was designated the Central Office, the others, branches. This classification of offices was again submitted to change, when in 1886 the number of classes was limited to three only, with the branches. This classification still exists. In the same year, the fusion of posts and telegraphs having been adopted, post-offices and telegraph-offices situated in the same town were gradually combined, beginning with the most important localities, where the need was greatest. In the post-offices not already provided with telegraph service, it was introduced, and they were transformed into post and telegraph offices.

Postal agencies were established in 1875 in districts remote from post-offices, for the reception of registered objects, and letter-boxes established since the beginning of the postal service, to facilitate the depositing of letters into the post, were increased as the postal service developed.

The number of post-offices, which was only 180 at the end of the first year after the inauguration of the service, had risen to 4,325 at the end of the fiscal year 1898. This large increase was due to the extension of the service, which was limited in 1871 to the three great cities of the Empire—Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto—to the five ports open to foreign commerce—Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodate—and to all the villages situated on the postal routes uniting the above towns.

To-day there are over 5,000 post-offices, and over 1,800 telegraph-offices, with some 23,000 officials, and more than

66,000 employés. Some 150,000,000 letters and 350,000,000 postcards are handled yearly. Sixty-eight per cent. of the receipts go towards the expense of maintaining the Department. There is no central Dead Letter Office—such business is looked after in Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Tokyo, and Sapporo.

Postal routes, which consist in Japan of ordinary routes and railway routes, were originally divided into principal and secondary routes; but since 1883 they have been divided into three classes: the first class comprising the principal routes establishing communication between the large cities, the principal ports and other localities of first importance, and forming the Empire's great artery of communication; the second class comprising the secondary routes which branch off from the routes of the first class; and the third class serving only for communication between two or more localities of lesser importance.

The annual increase in the postal matter passing through the mails is remarkable in Japan. The number of letters, which during the first year of the European system was only 565,934, was in the following year raised to 2,510,650. This was caused by the fact that the first year the postal service was limited to the more important towns of the Empire, and the second year it increased in proportion to the increase in the extension of postal routes, and to the reduction of the postal charges.

In 1873 the amount of postal matter was nearly quadruple that of 1872, and in 1874 double that of the preceding year. The cause of this rapid increase was attributable to the adoption of the system of uniform charges, to the cessation of private postal transportation, to the considerable increase of post-offices, and also to the increased use of the postcards issued at the close of the preceding year. The increase was less in 1875, the work of extending and perfecting the system being retarded. The amount of correspondence before 1882 still presented an increase of 20 per cent., but in 1883 and 1886 the rate of increase had diminished, especially in 1885, the principal cause of which was the crisis in commercial and industrial circles—a condition happily only momentary. Activity increasing again in 1887, the number of letters augmented annually over 10 per cent., except during the year 1897-98. The war between Japan and China in 1894-1895 increased the correspondence.

The interchange of telegrams with foreign countries began in 1875, after the conclusion of a postal convention with the United States. Before this, sending and receiving posts was effected through the intermediary of the British,

American, and French post-offices established in the ports opened to foreign commerce. Since the establishment of a line of mail-boats between Japan, China, Corea, and Vladivostock, the bulk of international postal matter has constantly increased. The adhesion of Japan to the Universal Postal Union in 1878 still further facilitated foreign correspondence.

In 1878 the Japanese delegates were sent for the first time to the second Postal Congress, held in Paris, and Japan has been represented by delegates to the Congresses assembled at Lisbon in 1885, at Vienna in 1891, and in 1897 at Washington.

Parcel Post.

The postal service is not limited to the sending of letters; it deals also with the transmission of money and of parcels of small dimensions, to facilitate commercial and industrial transactions. The Administration of Posts inaugurated an inland parcel post in October, 1892. The post-offices opened for this service at first numbered only 287, and the number of parcels sent was only 40,975, but in proportion as the number of offices was increased, the charges reduced, and the methods of transportation bettered, the annual increase became considerable.

The inland service of parcel post began in 1879, and the first exchange with Hongkong was effected at the same time as those of postal orders. Later the Conventions relating to the interchange of parcel post were successively concluded with Canada in 1890, with Germany in 1894, with England in 1896, and with France in 1898. The limit of weight, the dimensions, and the volume as well as the charge on parcels vary, following the country with which the postal matter is interchanged. The employment of the service increases yearly.

Postal Orders.

Postal orders, being one of the important branches of postal service, the Administration of Posts desired to create a service in 1871, at the time of the establishment of the letter postal service, but was not able to do so.

However, the regulations for the service of postal orders were published in September, 1874, and were put into force in January, 1875. This was the beginning of the inland postal order service.

At first only one kind of postal order was employed—the ordinary money order—but so that the public could send

money more rapidly, and transmit even the smallest sums by means of the post, the telegraph money order and the postal voucher (*bon de poste*) were issued in 1885. The limit to the amount of a postal order differs according to the categories, the charges payable also differ according to the category of the money order.

The international service for postal orders was inaugurated in 1880, as a result of an arrangement between the General Director of Posts of Japan and of the General Director of Posts at Hongkong. Some years after, arrangements relative to the interchange of postal orders were successively concluded with Great Britain, France, United States, Italy, and Canada.

In 1885 Japan adopted the arrangements concerning the international postal order service, the contracting countries with which Japan actually interchanged postal orders according to this arrangement being Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Roumania, and Switzerland. For the other countries the interchange was made through the intermediary of the Postal Administration of Great Britain and that of Hongkong.

During the first year of the introduction of the postal order service, the service being limited to the important towns of the Empire, the number of offices and of postal agencies authorized to issue and to pay postal orders was only 272, and the number of postal orders issued 115,703, the total value being 5,310,365 francs; but this service has developed annually; the expansion corresponding to the increase of that of the letter post. The number of bureaus and agencies had risen at the end of the fiscal year 1898 to 3,407, and the number of orders issued to 6,338,456, representing a total value of 140,502,449 francs. This increase was due to the fact that the Postal Administration introduced the service not only into nearly all the offices in the interior of Japan and Formosa, but also to the establishment of offices in China and Corea. The international postal order service installed primarily in 1880 in the offices of Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Hakodate, was introduced in 1885 to 120 new offices.

In 1892 all the offices supplied with the inland postal order service were admitted to participate in the international service, except the branch offices and those bureaus established in Corea and at Shanghai. This last bureau nevertheless was authorized to transact postal order service with the United States of America.

Since the introduction of the international service in 1880 the yearly issue of postal orders has fluctuated, while the

number of postal orders received for payment constantly increases.

During 1898 the number of international orders issued by Japan was 4,414, total value 283,489 francs, and the number of orders received in Japan for payment was 15,078, representing a total value of 2,169,718 francs.

For the first nine years of the working of the international service, from 1880 to 1888, the number of orders issued amounted to more than double the number received for payment, but from 1889 the latter have predominated. Since 1891-1892 the figure of this constantly-growing increase rose, even during the fiscal year of 1898, to more than eighteen times the number of orders issued the same year. This development was due chiefly to the increased commercial and industrial development of Japan.

Postal Savings Banks.

The postal savings banks were created in 1875. The Postal Administration, with a view to develop this institution, spread among the public the idea of postal savings banks as a method of encouraging economy and thrift. The rate of interest allowed on deposits was increased little by little, and facilities were accorded for the drawing out and depositing of accounts.

In 1882 the special regulation for postal savings banks, established in 1875, was replaced by a new law, introducing many improvements in the working of the banks.

Thanks to the constant encouragement given by the Administration, and to the development of economic and industrial ideas among the people, the transactions of the postal savings banks have since 1885 greatly developed.

From 1885 to 1888 the Japanese postal bureaus established in China and Corea were included in the postal bank system.

In 1890 a new law, especially regulating the postal savings banks, was promulgated, according to which the maximum individual deposits, including interest, was fixed at 500 yen a year. The same law regulated the purchase of Government Bonds by depositors wishing to increase their deposits beyond the maximum allowed.

The Postal Administration, always desiring to encourage the postal savings banks, simplified as much as possible the operations of withdrawing and depositing accounts, and in 1898 increased the rate of interest.

The postal savings bank system was established in 1896 in connection with all the postal bureaus in Formosa at the time of the establishment of the service of letter posts.

The postal receipts and expenses, which had followed an annual progression almost constant, and parallel with the increase in correspondence, rose in 1898 to 21,039,343 francs for the former, and 18,178,250 for the latter. During the first fifteen years of the establishment of the postal service, the receipts were generally insufficient to cover the expenses of the work necessary to the development and improvement of the service, but since 1886 the contrary effect was produced, and the receipts have constantly surpassed the expenses, and in 1897 they exceeded the expenses by more than 4,700,000 francs.

II. Telegraphs

The first establishment of the telegraph in Japan dates from 1869. The Japanese Government engaged the services of English engineers in 1868, and in 1869 opened to public service the first line between Tokyo and Yokohama. The authorities made every effort to develop it, but, the economic and commercial situation of the country being little advanced, it was not yet understood how to utilize fully this instrument of modern civilization. The telegraphic communications of the State and of the public were so limited that they hardly sufficed to occupy the daily services of the telegraph operators, and thus the service was not regularly maintained.

The telegraph system began to be better organized after the establishment of the Telegraphic Correspondence Regulation in 1873 and the promulgation of the Telegraph Law of 1874. At the time of the insurrection in the south-west in 1877 (known as the Satsuma Rebellion), the Government was more than ever impressed with the necessity of the prompt development of telegraph-lines. It was during this civil war that the principal lines of the Isle of Kyushyu were connected with those of Japan proper, and that new lines in the Isle of Shikoku were constructed.

In 1878 the Government celebrated the fête of the inauguration of the telegraph, and all the telegraph-offices were officially opened, not only for international service, but also for interior service. However, Japan did not definitely enter the International Telegraph Union till 1879.

Desirous of possessing so useful a mode of communication, the people of localities not supplied demanded the prompt establishment of telegraphic bureaus. The Government, in consideration of this desire, authorized the Administration in 1881 to open telegraphic service where demanded, and offered to defray part of the expenses of first installation. Demands pouring in from all sides, the Administration decided to study

the situation of the localities, and to examine into the expense of installation and maintenance before consenting to the demands. By this means telegraphic communication was rationally developed, until in 1884 there was no important locality without it.

About this time the employment of the telegraph developed so rapidly that the Administration was obliged to suspend the construction of new lines till it could increase the number of wires on the lines already existing. The service was also reorganized by modifying the laws and telegraphic regulations, and thus determining the rights and obligations of the Telegraph Administration.

The system of payment by distance, which had been in force till this time, was replaced by a uniform charge for all Japan. Since 1890, the country advancing in all ways of progress more and more, the Administration had to occupy itself in the more prompt and regular distribution of telegrams, at the same time increasing telegraph lines and bureaus. In 1890 the cables in the Straits of Tsugaru and in the Inland Sea were doubled. In 1891 the Administration of Telegraphs laid the cables to the Isle of Sado and in the Gulf of Funkawan (Hokkaido), and bought from the Danish Great Northern Telegraph Company the cables connecting Yobuko (Isle of Iki) with Idzugahara (Isle of Tsushima), which formed part of the cable line between Japan and Corea.

When the war between China and Japan was declared in 1894, the Japanese Government constructed telegraph-lines for military purposes in the interior of Corea. These lines, connected with those of Japan, were employed exclusively by the military administrations. After the war they were opened to private as well as to official service. During the war, for the defence of the country, there had been constructed towers of observation along the most important military lines; these were changed into telegraph-offices for the various neighbourhoods traversed by the military telegraph-lines. The wires were increased on the lines between Tokyo and Nagasaki, and between Tokyo and Shimonoseki. A new cable was laid in 1895 between Yobuko and Idzugahara, and in 1897 the Island of Formosa was connected with Japan by a cable for military purposes, which was later opened to general use. Thus, the war contributed much to the progress of the telegraph in Japan.

In the beginning there was no distinction of class made in the telegraph-offices of different localities; it was only in 1873 that the offices were divided into three distinct classes. In 1886 the telegraph-offices of various Ministries or of other administrative sections received a special name, to distinguish them from the

offices open to the public. There could be no distinction made by name between the police telegraph-offices, or the railway telegraph, where the service was often exclusively for the State, and other offices open to the public. Later, according to the situation of localities and the state of service, many telegraph-offices were combined with those of the post, under the name of post-office and telegraph-offices. Where there were more than two telegraph-offices in the same place, the larger was called 'central office' and the others 'branch offices.' On the other hand, the Administration of Telegraphs, having been authorized to utilize for public use the telegraph-lines especially established for the service of railroads, created several public offices in the railway termini and stations.

In 1871 there were 4 offices to 8,277,706 of the population; in 1898-99, 1,267, or one to every 34,492 of the population.

Ordinarily the telegraph-lines are built along the public routes or railways. In the beginning, private property was rarely employed in the construction of lines, and there was no need of any regulations governing the employment of public properties for public utility. But this need began to be felt when telegraph-lines were lengthened and grew intricate. In 1874 the Government issued a regulation empowering the Administration to grant an indemnity to the owners of property indispensable for the construction of lines, and in 1884 another regulation established the means of recovering the expenses occasioned by the construction of lines. The details of the arrangement were usually regulated by the customs of each locality. In 1889, when the law for the employment of private property for the public good was promulgated, the need of a special law for telegraphs and telephones was felt. At length, in 1890, the Government promulgated such a law, which is still in force. The construction of telegraph-lines between Tokyo and Yokohama, and between Osaka and Kobe, in 1869-70, was really only the introductory step; the serious work of construction began with the establishment of the principal lines from Tokyo to Nagasaki, and from Tokyo to Amori, which occupied from 1871 to 1874. These lines form, with those from Hakodate to Sapporo, the great artery of Japan. The various lines to the Island of Kyushyu were constructed between 1874 and 1877; those to the Island of Shikoku between 1876 and 1879; the construction of those lines uniting the numerous important places of Japan proper betwen 1876 and 1882; and, last, the lines to Hokkaido, to complete the chain of the islands, in 1892. During this period the construction of principal and secondary lines was carried on at the same time, and these two lines were joined as the work progressed on the main lines; and cables were laid between

various islands, in order that the telegraphic communication should be extended as rapidly as possible.

During the war of 1894-95 strategic necessity called for the laying of a cable between Kagoshima (Kyushyu) and Keelung (Formosa), to connect the military lines of Japan with those of Formosa, and at the same time to permit of public communication with Formosa.

The Pescadores were soon put into telegraphic communication with Japan, and to-day all the principal islands and cities of Japan are supplied with the telegraph.

Internal telegraph correspondence may be carried on in either Japanese or European languages. For the despatches in Japanese the Government determines the methods of compilation, of distribution, of cipher, etc., by a regulation published in 1869, and for the despatches in a European language the same resolutions were settled upon in 1870.

Despatches are divided into three classes—telegrams of State, telegrams of service, and private telegrams. There are seven methods of transmission: Ordinary telegrams, urgent telegrams, telegrams *à suivres*, repeated telegrams, telegrams sent to collect, telegrams with acknowledgment of receipt, and reply paid telegrams. Telegraph charges were paid in coin till 1885, when ten kinds of telegraph stamps (from 1 sen to 1 yen) were employed. When later the postal and telegraphic services were joined, telegraph stamps were abolished, and postage stamps only were used for both.

Before 1885 telegrams in Japanese were charged by message, while telegrams in European languages were charged per word. Still the charges for internal despatches varied according to the number of bureaus of transit, and according to the economic and geographical situation of the localities; but in 1885 a uniform charge for all Japan was adopted, except for telegrams in the same city and those exchanged with the islands of Iki and Tsushima. In 1887 the charge for telegrams in European languages was diminished one-half for all Japan, and one-third within a city. The exception made for the two islands of Iki and Tsushima being abolished in 1891, the charges since then have been the same as for all Japan.

During the first years after the establishment of the telegraph system the number of despatches was insignificant, but as Western civilization penetrated into the interior of the country, and commercial and industrial methods developed, the Administration had to make an effort to extend the lines and increase the offices to keep pace with the growing demand; though in 1883 and the five years following there was a remarkable decrease in the number of despatches despite the great increase in lines and offices. This curious phenomenon

was due to the influence of the commercial and industrial crisis, and after the return of activity in those circles the number of despatches increased in equal proportion to the increased development of the system.

Japan received and sent international telegrams from the opening of the line between Tokyo and Nagasaki in 1873; but as the Administration of Telegraphs was not then connected with the International Telegraph Union, despatches beyond Nagasaki were confided to the agency of the Danish Great Northern Telegraph Company, and the treatment of international telegrams in Japan was regulated by the regulation governing interior service, except the arrangement as to charges made with that company. From 1878 international telegrams began to be treated in conformity to the disposition of the Telegraphic International Convention signed at St. Petersburg in 1875, and in 1879 Japan officially accepted that convention. Japanese delegates were for the first time sent to the International Conference in London in 1879. Since then Japan has been represented at the further conferences held successively at Berlin, Paris, and Budapest.

TELEPHONES.

The establishment of the telephone system was early an object of consideration by the Government. While entirely recognising the utility of this new mode of communication, there was a hesitation in deciding whether the State ought to establish the telephone, or should leave the development of it to a private company. Nevertheless, as the telephone was an absolutely new matter, it was proposed to previously investigate it thoroughly. The Ministry of Communications seriously occupied itself with this preparatory study, and tried the manufacture of telephones. In 1890 the Government judged the moment favourable to put into practice these theoretical studies, and, recognising the advantages accruing from establishing the service itself, published the Telephone Regulations. Telephone services were first opened in Tokyo and Yokohama at the end of 1890, and in Osaka and Kobe in 1893. As in all new things, the public, not fully comprehending the real utility of this marvellous equipment, were not anxious to have it installed in their own houses; but after some years of work, the demands became so numerous that the Administration was obliged to obtain from the State a special fund to supply the public desire. In 1895 extensive developments were resolved upon. Apart from the fiscal year of 1896-97, not only were central telephone-offices established

in all the commercially important cities, but communication between these various places was established. In February, 1899, the first long-distance line was opened between Tokyo and Osaka, a distance of 350 miles.

The central exchange and the public telephone-offices were under the control of the Ministry of Communications. In 1890—that is to say, in the first year of the opening of the service—there were central exchanges only in Tokyo and Yokohama, and there were only 16 public telephone-offices open for public use. In 1898-99 there were 16 exchanges and 46 public telephones. In the year 1890—the public not yet being fully alive to their advantages, and the system not being extensive—there were only 334 private subscribers; but at the end of the fiscal year 1898-99 there were 8,064 houses supplied with telephones. The demands increased so rapidly that some 6,915 applications were still waiting to be supplied. The development is shown from the fact that in 1890-91 there were 2 central exchanges, 16 public telephones, and 334 subscribers; and in 1898-99 there were 16 central exchanges, 46 public telephones, and 8,064 subscribers. In 1902-03 there were 318 public offices, and 111,597,714 messages sent.

Telephone-lines are constructed and maintained by the State. They are constructed to meet the increasing demands, but within the limits of the Budget. In the towns the extension of lines develops slowly in proportion to the increase of wires demanded. There are numerous posts charged with more than 300 wires. To avoid all danger, the Administration has begun to lay these underground.

Telephone communication can be held between subscribers, or subscribers and the public, or any two persons. In the first case subscribers pay no extra charge, as they pay a fixed annual rent. In the second case the public pay for each call a charge determined by the Administration. A subscriber pays an extra charge for long-distance calls.

Copper wire being universally recognised as the best transmitter, the Administration tried the manufacture of a hard copper wire, which when perfected was adopted. The great difficulty of putting extra wires on to already existing posts was overcome in 1891 by beginning to employ underground cables for the lines already too burdened with wires. Ordinarily wooden arms to the posts were employed for 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 wires, according to the number of subscribers; but these being felt insufficient, iron arms, supporting many wires, are being preferred.

Porcelain insulators made in Japan are used. There are three kinds of apparatus in use: Standard Telephone Switch-

board, the Multiple Telephone Switchboard of the Western Electric Company, and Man's Telephone Switchboard. These, with the exception of the second, are, with certain modifications, manufactured in Japan, and are better than those imported at first. The manufacture of telephones has had a rapid development, until to-day it has reached a fair perfection.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST

BY BARON SUYEMATSU.*

THE problem of the East is wide and far-reaching, but its focus, it appears to me, is centred in the war now being waged between Japan and her mighty Northern neighbour. It also seems to be expedient to me to approach the subject with the Anglo-Japanese relations as the keynote of my theme. Japan is now in alliance with Great Britain; she may not perhaps be worthy of that alliance, but one may be assured she is doing and will always do her best to deserve it. Some people might think that that alliance was an outcome of mushroom growths, but, on the contrary, it was the climax of long evolution, the fruit of a tree with deep-rooted trunk. For a long time English policy in the Far East, though subject to the tidal wave of diplomacy, has had a trend in that direction, and what Great Britain has done in the Far East has inevitably resulted to the benefit of Japan.

It was in the year 1854, just fifty years ago, that Japan opened herself to America, and soon after to England, Russia, France, and other Occidental nations. It was in that year that England, together with France, fought against Russia in the Black Sea. As one consequence the combined fleets of England and France chased in the Far East the Russian fleet, and attacked the fortified port of Petropavlovsk on the coast of Kamtchatka. The British fleet lost its Commodore, and also met with a heavy repulse, sustaining a loss of 200 men. At last with reinforcements it captured and demolished the fort, but, taking advantage of fog, the Russian fleet had escaped a month before. The Russian fleet which thus escaped met with shipwreck; the survivors sought the helping hand of Japan. We did not know what was passing between England and Russia, neither were we concerned in the matter, so out of sheer philanthropy we received these survivors well. We gave them shelter at a secluded place called Heta, in the province

* London, May, 1904.

of Idzu. There they wished to build some new ships in order to return home. We gave materials, we lent them our ship-builders, our artisans, and they succeeded in building two schooners, on board of which they sailed away from Japan. This took place, if I remember correctly, after the conclusion of peace.

In 1861 the so-called Tsushima affair took place. Tsushima is, as is well known, an island situated in the mouth of the Japan Sea—a most important strategic point for Japan. In the year in question the Russian fleet suddenly came to that island, landed marines, and occupied part of it, with the evident intention of seizing the island. This was done without any cause or reason whatever, without any prior notice or diplomatic negotiations, in spite of the fact that she had entered into friendly intercourse with us by treaty several years previously, and in spite of our giving them a helping hand in their hour of calamity. Remonstrances were, of course, made by the island authorities, followed by those of the Central Government, but the Russians took no heed. It was then that the English fleet made its appearance on the scene, and demanded the instant retirement of the Russians, which was obeyed, and thus the Island of Tsushima was saved to Japan.

In 1868 the new régime of the Imperial Government was inaugurated. For some years previous to that Japan was divided into two great factions—one for the Imperial cause, the other for the Shogunate cause. At that time England was represented in Japan by the energetic and sagacious Sir Harry Parkes. There were also men like Glover, Lowther, and Ernest Satow, now Sir Ernest, the present worthy British representative in China; they all espoused the Imperial cause, led by Sir Harry Parkes, in opposition to the strenuous support of the Shogunate cause by a certain foreign Power, headed by the equally energetic and adventurous representative of that country. Most of these facts are contained in the unwritten pages of the secret history of diplomacy, so that they are not well known even in Japan, still less in Europe. But one thing is certain—that England has done much towards the consolidation of our empire.

In 1874 we had the so-called Formosan affair, arising from the Formosan aborigines murdering a number of Japanese subjects, which ultimately led to some complication between Japan and China. That complication was amicably settled at last through the good offices of the then British representative in China.

In 1885 the Port Lazareff—Port Hamilton affair took place. The affair, as you know, was briefly this: Russia attempted to snatch Port Lazareff from Corea. England, having objections to this Russian action, instantly occupied Port Hamilton as a counter-check, and thus succeeded in compelling Russia to

abandon her project. This object effected, England naturally gave up the occupation of Port Hamilton soon after. This affair did not directly concern Japan, but she derived benefit from it, all the same.

In our war with China, 1894-95, Great Britain kept her neutrality, and on the whole was friendly with Japan. Some say England might have gone a step further at the time of the intervention of the three Powers, but we do not complain of that. When Port Arthur was occupied by Russia, Great Britain occupied Wei Hei Wei. This was intended as nothing else but a counter-check to the Russian aggression, and the lease was made only coexistent with Russian occupation. This in itself is a striking proof of the opposing interests of Russia and Great Britain.

Amidst that war the revision of our old treaties with Occidental nations was effected, which placed Japan on an equal footing with other nations, admitting her for the first time into the comity of civilized nations. In this affair it was Great Britain that took the lead and initiative over other Powers.

Then came the Boxer rising, and the march on Peking by the allied forces to the rescue of their several Legations. The history of this is too fresh to reiterate here. It suffices to say that we, the Japanese, spoken of as 'the pagans,' fought side by side with the troops of Western nations, especially keeping up the best relations with the British and Americans. It is also not necessary to dwell in detail upon the diplomacy in the Far East, or what was done by Russia after the rescue of the various Legations.

It seems, however, of interest for me to give a brief résumé. Russia gave to other Powers repeatedly a pledge that she would terminate her occupation of Manchuria—an occupation which had taken place during the Boxer trouble as a part of the common action of the Allied Powers which went to the rescue of Peking, and for which she directly afterwards had received from China, for the trouble she had taken, a compensation to an amount far exceeding its value. At the same time in another direction she had been trying to exact from China humiliating concessions, which were quite contrary to, and irreconcilable with, the pledges given by her to the other nations. From the beginning to the end the chief efforts of diplomacy in the Far East were directed to check the clandestine attempts of Russia, and make her keep her pledge. In this effort England, America, and Japan stood fast together. Then came the treaty of alliance between England and Japan in 1902; the Manchurian question had not then come to an end, and it was still threatening. England was perfectly aware of the fact. Looking back over the long history of more than forty years,

looking at what England has done in the Far East in connection with Japan, as I have related above, I cannot but say it resulted, as I said before, to the benefit of Japan, and of course we feel deeply indebted to the aid thus rendered by the British nation. I do not doubt but that much of this has been done out of kindness and with a sense of justice. But was this all? Was there not also something else behind? Upon looking at the map, it is easily seen why England had adopted her policy in the direction described. She has great commercial interests in the Far East, no small political ones as well. It is necessary to protect those interests. Although only some parts of the interests of the great empire lie in the Far East, she could not afford to lose those interests, any more than a man could afford to lose a part of his buildings, which loss might prove detrimental to the whole construction. These interests which she has to protect are identical with those of Japan. Japan has to do exactly the same thing as England in guarding and protecting her interest and safety. Such being the case, I venture to say that the treaty of alliance between England and Japan was, as I said before, the climax of long evolution, having for its basis the mutual interests of the two countries. So far this is a matter of plain fact as concerns the political aspect. There are, however, some attempts to discredit Japan in some quarters.

In the first place, it is said that Japan's modern civilization is only outward, and that there is every possibility of a reaction setting in. Nothing can be further from the truth than this assertion. We have strenuously striven to civilize our country by assimilating ourselves with European methods and ideas in everything, and we have, I believe, succeeded to some extent. It has cost us many lives and much money. We have eaten Western apples and found them delicious, and we are not likely to give them up. We are even going to make further improvements, and so keep pace with those nations with whom we have friendly intercourse. Of the material side of the civilization which we have adopted, I can at once convince you that we shall not be likely to give them up. We have electric light in Japan; you will not doubt when I tell you that we shall never return to oil or wax. We have railways: do you think we can ever go back to walking? Shall we destroy the telegraph-wires and again employ messengers?

With regard to the mental parts of civilization, it may not be so easy to convince, but with us it is exactly the same. The introduction of Western civilization into Japan is not limited to its material side only. In laws, in science, in art, and in all the other branches of human activity, we have striven to introduce your ideas, just in the same degree as we have done in material objects. All this we shall never give up; they have

already taken deep root in the Japanese mind, and they have already become essential elements in the making of a compact nation. Sometimes people express amazement at the changes made in Japan in so comparatively short a period as thirty or forty years, as though doubting its genuineness. It is true that Japan has effected a great transformation, but, without in the least entertaining any idea of self-glorification, I may say that Japan has always had some kind of unique national civilization and conditions of social organization, which, together with a considerable precursory preparation, have given her a special power of adaptability for the adoption of Western enlightenment. It is, I venture to say, a fallacy to think that any aborigines or tribes scattered in different parts of the globe could, emulating Japan, raise themselves in the same way as she has done at so short a notice.

Some comments have also been made about difference of race and religion. Well, the difference of race is a matter we cannot transform except, perhaps, by gradual intermixture. That difference, however, seems to me not very important for keeping friendly relations, so long as other assimilation could be thoroughly effected. I may also say the same thing with regard to religion. Our moral precepts and ethical rules are exactly the same as those of the Western world, though some of their points might be more developed in Japan, while some points might be more developed in Western nations. Just let me illustrate this: Where any matters of charity or virtue are concerned, the Japanese entertain the same ideas, and act in the same way, as do their Western brethren. For instance, the organization of the Red Cross Society is working very well in Japan; its members amount to about one million, and its annual subscriptions amount to about two million yen. It is under the patronage of the Emperor and Empress, and of course all this is done irrespective of any religion, Japan being a most tolerant country as regards religion. Perfect freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the Constitution, and not the slightest difference is made in the eyes of the law on account of religion, and in social intercourse it is the same. Here perhaps I might relate an instance: Mr. Kataoka, who died last autumn, was a Christian, and yet was one of the leaders of the largest political party. He was President of the House of Representatives for several terms, and he died while still holding that office. There was a hymn which he liked more than any other, and on his dying-bed he asked his friends and relatives to sing it, and he passed away while it was being sung. The Salvation Army is parading our streets under the command of its English officers. Even the Mormons are allowed to preach, though under strict conditions which bind them not to attempt to proselytize as regards polygamy,

which is contrary to our laws. With these facts in view, one might even say that we, as a nation, are almost too tolerant. At all events, I am of opinion that if the British continue to regard us as brothers we shall get on very well.

People speak of the Japanese as being brave in war and fighting well. Perhaps it is true, but we should be sorry if we were considered only as a fighting people. We aspire to be as energetic and as clever in other branches of human culture as in war; in fact, our endeavour has always been directed to that end.

The general tendency in Japan is that the more one is versed in the Western ideas, the more chance one has of becoming a prominent figure in all directions. Especially is this so in politics and official occupations, and even in the army and navy. It amounts to the same thing as saying that the brain, as it were, of Japan, which regulates the wheel and the motion of the empire, is and will continue to be animated by the Western modes of thought and reason. And I may also add that such a state of mind will make a nation feel her international responsibilities the more, and she will never allow herself to become a kind of wanton brigand, or act with a sudden outburst as if she were one of the untrained nomadic hordes.

Some fear that the Japanese soldiers might become restless and unruly after achieving great success over their formidable foe. But of that there is no fear. Our army is founded upon the conscription system; the soldiers are patriotic and fight gallantly when ordered to advance, but they are not bellicose by nature, rather preferring peace, and, moreover, perfect order and discipline prevails among them. It was just one day after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia that I met with General Count Katsura, the Premier of Japan, when he told me that during that long-protracted negotiation with Russia not one of our military or naval officers or men had come to him to disturb him with their opinions on diplomacy or politics. This will perhaps give you some idea of what are the characteristics of our army. It appears also that some apprehensions are being entertained that some kind of amalgamation might be effected between China and Japan which might cause danger to the Western Powers. But I am far from believing this. China is a very fine country. The Chinese are not a warlike or expanding nation. China is, and has always been, and will be, a good market for all civilized nations so long as she is left undisturbed and her integrity is respected. The characteristics and ideas in China and Japan are in general of such marked difference that it is a matter of impossibility to amalgamate these two nations, nor does Japan ever entertain such ambitious ideas. All that Japan wishes is to maintain a peaceful

commercial intercourse with China, in common with other civilized nations, and Japan's policy will be conducted on these lines. I am confident that this policy of Japan is in accord with British ideals, and I do not believe that the direction of British policy differs from ours. This is again conclusive evidence that British and Japanese interests are identical, and hence the necessity of maintaining a close and cordial relationship, which is no other than to continue the actual status of the present alliance. I said in the beginning that the present state was the climax of long evolution; I might almost say that it is an outcome of British policy in the East, which may be considered as already traditional. In its long course it was sometimes adopted by the Liberal Government, and sometimes by the Conservative, which you can easily discover by peeping into the pages of history; and, besides, I am happy to notice that it is backed by almost all the subjects of the great British Empire. Hence I may affirm that it is the national policy. An alliance of this kind does not mean to thwart other nations; on the contrary, we wish also to keep up friendly relations with them, which I presume is also the intention of Great Britain, and hence the Japanese are not jealous of Great Britain making *l'entente cordiale* with any of these nations. In fact, I do not doubt that among these nations too, even in France or Germany, there is many a heart which is beating with sympathy for Japan at this trying hour of hers. It must be understood that in these friendships there must be some difference of degree. Amongst these other nations we desire most the friendship of the United States of America. Almost all the sentiments I have expressed relating to England are also applicable to the United States, and, besides, there is no difference in the Far East in the interests and policy of England, the United States, and Japan. The Americans have shown their sympathy with Japan at this momentous hour in no less degree than Great Britain. I could wish that America would advance a step further, and enter into a more definite relationship with us. I understand that it is the policy of both the British and American Governments that they should keep up a close relationship, and I also understand that view is that of the thinkers of both nations, and in which they have already succeeded in convincing the vast bulk of their fellow-countrymen. There may perchance be some trifling difference of feeling now and then between some few particular individuals; but if there be such, they are, after all, like little differences of opinion between brothers and sisters or cousins. You cannot, after all, cut the natural bonds of Anglo-Saxon blood. Let, then, Great Britain and America be closely united, and allow Japan to stand by their side: it will be a sight worth seeing. Were England, America, and

Japan, I say, to stand thus together in the Far East, that fact alone could not but be a great bulwark for the preservation of permanent peace and the furtherance of civilization, without in any way prejudicing the equitable rights and interests of other civilized nations.

I am told, and I also know, that the British are difficult to make friends with; but we also know that, when once they become friends, their friendship is constant and enduring. And so it is with the British nation at large. The present treaty of alliance is for five years, but I would fain it were made perpetual; nor is this merely for the interests of Japan. Suppose Japan were worsted in the war now waging, and Northern China fell into the hands of a certain other Power, what would be the result? British interests in the Far East would be gone. Either Japan should be crushed altogether, and another Power set up in her place in opposition to that other certain Power, or she should be taken care of and placed in a position to forward, side by side, the common interests of the civilized world, especially those of the Anglo-Saxon. There can be no half-way or vacillating measures, I am afraid. When this question is solved, the problem of the East will be solved for all practical purposes. Japan has now embarked on a great task. She thoroughly recognises its magnitude and gravity. She is, however, convinced that she is not fighting merely for personal political aims, but that she is fighting also in the interests of the whole civilized world; she is fighting for her own sake, of course, but at the same time she is carrying it on at the mandate of England and America, as it were, in the cause of civilization and humanity.

CHAPTER XXX

FORMOSA

I. The Early Administration

BY GENERAL COUNT KATSURA,*
Prime Minister; President of the Formosan Society

In Formosa the Imperial Government has carried out the general line of policy laid down in 1896, and most of the projects then advanced are now accomplished facts. A due commercial appreciation of the geographical situation of the island as a basis of action towards South China and the Southern Seas was recognised already in 1896. It was thought expedient to consider the following proposals: (1) The development of the administrative organization; (2) the enlargement of the police force; (3) general sanitation and the opium question; (4) the improvement of shipping facilities; and (5) railway construction, road-making, and harbour works.

To accomplish these projects the following steps were necessary, and in 1896 the necessary recommendations were made to the authorities in Tokyo.

To further enlarge the administrative organization, the first thing to be done was to increase the number of prefectures, and thus to reduce the area of administration to smaller divisions; and, secondly, to establish a system of lower or detailed administration so that the utmost possible care might be taken of the welfare of the people. According to the existing form of government, the whole island was divided into three prefectures and one island office. The prefectures were also subdivided into twelve district offices. Formosa has an area larger than that of Kyushyu (one of the five principal islands of the Japanese Empire), and a population of over 3,000,000. Means of communication were as yet in a state of imperfection, and the manners and customs of the people varied greatly from those of ours. Besides these difficulties that lay in the way of governing the island, there was, more-

* Count Katsura was Governor-General of Formosa in 1896.

over, the fact that the prefectural offices practically exercised no control over the district offices, the latter being put under the necessity of asking orders from the former, but denied facilities of operation. The administrative divisions of the island then in existence, having hastily been copied from those existing under the Chinese régime, under the pressing need of establishing a military form of government after the cession in 1895, had not been made the subject of thorough examination to see if they would best meet the requirements of the situation. In order, therefore, to establish a satisfactory system of administration, it was found advisable to increase the number of prefectures by four, the number of the island offices and of the district offices remaining as before. As the result of the new arrangement, the whole island was divided into seven prefectures and one island office, with the twelve district offices under them. Under this arrangement the larger prefectures then possessed an area of over 4,000,000 square ri, and contained more than 600,000 inhabitants, and the smaller an area of over 2,000,000 square ri, and more than 300,000 inhabitants. In area and population each was more than equal to the smaller Fu or Ken of the mainland.

As for the lower administrative system, the project was to establish more than seventy executive offices throughout the whole island to conduct public affairs within these small administrative divisions, and from each town or village of the division to elect a representative of the inhabitants to assist in the due performance of public functions. The Formosan administrative divisions were re-established solely in accordance with these views, but were subsequently reduced. It may appear that there was some weakness in the idea. The truth is, however, that at that early period of Japanese possession it was thought that the thorough recognition and respect by the natives of the high and august attributes of our gracious Sovereign was the first and paramount object to be attained by the new Government, and that a broad executive mechanism would best answer this purpose. When things came to assume their normal condition in the island, it was found that the extensive system as it then was would do more harm than good to the islanders.

The extension of the police force was an object of paramount importance in the government of Formosa. So also was the implanting in the minds of the people a high regard for the virtues of His Majesty the Emperor, as well as to secure a thorough appreciation by them of the goodwill and sincerity of our Government, and this could not better be attained than by extending the administrative police force of the island. In 1896 there were 2,000 gendarmes and 1,200 policemen under

the control of the Governor-General. But gendarmes are by nature detailed for the preservation of civil order, and can hardly exert themselves in anything that concerns the general welfare of a community. Thus, there were but few police available to be distributed throughout the island. With this insignificant force it was necessary to guard against the secret landing of unruly Chinese, and to take preventive measures against the smuggling of opium and other articles constantly practised along the whole coast of the island facing the Chinese Sea. Naturally, it was necessary to call for the action of the garrison troops every time a riot occurred. It was clearly seen that it should be made the duty of both gendarmes and the policemen to guard against these emergencies, and for this purpose it was requisite that their number should be increased by 2,300 and 1,500 respectively, thus making up a force of 3,500 each.

It certainly was one of the prime duties of the Japanese Government to take necessary measures for the sanitary well-being of the island. The most difficult subject of opium-smoking, which actually involves questions of public peace, was forced upon the authorities. Measures relating to the prevention of epidemics—the drinking water and sewerage improvement—were decided novelties in Formosa. The health and even life of the natives are entirely exposed to the dangers appertaining to the climatic conditions of the land. Hence it was felt that to provide for the safety of their lives and for the enjoyment of sound health was the way to secure their attachment and devotion to the Imperial Government. There was also the necessity of encouraging immigration from Japan, for which the sanitary improvement of the island was a preliminary and necessary step.

As to the question of opium-smoking, some insisted upon its immediate prohibition, while others were in favour of the gradual extinction of that baleful custom. With Formosans it is a habit indulged in for generations, and in it is their only relish and refreshment. If a stop were put to this sole enjoyment of theirs, a reaction of a grave nature was inevitable; and should their resentment and enmity have exhibited themselves in a practical manner, the management of all public affairs in the island would have been seriously affected. With a view to gradually and eventually putting an end to this habit, the Government decided that it would organize for this special branch of sanitation a complex and effective executive mechanism. The very importance of the measures demanded that they should be conducted on a much larger scale than the business of a petty department of the Civil Affairs Bureau. The establishment of an independent sanitary bureau was

imperative in order to secure the carrying out of those measures with the best possible results. Later, by means of the creation of the Opium Monopoly, steps were taken towards the stamping out of the vice.

The state of communication in 1896 between Japan and Formosa did not meet the growing necessities, much less the needs of developing the resources of the island. The Formosan Government, by allowing an annual grant of 60,000 yen to the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, first opened two lines of steamship service between Kobe and Kelung, one of them touching at Bakan, Nagasaki, Kagoshima, Okinawa, and Tayeyama, and the other at Oshima and Okinawa. But the vessels plying were only three in number, of a little over 1,000 tons each, and running the distance only thrice a month. They were only aided by a few vessels chartered by the Government, which, besides running on Government services, were employed for the conveyance of ordinary passengers and cargoes. It was purposed to establish the following lines by the grant of due subsidies from the next fiscal year:

(*a*) Kobe to Kelung, via Ujina, Moji, Nagasaki, and Misum.

(*b*) Kobe to Kelung, via Kagoshima, Oshima, Okinawa, and Tayeyama.

(*c*) The direct service between Kobe and Kelung.

(*d*) Coasting service.

(*e*) Tamsui—South China line—from Tamsui to Anping, Taku, Hong Kong, Swatow, Amoy, and Foochow.

In the interior of Formosa natives live in detached isolated groups, having little or no communication with their neighbours. The whole island, viewed from the point of communication, may well be compared to a human body with choked arteries. Under these circumstances, an effective, thorough administration is more than we can hope for. The question of road-making and railway construction demanded the immediate attention of the Government. The railway system in Formosa as originally designed may be divided into four sections: (1) from Kelung to Takow, through Taipeh, Taichu, Tainan, etc., along the western coast; (2) from Kelung to Giran; (3) from Takow to Taito; (4) from Taito to Giran, along the eastern coast. Of these, the first line was, of course, the most urgent and important. Our railway corps was first engaged in the work of reconstructing the existing line between Kelung and Taipeh, which was built and used by the Chinese, and it was not long before it was put in working order. As to the lines south of Taipeh, it was estimated that the cost of construction would reach at least 18,000,000 yen. But the completion of a comprehensive programme of railway construction, it was felt, would provide Formosa with a splendid means of

communication. Railways become the mainspring of industrial advancement, an efficient military defence, and a good administration. No time, therefore, was lost in pushing on the building of those lines to completion. It was hoped that it would be possible to construct some of the necessary railway-lines with private capital; but it was found impossible to arrange this, even by offering substantial subsidies, and the work had to be undertaken by the Government, special sums of money being raised by loans.

The road-making in the island was at once commenced, and has proceeded steadily ever since. Highways along the railway lines that run lengthwise through the island were projected.

Formosa abounds in ports and harbours, which are, however, only available for small craft. For sea-going ships of any considerable dimensions, almost all of them hardly afford anchorage. Hence, the formation of good harbours was one of the enterprises that claimed the immediate attention of the Government. Both Kelung and Takow were surveyed with a view to forming plans for the improvement of those harbours. The former port constitutes an important intermediate station on the line of communication with Japan, while the latter forms the basis of communication with the South Chinese ports.

The improvements of railways, roads, and harbours were necessarily accompanied by an outlay of no small sum from the State Treasury, but the future development of Formosa, as well as the advancement of our national power, were felt to more than justify the Government in defraying the requisite expenditure.

II. The Present Condition*

BY DR. SHIMPEI GOTO,

Civil Governor of Formosa

Formosa (Tai-wan) may be taken to include Hokoto—that is, the Pescadores—and the adjacent islands, numbering in all about seventy-six. The total area of this group is 15,535 square miles, and the total population in 1899 was 2,758,161, including 33,120 Japanese. Twelve months previously the total stood at 2,665,511, including 25,585 Japanese, and this indicates the colony's rapid growth.

The Home Government had to provide for these islands a stable form of government, to enforce approved sanitary regulations, to introduce an equitable system of land taxation, to provide for the education of the natives, and to undertake

* Statistics relating to Formosa are given in Appendix N.

beneficial public works. Lines of railway had to be constructed, suitable buildings erected for the housing of officials and the transaction of public business, harbours had to be dredged and improved in the interests of the foreign and domestic trade, and a cadastre for the entire group of islands became absolutely necessary as a basis for the nationalization of the land and the assessment of the most important tax. Banking and monetary systems had likewise to be provided for the new colony. That such an extensive programme could be carried out in its entirety within a decade or two is not, of course, to be expected; but much has already been done, and provision has been made for the execution of such items as remain unfulfilled.

The Formosan Government, in fact, has laid out, since the islands came under the sovereignty of Japan, no less a sum than £3,072,000 on railways, telegraphs, harbour improvements, and other undertakings of a character directly beneficial to the public. Leaving out the calculation of the military outlay, which has now been curtailed to very modest dimensions, thanks to the pacific condition of the islands, which may be accepted as the direct outcome of a salutary civil administration, we have a total expenditure upon Formosa by the Imperial Government of £9,786,000.

The revenues of the islands, on the other hand, have in the same period of time amounted to £5,930,000. This sum, plus a subsidy aggregating £2,500,000 sterling, and a loan of £1,300,000, sufficed to balance accounts.

It should be noted, however, that both the subsidy and the loan were almost exclusively applied to the prosecution of public works, as hereafter specified, and the money, instead of being regarded as expenditure incurred without prospect of adequate return, ought properly to be considered as capital well and profitably invested for the benefit of the inhabitants.

Baron Kodama, the Governor-General of Formosa, introduced in the Diet at Tokyo in 1898 a programme for the execution of public undertakings to extend over a period of twenty years, together with a project for establishing Government monopolies in the three principal industries of Formosa.

After considerable discussion, the proposals passed into law, and embodied the provision of a trunk line of railway extending from the north to the south of Formosa, the cadastration of the lands, the construction of harbours, particularly at Kelung, and the building of suitable Government offices and official residences.

To meet the cost of these undertakings, the Diet authorized the Colonial Government of Formosa to raise loans to the amount of £3,500,000 sterling, the principal and interest to be

paid out of the revenues of the islands. The estimated expenditures were:

Improving the existing railway system and extending it to form a complete trunk line	£2,880,000
Harbour works at Kelung	200,000
The cadastration of lands	300,000
Building of Government offices and residences	120,000
	£3,500,000

According to the original programme of 1898, the railways were to be completed within ten years, but the work of construction is not likely to consume much more than half that period. Part of the system is already open for traffic, and is affording complete satisfaction, and the revenue accruing therefrom is larger than was even anticipated. The latest returns show that the sections actually in operation measure 158 miles—viz.:

Kelung to Taihoku (Taipeh)	19 miles.
Taihoku to Tamsui (Hobe)	12 „
Taihoku to Bioritsu (Maoli)	61 „
Kagi to Tainan (Tai-wan-fu)	38 „
Tainan to Takow (Takao)	28 „

The line is in course of construction between Bioritsu and Kagi, viâ Taichu, 82 miles, work being carried on from both ends simultaneously, and when this section is ready for traffic there will be no break in the railway communication from Kelung in the North to Takow in the South, and ultimately it will extend the entire length of the island, as the line will be carried 66 miles further to Garambi, at the apex of the promontory in the extreme South.

It is likewise proposed to build an East Coast railway from Pinan, in Lat. 22° 46′ N., to Karenko, in Lat. 24° N.—roughly, about 85 miles—and to connect this by a cross-country line over the main mountain chain with some point on the western side of the island. Another cross-country connection 47 miles long is to be formed between Taihoku and So-o (Suao), situated on the East Coast near Dome Point, by the way of Giran (Gilan). Thus there are in Formosa 158 miles of railway in full operation, 82 miles in the course of construction, and 132 miles arranged for, to be built in the near future. Needless to say, the railway is proving itself to be a potent stimulant to industries of all kinds, and is becoming the prime factor in the general development of Tai-wan under Japanese rule.

Over 200 miles of narrow gauge tramway lines have also been laid in the island by the Government, partly for the

transport of military supplies, partly for the conveyance of goods and passengers. The main section of the tramway now serves to connect Bioritsu and Kagi, those points between which the railway is still in course of construction, a distance of 82 miles; but it was originally laid between Tainan and Shinchiku, a distance of 140 miles, and had several branches, so that there was improved communication between the chief towns even before the railway reached them. Tramway stations exist at all important points on the route, and are only a few miles apart. Transport charges on a fixed scale average no higher than a penny per mile. The miniature passenger-cars have seats for four persons, with an awning, and are propelled by coolies. The speed obtained, considering that the service is maintained entirely by human labour, is very satisfactory.

The dredging only of Kelung Harbour has been taken into account in the item of £200,000 included in the proposed expenditure under the loan sanctioned in 1898, but it is intended later on to complete the works by constructing a breakwater, piers, embankment, docks, and warehouses, and generally to improve the town of Kelung, the projected outlay upon which will form the subject of another application to the Diet. When the dredging works now in progress are completed, the port of Kelung will have 36 feet of water in the inner and outer steamship harbours, and not less than 9 feet in the junk harbour (inner lagoon). The inner steamship harbour will have a landing-pier 1,000 feet long, accommodating several coastwise or foreign-going vessels at a time. The outer steamship harbour will have a quay with two piers, the total water-line being 3,000 feet, able to berth seven or eight ocean-going steamers at once, the depth being ample for the largest craft afloat. Ships at anchor in the outer harbour will have the protection, moreover, of a breakwater over 4,000 feet long, which is to cost 8,000,000 yen, and will occupy six or seven years in construction. Large workshops have been built, a spacious goods station is under construction, with roofed cargo sheds, and rails will traverse piers and quay, so that merchandise may be handled direct from railway-car to ship by the hydraulic and steam cranes. The entire work as planned will be completed by 1904, but the piers and quay may be extended later on if trade demands it.

On the west side of the harbour extensive docks, slips, and piers are being provided for the use of the army and navy. The Government has to reclaim 250 acres of land in order to carry out its programme, but when finished Kelung will possess a perfectly safe and commodious harbour; and as Kelung is designed to be the chief port of Formosa, its harbour

accommodation will have to be adequate to the requirements of a rapidly-growing industry and extending commerce.

Tamsui Harbour is likewise being improved. It is the natural port of shipment for the produce of North Formosa; but the river has a troublesome bar at its mouth, over which ships drawing more than 13 feet cannot pass, so the engineering works to be undertaken by the Government include jetties projecting seaward from each bank to lead the river out into deep water, followed by the removal of the bar, and systematic dredging to deepen the anchorage, and binding along the river banks and quays. When finished, Tamsui will make a port fitted to receive steamers of 2,000 to 3,000 tons.

Takow, or Taku, has for harbour a sheltered bay or lagoon, several miles in length, separated from the sea by a sandbank, the entrance where the sandbank dips below the sea level being narrow. But there is less than 15 feet of water-depth in the lagoon and on the bar, and in order to improve the port and render it accessible to large vessels, the Government will dredge enough of the lagoon to form shelter for four or five ocean-going craft, and will proportionately widen the gap at the entrance. Ultimately, Takow is also to have a breakwater.

The Government has always paid the utmost attention to the lighting of the coasts, and much has been done in this respect in Formosa and the Pescadores group since they became parts of the Japanese Empire.

At present the lighthouses established are:

Fuki Point (in the extreme North)	2nd order.
Kelung Harbour	5th ,,
Petao Point	4th ,,
So-o (Suao)	4th ,,
Garambi (extreme Southern promontory)	1st ,,
Takow (Taku)	6th ,,
Anping	6th ,,
Pescadores—Bako	4th ,,
Pescadores—North Rock	1st ,,
Paksa Point	3rd ,,
Tamsui River	6th ,,

Over 2,000 miles of telegraph and 600 miles of telephone line have been erected in connection with the postal service, which maintains post-offices in all the principal towns and villages, numbering in all 109.

The foreign mails are shipped from Kelung direct to Japan by the steamers of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha. From Tamsui and Anping the mails for Chinese ports go by steamers of the Douglas Lapraik Company or the Osaka Shosen Kaisha.

Submarine cables have been laid to telegraphically connect Formosa with the mother country and with the Pescadores.

These works were executed by the Government's own cable-laying vessel, the *Okinawa Maru.*

The old and ill-regulated edifices left by the Chinese were thoroughly unfit for the accommodation of officials under the new régime, more especially as they were deficient in all sanitary arrangements. Hence it became a matter of necessity to erect suitable offices and residences as soon as possible. First, however, in Taipeh, the capital, an entirely new system of drainage had to be introduced and good drinking-water secured; then all the newly-built residences for the Japanese officials were constructed, with special care for sanitation. Many of the new buildings have been completed and are now occupied, the Government Houses at Taipeh, for the use of the Governor-General and the Civil Governor of Formosa respectively, both being handsome and successful structures. The improved health of the staff is indicative of the thorough success obtained in this direction. The mortality among them fell from 4·73 per cent. in 1896 to 1·1 per cent. in 1900. The average mortality for the entire population, excluding the savage tribes, is now 0·76 per cent. per annum.

Prisons also had to be provided in various places, upon the model of the ones used in the advanced penal system that now obtains in Japan proper.

There have been eleven hospitals already provided, of which the Taipeh is the largest. A regular service of graduates of the Imperial University in Medical Science or of specialists who have studied in Europe have been secured for it. Besides the hospital physicians, there are no fewer than seventy-two qualified physicians, appointed and paid by the Government to render medical aid to the people, distributed about the island. At Taipeh, moreover, they have a school for training native physicians, the number of scholars, who are all supported by the Government, exceeding 100. The result of the training they receive is said to be in the main satisfactory.

The education question was a serious one. It is necessary to make the use of the Japanese language prevalent throughout the island, but in the meantime there is a pressing need of Japanese officials conversant with the native tongue. To meet these necessities, therefore, a Central Language School was established in Taipeh in the year following the cession of the island to Japan, for the double purpose of teaching the Japanese language to the natives and the native language to the Japanese.

The Central Language School is divided into the Normal School Department and the Language School Department.

In the Normal School Department Japanese students are trained to serve as teachers in primary schools for native

children, local language, naval, and primary schools for Japanese children. The number of children is at present forty-five.

The Language School Department is again divided into two sections, one for the study of the Japanese language by native students and the other for the study of the native language by Japanese students. The students in both sections are trained with the object of public service or private occupations in Formosa. Some native students in upper classes of Japanese Language section have been given an elementary technical education, with special reference to the railway and telegraph service, and the experiment has proved successful. There are at present 91 students in the Japanese Language section, 16 students in the Railway and Telegraph section, and 25 students in the Native Language section.

There are also three auxiliary schools appended to the Central Language School. The first auxiliary school, with 251 scholars, is for the benefit of native young people, and is designed at the same time to show a model of elementary education in Formosa and to furnish the students of the Normal School Department with an opportunity to practise the art of teaching.

The second auxiliary school is for the benefit of Japanese children, and consists of a primary course of six years, a supplementary course of two years, and a middle school course of five years. The number of scholars at present is 339 in the primary course, 27 in the supplementary course, and 177 in the middle school course.

The third auxiliary school gives to native girls an elementary education and a training in handicraft. There are 131 scholars in it at present.

Besides the Central Education Institution described above, a series of local educational institutions has been established in the important places on the island. Thus there is an ordinary normal school in each of the three cities, Taipeh, Taichu, and Tainan. The students in these normal schools are all natives who are to become assistant teachers in primary schools for native children, while the students in the Normal School Department of the Central Language School are to become principals and other important teachers in primary schools. The number of students in the ordinary normal school at present is 298, there being 94 in Taipeh, 124 in Taichu, and 80 in Tainan.

The primary schools for Japanese children are established in the more important places where there is a Japanese population. There are 11 of them, with a total of 1,342 scholars.

Primary schools for native children are distributed all over the island, there being 121 at present, with 16,034 scholars.

There are also 2 language schools with 11 branches for teaching the Japanese language to the natives and helping them to improve their daily life. They have a staff of 20 teachers and 355 scholars.

The monopolies created by the Government are in opium, salt, and camphor. It goes without saying that the habit of smoking opium is pernicious, but when the Japanese took possession of Formosa they found there a population more or less addicted to the use of the drug. It was decided to abolish the practice by degrees. Only those who were already addicted to the use of the drug to the extent that it occasioned intense pain to deprive them of the pipe are now permitted by a special warrant, which they are obliged to procure, to continue its use. To commence opium-smoking is strictly forbidden, or even to continue its use, unless it can be shown that abstention is impossible. The Government monopoly of the article was expressly established to facilitate the final extinction of the opium habit. The revenue thus derived amounts at present to about £4,000,000 a year.

In the Southern portions of the island of Formosa salt is obtained in considerable quantities by solar evaporation of sea-water. The Chinese, when they owned the colony, always favoured an official monopoly of its production; but Count Kabayama, the first Japanese Governor-General, thought by the abolition of the monopoly to give rise to a beneficial development of the industry under private enterprise. Many of the salt-fields were purposely destroyed, and a sort of corner was created, with an alarming rise in the market price. Baron Kodama re-established the monopoly, but on an improved basis; and production having been encouraged, Formosa now actually exports salt to the mother country. The revenue is from £30,000 to £80,000 per annum, and it will probably increase.

Formosa supplies almost the whole world with camphor, but when Japan took the island the industry was in a precarious state. Camphor-trees were cut down with an utter disregard of the consequences, and the most crude processes were employed in the manufacture. A Government monopoly was established, with the triple object of protecting the trees, improving the method of production, and placing the industry on a secure footing. The world's consumption of camphor is computed to be about 8,000,000 pounds weight per annum, and the production in Formosa is regulated accordingly. The yearly yield to the revenue is about £875,000 a year.

Besides these Government monopolies, the future of Formosa is eminently hopeful, for it is based upon rich agricultural and mineral resources. Tea, rice, sugar, hemp and

flax, indigo, paper, silk, cattle, marine products, coal, sulphur, and petroleum, are all features of the Formosa trade. The steps taken by the Government to encourage the industries which depend upon these products cannot fail to be beneficial, and the State revenues are being increased by the progress made. Sugar affords a case in point, for sugar is Formosa's chief agricultural product, both in respect of the area devoted to its cultivation and the numbers of those engaged in the industry. Near Kagi the fields are continuous for a space of twenty-five miles from the coast to the foot of the hills, and both white and brown sugar are produced in the South, though only brown sugar is made in the North. Altogether, 41,000 acres are devoted to sugar cultivation in the island, and the industry is of great age, dating apparently from the fifteenth century. In 1870 the export was suddenly doubled, and during the ensuing decade it rose from 37,000,000 pounds to 141,500,000 pounds, the largest output hitherto recorded. At the present time the average yield is about 93,000,000 pounds, and the output is from 20,000 to 42,000 pounds per acre. Seven American cane-crushing mills have been imported by the Government, for the encouragement of the planters, and there has been formed lately a Formosa Sugar Manufacturing Company, which seems to have a prosperous future before it. Its factory is at Kioshito, ten miles north of Takow, with machinery of modern type imported direct from England. If Formosa's sugar industry should maintain for the next few years its present rapidity of development, the import of this article from foreign countries into the Japanese Empire will unquestionably be checked in a very appreciable degree.

Formosa's tea product may be improved in quality by better cultivation and preparation, and then will perhaps recover in America the high character it once bore there, for Oolong is a tea that is peculiar to the island.

Two crops of rice are annually obtainable in most parts of Formosa, and there is room for improvement in quality as well as in quantity produced. The Japanese Government is therefore well advised in directing special attention to the industrial and agricultural progress of the colony.

The annual output of gold is now only about £100,000, but it may be augmented, and coal, petroleum and sulphur deposits are all to be found and profitably worked in the island.

The banking affairs and the monetary system have been taken in hand. The Bank of Formosa was established, the main objects it was designed to serve being, firstly, to act as the central organ of the monetary circulation in Formosa; secondly, to promote the economic progress of the island, by supplying money for commerce, industries, and public enter-

prises, and in developing its natural resources; and, thirdly, to remedy the then unsystematic state of the money market there.

It is contemplated, however, to extend its operations to South China and to the islands of the Southern Pacific, and to make of it a truly useful commercial institution of those regions.

When the actual organization of the Bank was undertaken, it was deemed necessary to amend the law under which the Bank received its charter, so far as to authorize the issue by it of notes convertible in silver, against a reserve of silver bullion and of first-class securities, to the limit of £500,000 sterling.

In addition to conferring this privilege, it was provided that the Government should furnish £100,000 of the Bank's capital, and that the dividends accruing on shares to this amount should, for the first five years of the Bank's existence, be placed on the reserve account, in order thereby to add to the financial strength of the institution. Further, the Government lent to the Bank, free of interest, the sum of £200,000 in silver, to be used as a part of the reserve aforementioned, for the redemption of the notes which it was authorized to issue. The Bank was opened for business in September, 1899. Its branch and sub-branch offices now number eleven, and its business transactions become larger day by day.

It was no easy matter, at the outset in 1895, to determine what should be the standard of money and the system of currency for Formosa, for although it might have been said that a copper coinage was actually the standard there, it could not be claimed, according to the pronounced commercial usage, that copper in this sense had a legal existence. Mexican dollars, Spanish dollars, and the dollar coins of Hong Kong, were all in use as media of exchange, but only according to their relative value as silver bullion. Paper money was never used in the island.

Under the new Japanese administration the Colonial Government began to make its payments to the natives in Japanese silver coins (yens) and bank-notes, and thus the condition of the Formosan monetary system was suddenly disturbed by the influx of a new element. The natives were glad enough to receive the new silver pieces from Japan, and preferred them to all other coins then in circulation, but of the use of bank-notes the indigenous population possessed not the faintest idea. As a consequence, there soon came to be an appreciable difference in the relative price of silver to bank paper, by clever management on the part of the Bank of Japan; this tendency was overcome after a while, and the monetary situation in the island gradually came to be identical with that of the mother country, although at that period of the colony's history no definite regulations regarding the currency had been laid down.

In the course of time a coinage law and a subsidiary coinage law for the whole Empire were passed by the Diet, and, after receiving Imperial sanction, were promulgated on the 26th day of March, 1897. The reformation of the monetary condition in Formosa thus became imperative, and several meetings of the Special Committee appointed to consider the question were held. The Imperial Government wished to apply the gold standard to the colony's affairs, as well as to those of the mother country, but the economic conditions prevailing in the island of Formosa precluded this, not only because the natives were unaccustomed to the use of gold coins, but also because trade relations with China and other silver countries, comprising nine-tenths of all the countries with which Japan has trade relations, and the payment of Chinese work-labourers, compelled the retention for the time being of a silver dollar currency. Stamped silver 1-yen coins were therefore brought into use as legal tender in Formosa, and enjoy unlimited circulation there, according to the market price that is officially determined and notified periodically by the Formosan Government.

The existing monetary situation in the colony may therefore be summed up thus:*

1. That *de facto* the legal standard in Formosa is the stamped Japanese silver 1-yen piece.

2. The Bank of Formosa has power to issue notes against a reserve of silver and first-class securities to a limit of £500,000 sterling, £200,000 of that reserve being supplied by the Government.

3. That all foreign coins as aforesaid are used merely as bullion.

In the execution of its varied measures of reform, the Japanese Government has expended in all upon Formosa since the transfer in 1895 the sum of £18,112,000. These figures include, however, £8,326,000 for military expenses, so that the general expenditure has amounted to, as already shown, £9,786,000. The heavy charges for military operations having ceased, for the last fiscal year this item figured in the accounts at no more than £782,000 for the twelve months, and it is likely to be still further reduced in subsequent Budgets.

Deducting from £9,786,000 the expenditure upon public works, viz., £3,072,000, and the sum total of the revenue, £5,930,000, we find that the net cost to the mother country for civil administration has been £784,000, or £122,000 per

* Since the outbreak of the war with Russia, and the consequent necessity for silver coins in Korea and Manchuria by the Japanese forces, it is expected that it will be possible to take advantage of the opportunity and establish the gold standard in Formosa.—A. S.

annum. Taking into account the area of the colony, over 15,000 square miles, the average expenditure was a trifle over £7 yearly per square mile, a remarkably low rate when all the drawbacks incidental to the economical government of a new colony are fairly considered.

The subsidy already alluded to is being diminished year by year, as the colony gains strength, and from £694,000 in 1896 the total fell in 1901 to £238,000. Conversely, the Formosan revenue grew from £271,000 in 1896 to six times this amount—viz., £1,637,000—in 1901, and it is computed that by 1910, if not earlier, the colony will be entirely self-supporting. The new land survey has already added £100,000 to the annual revenue, though as yet but partially carried out, and after 1905, when the new regulations will have full effect, the addition to the colony's income from this source will be at least £200,000 per annum more.

Mention of an annual subsidy seems at first sight to annul the proposition that Formosa already yields a profit to the Home Government. Yet the fact can be established without difficulty. Substantial benefits are being derived from the interstate commerce between the colony and the mother country in a trade that in the aggregate already amounts to close upon £2,000,000 per annum.

The profits enjoyed therefrom by Japan proper being quite 15 per cent., or £300,000 in the twelve months, they constitute something more than a mere set-off to the grant in aid, which last year was reduced to £238,000, and which will before the year 1910 be entirely extinguished. The profits on the interstate trade, on the other hand, are bound to grow. Moreover, if we go back a little way, we shall find that the commerce of Japan with Formosa has from the beginning amounted to not less than £7,000,000 sterling, and if upon this gross value we take 15 per cent. as the share of clear profit that Japan proper has obtained from the trade, we have over £1,000,000 sterling as the result, a sum that represents a fair return for the investment of £12,182,000 capital, for that is the precise sum that Japan has spent upon Formosa since it was acquired from China.

It will perhaps be admitted that when a colony can be shown to have been of profit to the mother country in even the first seven years of its existence, proof has been given of a vitality and of capabilities in general that are undoubtedly above the average.

Formosa in Japanese hands has achieved this distinction. The facts can be set forth in another way, and possibly with greater force still. As previously shown, after subtracting the revenue of £5,930,000 collected in Formosa during seven years

from the gross expenditure in the same period of £18,112,000, we have an actual outlay in all by the mother country upon the colony of £12,182,000. But last year's revenue, independent of the subsidy, rose to £1,637,000. The yield upon outlay was thus nearly 13½ per cent. If it be argued that it is unsafe to take the gross revenue of the colony in this way as a basis of comparison against the total capital sunk, as it were, in the islands, we may turn once more to the item of subsidy, and trace the profits year by year on the interstate trade which have accrued to the mother country upon that basis of calculation alone.

In 1896 the grant was £556,000, against which the interstate profits to Japan proper were £105,000; in other words, a ratio of profit to subsidy of 17·66 per cent.

In 1897 the ratio was 38·49 per cent.

In 1898 it was 72·66 per cent.

In 1899 it reached 84·18 per cent.

In 1900, as stated elsewhere, the ratio was entirely changed, and the gains far exceeded the subsidy, the total profits being £378,000 against a subsidy of £238,000.

Whichever way one may look at it, Formosa can no longer be regarded as a burden upon the Japanese Imperial Exchequer. It is in respect to its financial condition practically independent.

The following table is a brief summary of the financial situation:

Total amount expended in seven years on Formosa by the Japanese Government -	£18,112,000
Total amount of revenue collected in the islands to end of 1901 - - - -	5,930,000
Difference - - - - - -	12,182,000
Deduct for military expenditure in seven years - - - - -	8,326,000
The entire expenses of civil government were thus - - - - -	£3,856,000

Of this sum no less than £3,072,000 were expended upon public works, such as railways, telegraphs, harbour improvements, and certain industries fostered by the State, the net cost of the administration therefore having amounted in seven years to £784,000.

The rate per annum was thus £112,000, and as the area is 15,535 square miles, the average cost of administration for the colony was £7 4s. 1d. per square mile per annum.

Taking a résumé of the Colonial Government's reforms, they will be found to be:

1. The administrative system, for which General Kodama is at present responsible, has since 1898 answered all requirements, and has given satisfaction to a population which is composed of many elements inclined by nature to be more or less antagonistic to one another.

2. The sanitation question. Since the Chinese had paid no attention whatever to such matters, the death-rate was very high at the time when the island became Japanese property. Steps were at once taken to remedy the defective drainage of the towns, to supply pure drinking-water by boring artesian wells and establishing waterworks, and to reduce the number of mosquitoes and other noxious insects, which previously were serious plagues. Hospitals were indispensable to the fulfilment of this scheme, and no fewer than eleven of these institutions were established.

3. The cadastre, upon which the land-tax is collected, was established, and is being pushed forward, and its effects, as exhibited by a largely enhanced revenue from this source, are already plainly visible, though the work is necessarily one which demands time for its complete accomplishment.

4. The educational measures adopted are far-reaching, and are certain to be effective.

5. The public works, comprising telegraphs, lighthouses, railways, and the improvement of the accommodation for shipping at various ports, are all receiving their due share of consideration.

6. The banking affairs and monetary system of the colony have been placed upon a satisfactory footing.

III. Local Government

PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

The customs and habits of the inhabitants of Formosa differ very considerably from those of Japan, and thus it was impossible to immediately introduce the legal system of the latter country without important modifications. The first step of the Government was to restore order, and suppress the rebellious element by the constitution of a military administration, and the second was to protect and encourage the peaceful population. There has been much discussion as to whether the Constitution promulgated in Japan in 1889 should not have been adopted in Formosa at the moment of annexation. The Constitution does not mention any territorial limits within which it is to be carried out. Many argue that the legal system of the mother-country must necessarily be extended to newly-acquired territory unless the sovereign ruler

specially expresses his desire that it shall be otherwise. Should this argument be correct, it would mean that the conditions of government in Japan should be reproduced in Formosa, because there has been no such special expression to the contrary at the time of the annexation. This should apply both to the Constitution and to ordinances. There exists a special provision relating to the execution of laws, contained in the law No. 63, March, 1896. This states that 'of the present laws and laws which shall be promulgated in the future, those which entirely or in part are to be carried out in Formosa shall be determined and stated by Imperial ordinance.' In practice, however, many instances occur in which laws, from their very nature and contents, have been considered as in force in Formosa, although no special regard to Imperial ordinance exists for their execution there. With regard to Imperial ordinances issued in Japan, it rests with the Government authorities to decide whether or not they shall apply to Formosa.

In Formosa, besides the laws and ordinances issued in Japan and extended to the annexed territory, there are also ordinances, having the power of laws, issued by the Governor-General and departmental ordinances. The first-named ordinances are promulgated by the Governor-General of Formosa, with the sanction of the Council. This Council consists of the Governor-General, the Chief of the Civil administration, the Military Attaché, the Chief of the Military Council, the Chief of the Naval Council, the Chief Councillor, the President of the Court of Appeal, the Procurator-General, the Head of the Police Forces' Department, the heads of bureaux, the managers of bureaux (secretaries), and councillors. The Governor-General draws up the Bills to receive the sanction of the Council over which he himself presides. The departmental ordinances are issued by the Governor-General in accordance with the Imperial ordinance for the organization of the office of the Governor-General of Formosa. These ordinances may contain, if it should be deemed necessary, clauses dealing with punishments, but such punishments must not exceed one year's imprisonment or fines of more than 200 yen.

Generally speaking, the laws and regulations enforced at the present time in Formosa may be summarized as follows:

1. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889).
2. Laws specially decreed by Imperial ordinance to apply to Formosa.
3. Imperial ordinances and laws having effect in Formosa by their nature and contents.
4. Ordinances having the power of laws.
5. Departmental ordinances.

In the General Administration of Formosa, the Governor-General is the highest official. He is under the control of the Minister of State for Home Affairs. He is, however, subject to the Ministers of State for the Army and the Navy in matters relating to military and naval administration, and questions dealing with military and naval persons. In as far as concerns Formosa, the Governor-General carries out the work of the Ministers of State in Japan. Assisting the Governor-General in the administration are the Chief Councillors, the Head of the Police, the heads of bureaux, secretaries, and councillors, etc. There exists also a deliberative body in the Council, mentioned above.

Formosa is divided into twenty administrative divisions, or *cho*, in each of which there is a *chocho*, or officer in charge, who acts as local Governor. The *cho* is on the one hand an administrative division, and on the other a public judicial entity, able to levy taxes, as was the case in Japan in the *Fu* and *Ken* before the promulgation of the law of the organization of Fu and Ken in 1890. By an ordinance having the power of law promulgated in 1898, the regulations relating to local revenue in Formosa are laid down. This law gives to the local Governor the right to levy local taxes. He is authorized to impose and collect any or all of the following taxes:

1. Additional percentages on the land-tax.
2. House-tax.
3. Business-tax.
4. Miscellaneous taxes.

Money derived from such sources is to be expended in the local organization of police, public works, hygienic measures, education, etc. These revenues and expenditures come under the head of those of local communities in Formosa, for which the consent of the Imperial Diet is not necessary, in accordance with the provision contained in Article 64 of the Constitution.

The principal special local offices in Formosa are the Customs House, Harbour Quarantine Office, Post and Telegraph Office, etc. There are also such public offices as the Salt, Camphor, and Sugar Offices, which respectively administer their own affairs. There exists no special Tax Collection Bureau, as in Japan, the collection of taxes being entrusted to the local Governors. This also applies to the forest administration. The provisions relating to officials in Formosa are very similar to those in force in Japan, although there are a few minor differences in connection with their appointment. Imperial ordinances specially provide for additional salaries, varying with the number of years of service in Formosa. There are similar special arrangements with regard to pensions.

The judicial administration of Formosa was determined by an ordinance having the power of law issued in 1898. By this, part of the administration was entrusted to the law-courts of the Governor-General of Formosa. The Governor-General has direct control over the law-courts. These are divided into three local courts and one Court of Appeal. The local courts have right of judgments in the first instance in civil and criminal affairs, and of the preliminary examination of criminal cases in their neighbourhood. The Court of Appeal is always held where the Governor-General has his seat of office. In every court a procurator's office is established. In the local courts all questions are examined and judged by a single judge; in the Court of Appeal, on the other hand, one or more chambers are instituted, in which cases are examined and judged by a bench of judges. Very much the same regulations apply to the status of judges in Formosa as in Japan—this is regulated by the law for the organization of courts. The Governor-General of Formosa may, at his discretion, place any judge in the island temporarily on the retired list. No special regulations exist with regard to the status of procurators. In special cases, when considered necessary, a temporary court may be held in a convenient place in which judgments may be pronounced without regard to the general jurisdiction of other courts (No. 2 Ordinance having the power of law, July, 1896). There are also special provisions as to the organization of prisons (No. 5 Ordinance having the power of law, February, 1899).

The law of conscription is not enforced in Formosa, from the fact that the Japanese inhabitants in Formosa are not yet allowed to change their place of domicile. With regard to the financial administration, a special treasury system has been in existence in Formosa since February, 1899. Except in a few cases, the taxation laws of Japan are not in force in Formosa. All the taxation laws in Formosa are determined by ordinances having the power of law. There are special systems of monopolies in the case of opium, salt, camphor, and camphor oil, regulated by ordinances having the power of law.

An examination of the execution of laws and ordinances in Formosa cannot fail to show lack of perfection in many points. This principally because the early system of administration was based largely on convenience, and in the expectation of being perfected as time went on. Generally, it may be said, however, that the codes of civil and criminal law, with the codes of procedure, are carried out in Formosa. There are, however, some exceptions in the carrying out of the laws. The laws in force in Japan are applied to Japanese living in

Formosa so far as civil cases are concerned, except in questions relating to landed property, when the usages which have hitherto prevailed in Formosa apply. In matters relating to civil or commercial questions concerning the Formosans and the Chinese alone, as well as matters relating to criminal acts committed by the Formosans or Chinese, the last-named usages also apply. Although the above exceptions are harmful to the unity of the application of the law, they are parts of an unavoidable transitory stage. The Government has established a committee of inquiry into the usages of Formosa in order to codify them more clearly.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE POSITION OF WOMEN*

BY PROFESSOR JINZO NARUSE,

Founder of the First University for Women in Japan.

MANY a book about Japan has been written in English, but hardly any has brought to light the social position of the Japanese woman, her work and influence in Old Japan. Superficial observers from the West, therefore, have sadly misunderstood our women, and have supposed that they have always been as insignificant and unimportant in society as the Chinese and Corean women. The present condition of women in Japan and their outlook cannot be justly estimated unless we understand something about their position in the past. Therefore, in treating of women's position in Japan, I think it desirable to begin with a brief account of our women in the past, and then to state the origin and progress of women's education in the present, together with what women's education should be in the future.

The part women played in Old Japan was very remarkable, especially before the arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism. Men and women were almost equal in their social position. There was then no shadow of the barbarous idea that men were everything and women were nothing. Women's power even in politics was great, and history tells us that there were nine women who ascended the throne in olden times. Women in general were not inferior to men either physically, or mentally, or morally. They were noted for their bravery, and distinguished themselves in the field of battle. In the literary world they were not less noted for their brilliant productions. The moral conduct was most blameless, and commanded universal respect. Their natural temperament was cheerful and optimistic, and charmed the sterner sex. Such being the attainments and characteristics of women in

* It was impossible to place this chapter in its logical place with the chapters on Education owing to special circumstances, and yet its importance made its inclusion in the volume of prime necessity, hence its appearance here.

olden times, we can fairly believe that they were as well educated as men were, although there were not existing any institutions of instruction for women.

This was the springtime of Japanese womanhood, when it blossomed undisturbed, and exerted a strong and beneficial influence on the life of Old Japan. The introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism, however, began to create great changes in the position of women. And yet so powerful were women in Society when these two religions came to Japan that their rapid spread in our country was due to the earnest endeavours of women. The pioneers of Japanese Buddhism were women, and the honour of being sent to India for further investigation of the religion fell upon three women—Jenshinni, Jenzoni, and Keizenni. Not only in religious, but also in political and literary, life, women played a remarkable part for many years after the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism. Many of the greatest of the old Japanese classics were produced by women of this age. Active and influential in Society as women continued to be for a considerable length of time after the coming in of Buddhism and Confucianism, yet the influence of these religions manifested itself in the gradual lowering of woman's position to one of comparative insignificance.

This state of things was strongly marked in the feudal age. The social environment of the age and the prevalence of Buddhism and Confucianism worked hand in hand to bring about the subjection of women. This was still more the case when the Tokugawa Government came into power. Orders and classes of Society were rigidly formed. Women were entirely submerged and their activities were never allowed to go even one step outside the household. If there was any education for women at that time, it was only in the line of woman's etiquette—sewing, weaving, cooking, the art of tea-service and of flower-arrangement, besides some elementary lessons in writing and reading. Their intellectual education was wholly neglected. As to their moral education, the famous doctrine of the three obediences for girls—unconditional obedience to parents when young, obedience to husbands when married, and obedience to children when old—was daily taught and strongly emphasized. Thus women were put under trying conditions, and had apparently no hope of emancipation. This was, indeed, the winter-time of Japanese womanhood, when her life seemed almost crushed under the cold ground of an oppressive social system.

With the introduction of Western civilization, another spring season for women dawned, and the life and powers which had been so long suppressed in them began to come forth. Just as the spring sun breaks the ground and causes the seed of a

plant to germinate, so Western civilization has broken the hard and artificial social system of our country, and given freedom to women to develop their powers and to make their influence felt in Society at large.

Everything underwent a transformation under the influence of European civilization. The educational system was completely changed and modelled upon that of the Western nations. Both the Government and the people realized that the root of European civilization lay in its education, and that only through a reform of the educational system could Japan rise to the plane of European civilization. When once educational reform began, then the value and importance of women's education, which had been entirely neglected up to that time, came to be felt. Schools of various grades for girls as well as for boys were established throughout the country. Schools wholly devoted to the education of girls were first established by Christian missionaries. The Government also greatly encouraged this reform, and made attendance at the schools of elementary grade compulsory for girls as well as boys from the age of six to twelve years. When public normal schools were established, the Government opened the doors to women as well as to men. A little later the Imperial High Normal School for Women was founded. This was the highest institution of learning for girls before the University for Women was founded some years ago.

Women's education prospered steadily from about 1884 to 1891, when the period of reaction came. Girls who had received a modern education necessarily became broader in their ideas and more independent in their spirit. Their parents, however, who had been brought up in the old ways could not always appreciate and sympathize with the new ideas of their daughters, and a collision of ideas was often seen so strong as to seriously endanger the peace of the home. Although there were shortcomings on the part of the girls which led to unnecessary home troubles, yet conflict between the old ideas and the new in such a period of transition as our country had undergone could not possibly be avoided. The unenlightened public, however, was unable to understand this situation, and saw in it only the evils of modern education. They thought that education would make women creatures of self-importance, full of affectation and conceit and of one-sided development. It was also thought that education would destroy the beautiful ideals of Japanese womanhood. Thus, the feeling against the education of girls rose to a high point. From this time of reaction the direction of education for girls manifestly changed and became conservative in its tendency. The intellectual side of education was rather made light of, while the moral side was greatly

emphasized. The aim of a school, it was declared, was to make girls good wives and good mothers. So-called practical education was the cry of the age. The education of girls at this period was narrow in its principles and shallow in its instruction. This state of things continued for some years, during which the real educational movement for girls was at a standstill.

I was strongly convinced of the need of a fundamental reform in regard to women's education in Japan. Before making public my views on the matter, I went to America for the purpose of making a thorough investigation of the conditions and principles of the educational system for women in that country. I spent there three years, during which I visited almost all the women's colleges in the North. This visit to America afforded me great encouragement, and strengthened my conviction. In 1894 I returned, but was silent for some two years, during which I devoted myself to visiting girls' schools, both public and private. In this way I formed my ideas on the subject of women's education in Japan free from prejudices of all kinds, and I gave expression to them in publishing a book entitled 'Woman's Education.' It is gratifying to note that this book attracted national attention, and was surprisingly well received and welcomed by the public. Strangely enough, it happened that the revival in women's education began to take place just at that time. I do not mean that my book brought it about, but I fortunately hit the right time for expressing the views on girls' education which I had entertained for years. The establishment of the Koto Jo Gakko (high schools for girls) was the outcome of the revival, and their number has been increased year by year. A still more remarkable fact is that the number of girl students has increased so fast that the existing high schools can hardly accommodate them all. So private girls' schools for various purposes are being established here and there throughout the Empire. Books, papers, and magazines for girl readers are circulated in great numbers. A glorious age for girls' education was thus ushered in.

Some eight years ago I started to carry out my long-cherished plan of establishing a University for women. I came up to Tokyo and started the movement. It was not long before such men as Marquis Ito, Marquis Saionji, Count Okuma, Barons Utsumi and Kitabatake began to sympathize with me, and promised to give me advice and support, so that I was able to open the present Women's University on the 20th of April, 1901. This was the first institution of the kind not only in Japan, but also in the Orient.

There are three departments in the University. They are the Home Department, the Japanese Literature Department,

and the English Literature Department. When the University was first opened we expected to take in about thirty students in each department, but the number of candidates was unexpectedly large, so that about a hundred students were received into each of the first two departments, making about 250 in all. In the Preparatory Department attached to the University were enrolled 300 pupils. Thus the University opened with 500 students the first year, while in the second year the number increased to 800, and in the third year to 1,000. These facts sufficiently show how much importance our nation puts upon the education of its daughters to-day, and how earnestly our girls desire to receive the benefits of modern education.

The problem of what the principles of women's education in the future should be is a subject greatly under discussion.

Up to this time women's education has been too much directed towards art, literature, music, and various other accomplishments of a similar nature, and has slighted their mental or intellectual discipline. This is a great mistake. A woman's mind should be trained on its scientific and philosophical side. The importance of intellectual discipline for women cannot be overestimated. Women need to have their powers of observation and application cultivated. If their minds are well disciplined in these directions they will prove themselves very useful and successful in whatever work they undertake. Those responsible for women's education in future should recognise this point, and put a due emphasis upon this intellectual training.

There is another point to which we should give attention in the education of our girls. We should conduct our schools in such a way that the school-life may never disqualify our girls for their home-life when they finish their study and return to their homes. Modern institutional education has many evils as well as advantages, and its greatest evil for girls is the danger of making them unfit for their future home duties. How to avoid this danger is a problem that remains to be solved in the future, not only in our country, but also in Western countries. The larger an institution grows, the greater the danger will become. In establishing the Women's University I took special pains to make it as far as possible free from this danger. Although the University accommodates some 500 boarders who come from homes in far-distant parts of the country, yet it has been managed from the beginning in such a manner as to make the life in school as homelike as possible. This is a peculiarity of our University which has already been recognised by the public. Our dormitory, for instance, is made up of seventeen 'homes,' each containing not more than twenty-

five students. They look upon their matron as their mother, and feel towards one another as sisters. Cooking, washing, setting tables, decorating the rooms, the economical management, and everything that concerns the house is under the control of the residents. Their daily life, therefore, reminds them of their home-life, and teaches them practical lessons on the building up of well-ordered and attractive homes. The girls who live on the premises of our University breathe something of a home atmosphere. The results hitherto attained in this respect do not at all completely satisfy us, but we are glad to say that our endeavours have not been fruitless, and we are encouraged to make greater efforts for the future in the hope that we shall be able to contribute to the world some new light towards the solution of this important problem. At any rate, we sincerely believe that harmony between girls' school-life and their home-life must be one of the distinctive features of their education in the future.

Furthermore, we must bear in mind that the girls we receive into our schools are Japanese girls, not the girls of any other nation. Their past associations, their present condition, and their future needs must be taken into account in the aims and methods of their education. They need a peculiar education suited to their own sex. We must not fall into the error of foreign missionaries in planting a system of education in foreign countries, which is the cause of failure of their worthy and noble endeavours in the educational line. At the same time, we must reject the policy of education supported by men of narrow mind and national bigotry. We ought to be ready to adopt all the good things of Western nations, while preserving all that is best in our own. The aim and purpose of the education of Japanese girls should be to make them perfectly develop their innate gifts, and help them to assimilate the good qualities of their foreign sisters.

Women must be educated not only as women, but also as members of Society and citizens. The education of our girls hitherto has been very defective on this point. It has made women a little better qualified for their household duties than before, but not qualified for rendering service to Society. It has been entirely overlooked that a woman has duties to Society as much as to her family. In the education of the future we must look upon a woman in her broader relations, and endeavour to strengthen in her the consciousness that she is a member of Society, so that she may contribute something both directly and indirectly to Society at large.

Still further, women must be educated not only as members of Society, but also as souls. They must not be looked upon as things or instruments for practical uses, but as sacred human

beings with faculties of mind and body that are capable of infinite development. We must educate women first as souls, then as members of Society, and then as women, or our education will never be perfect.

Lastly, I shall briefly state my view of the place of religion in the education of women. I strongly oppose the policy of education held by religious people, who try to teach a particular religion to the students of their schools, and who in some cases seem using education as a sort of bait for converting youths to their religion. Such policy will do harm rather than good both to the cause of education and that of religion as well. Education and religion ought never to be confused. I cannot, however, approve of the policy of anti-religious education resorted to by non-religious men, who try to insinuate into the minds of young students the principles of atheism, and make them think that religion is nothing but superstition and illusion. Education has no right to attack religious systems, and in so doing it deviates from its proper sphere. It is not right to antagonize any religion in a school any more than to teach and propagate it. We ought to avoid falling into both of these errors. Educators must have a spirit of tolerance to all religions, and allow students perfect freedom in adhering to any religion they choose; and at the same time ought to inculcate high moral principles of life, aiming at the spiritual edification of the students without interfering with their individual faiths. Such teaching will tend to strengthen the conviction of students in the essential and everlasting truths, and let alone the non-essential and valueless elements of their respective religions. So far and no farther can education go in religious instruction. The University for Women stands firm on this principle. It is not a religious institution like mission schools, nor anti-religious like some of our Government schools. The spirit of tolerance and sympathy towards all religions reigns over the institution. This attitude, we believe, is to be taken everywhere and in all times by those who devote themselves to the sacred work of education.

APPENDICES

A.—THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

THE Imperial Throne of Japan, enjoying the grace of Heaven, and everlasting from ages eternal in an unbroken line of succession, has been transmitted to Us through successive reigns. The fundamental rules of Our family were established once for all at the time that Our ancestors laid the foundations of the empire, and are even at this day as bright as the celestial luminaries. We now desire to make the instructions of Our ancestors more exact and express, and to establish for Our posterity a House Law, by which Our House shall be founded in everlasting strength, and its dignity be for ever maintained. We hereby, by the advice of Our Privy Council, give Our sanction to the present Imperial House Law, to serve as a standard by which Our descendants shall be guided.

The 11th day of the 2nd month of the
22nd year of Meiji (February 11, 1889).

THE IMPERIAL HOUSE LAW

CHAPTER I.—SUCCESSION TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE.

ARTICLE I.—The Imperial Throne of Japan shall be succeeded to by male descendants in the male line of Imperial ancestors.

ARTICLE II.—The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the Imperial eldest son.

ARTICLE III.—When there is no Imperial eldest son, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the Imperial eldest grandson. When there is neither Imperial eldest son nor any male descendant of his, it shall be succeeded to by the Imperial son next in age, and so on in every successive case.

ARTICLE IV.—For succession to the Imperial Throne by an Imperial descendant, the one of full blood shall have precedence over descendants of half blood. The succession to the Imperial Throne by the latter shall be limited to those cases only where there is no Imperial descendant of full blood.

ARTICLE V.—When there is no Imperial descendant, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by an Imperial brother and by his descendants.

ARTICLE VI.—When there is no such Imperial brother or descendants of his, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by an Imperial uncle and by his descendants.

ARTICLE VII.—When there is no such Imperial uncle, or descendants of his, the Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by the next nearest member among the Imperial Family.

ARTICLE VIII.—Among the Imperial brothers, and the remote Imperial relations, precedence shall be given in the same degree to the descendants of full blood over those of half blood, and to the elder over the younger.

ARTICLE IX.—When the Imperial heir is suffering from an incurable disease of mind or body, or when any other weighty cause exists, the order of succession may be changed in accordance with the foregoing provisions, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

CHAPTER II.—ACCESSION AND CORONATION.

ARTICLE X.—Upon the demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall ascend the Throne, and shall acquire the divine treasures of the Imperial ancestors.

ARTICLE XI.—The ceremonies of Coronation shall be performed, and a grand Coronation banquet (Daijosai) shall be held at Kyoto.

ARTICLE XII.—Upon an accession to the Throne a new era shall be inaugurated, and the name of it shall remain unchanged during the whole reign, in agreement with established rule of the 1st year of the Meiji.

CHAPTER III.—MAJORITY, INSTITUTION OF EMPRESS AND OF HEIR-APPARENT.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Emperor, the Kotaishi, and the Kotaison, shall attain their majority at the age of eighteen full years.

ARTICLE XIV.—Members of the Imperial Family other than those mentioned in the preceding article shall attain their majority at twenty full years of age.

ARTICLE XV.—The son of the Emperor who is Heir-apparent shall be called 'Kotaishi.' In case there is no Kotaishi, the Imperial grandson who is Heir-apparent shall be called 'Kotaison.'

ARTICLE XVI.—The institution of Empress and that of Kotaison shall be proclaimed by an Imperial rescript.

Chapter IV.—Styles of Address.

Article XVII.—The style of address for the Emperor, the Grand Empress-Dowager, the Empress-Dowager, and of the Empress, shall be His, Her, or Your Majesty.

Article XVIII.—The Kotaison and his consort, the Imperial Princes and their consorts, the Imperial Princesses, the Princes and their consorts, and the Princesses, shall be styled His, Her, Their, or Your Highness, or Highnesses.

Chapter V.—Regency.

Article XIX.—When the Emperor is a minor, a Regency shall be instituted. When he is prevented by some permanent cause from personally governing, a Regency shall be instituted, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

Article XX.—The Regency shall be assumed by the Kotaishi or the Kotaison, they being of age.

Article XXI.—When there is neither Kotaishi or Kotaison, or when the Kotaishi or Kotaison has not yet arrived at his majority, the Regency shall be assumed in the following order:

1. An Imperial Prince or a Prince.
2. The Empress.
3. The Empress-Dowager.
4. The Grand Empress-Dowager.
5. An Imperial Princess or a Princess.

Article XXII.—In case the Regency is to be assumed from among the male members of the Imperial Family, it shall be done in agreement with the order of succession to the Imperial Throne. The same shall apply to the case of female members of the Imperial Family.

Article XXIII.—A female member of the Imperial Family to assume the Regency shall only be one who has no consort.

Article XXIV.—When, on account of the minority of the nearest related member of the Imperial Family, or for some other cause, another member has to assume the Regency, the latter shall not, upon the arrival at majority of the above-mentioned nearest related member, or upon the disappearance of the aforesaid cause, resign his or her post in favour of any person other than of the Kotaishi or Kotaison.

Article XXV.—When a Regent, or one who should become such, is suffering from an incurable disease of mind or body, or when any other weighty cause exists therefor, the order of the Regency may be changed, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

Chapter VI.—The Imperial Governor.

Article XXVI.—When the Emperor is a minor, an Imperial Governor shall be appointed to take charge of his bringing-up and of his education.

Article XXVII.—In case no Imperial Governor has been nominated in the will of the preceding Emperor, the Regent shall appoint one, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

Article XXVIII.—Neither the Regent nor any of his descendants can be appointed Imperial Governor.

Article XXIX.—The Imperial Governor cannot be removed from his post by the Regent, unless upon the advice of the Imperial Family Council and upon that of the Privy Council.

Chapter VII.—The Imperial Family.

Article XXX.—The term 'Imperial Family' shall include the Grand Empress-Dowager, the Empress-Dowager, the Empress, the Kotaishi and his consort, the Kotaison and his consort, the Imperial Princes and their consorts, the Imperial Princesses, the Princes and their consorts, and the Princesses.

Article XXXI.—From Imperial sons to Imperial great-great-grandsons Imperial male descendants shall be called Imperial Princes, and from Imperial daughters to Imperial great-great-granddaughters Imperial female descendants shall be called Imperial Princesses. From the fifth generation downward the male descendants shall be called Princes, the female ones Princesses.

Article XXXII.—When the Imperial Throne is succeeded to by a member of a branch line, the title of Imperial Prince or Imperial Princess shall be specially granted to the Imperial brothers and sisters, they being already Princes or Princesses.

Article XXXIII.—The births, namings, marriages, and deaths in the Imperial Family shall be announced by the Minister of the Imperial Household.

Article XXXIV.—Genealogical and other records relating to the matter mentioned in the preceding article shall be kept in the Imperial archives.

Article XXXV.—The members of the Imperial Family shall be under the control of the Emperor.

Article XXXVI.—When a Regency is instituted, the Regent shall exercise the power of control referred to in the preceding article.

Article XXXVII.—When a member, male or female, of the Imperial Family is a minor, and has been bereft of his or her father, the officials of the Imperial Court shall be ordered to

take charge of his or her education. Under certain circumstances the Emperor may either approve the guardian chosen by his or her parent or may nominate one.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—The guardian of a member of the Imperial Family must be himself a member thereof and of age.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—Marriages of members of the Imperial Family shall be restricted to the circle of the family, or to certain noble families specially approved by Imperial orders.

ARTICLE XL.—Marriages of the members of the Imperial Family shall be subject to the sanction of the Emperor.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Imperial writs sanctioning the marriages of members of the Imperial Family shall bear the countersignature of the Minister of the Imperial Household.

ARTICLE XLII.—No member of the Imperial Family can adopt anyone as his son.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When a member of the Imperial Family wishes to travel beyond the boundaries of the country, he must first obtain the sanction of the Emperor.

ARTICLE XLIV.—A female member of the Imperial Family who has married a subject shall be excluded from membership of the Imperial Family. However, she may be allowed, by the special grace of the Emperor, to retain her title of Imperial Princess or of Princess, as the case may be.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE IMPERIAL HEREDITARY ESTATES.

ARTICLE XLV.—No landed or other property than has been fixed as the hereditary estate shall be divided up or alienated.

ARTICLE XLVI.—The landed or other property to be included in the Imperial hereditary estates shall be settled by Imperial writ, with the advice of the Privy Council, and shall be announced by the Minister of the Imperial Household.

CHAPTER IX.—EXPENDITURES OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSE.

ARTICLE XLVII.—The expenditures of the Imperial House of all kinds shall be defrayed out of the national Treasury, at a certain fixed amount.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—The estimates and audits of accounts of the expenditure of the Imperial House, and all other rules of the kind, shall be regulated by the Finance Regulations of the Imperial House.

CHAPTER X.—LITIGATION; DISCIPLINARY RULES FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

ARTICLE XLIX.—Litigation between the members of the Imperial Family shall be decided by judicial functionaries specially designated by the Emperor, in the Department of the

Imperial Household, and execution issued after the Imperial sanction has been obtained thereto.

ARTICLE L.—Civil actions brought by private individuals against members of the Imperial Family shall be decided in the Court of Appeal in Tokyo. Members of the Imperial Family shall, however, be represented by lawyers, and no personal attendance in the court shall be required of them.

ARTICLE LI.—No member of the Imperial Family can be arrested or summoned before a court of law unless the sanction of the Emperor has first been obtained thereto.

ARTICLE LII.—When a member of the Imperial Family has committed an act derogatory to his or her dignity, or when he has exhibited disloyalty to the Imperial House, he shall, by way of disciplinary punishment, and by order of the Emperor, be deprived of the whole or part of the privileges belonging to him as a member of the Imperial Family, or shall be suspended therefrom.

ARTICLE LIII.—When a member of the Imperial Family acts in a way tending to the squandering of his or her property, he shall be declared incapable by the Emperor, prohibited from administering his property, and a manager shall be appointed therefor.

ARTICLE LIV.—The two foregoing articles shall be sanctioned upon the advice of the Imperial Family Council.

CHAPTER XI.—THE IMPERIAL FAMILY COUNCIL.

ARTICLE LV.—The Imperial Family Council shall be composed of the male members of the Imperial Family who have reached the age of majority. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the President of the Privy Council, the Minister of the Imperial Household, the Minister of State for Justice, and the President of the Court of Cassation, shall be ordered to take part in the deliberations of the Council.

ARTICLE LVI.—The Emperor personally presides over the meeting of the Imperial Family Council, or directs one of the Imperial Family to do so.

CHAPTER XII.—SUPPLEMENTARY RULES.

ARTICLE LVII.—Those of the present members of the Imperial Family of the fifth generation and downwards, who have already been invested with the title of Imperial Prince, shall retain the same as heretofore.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The order of succession to the Imperial Throne shall in every case relate to the descendants of absolute lineage. There shall be no admission to this line of succession to anyone, as a consequence of his now being an adopted Imperial son, Koyushi, or heir to a princely house.

ARTICLE LIX.—The grades of rank among the Imperial Princes, Imperial Princesses, and Princes and Princesses, shall be abolished. The family rank of Imperial Princes and all usages conflicting with the present law shall be abolished.

ARTICLE LX.—The property, annual expenses, and all other rules concerning members of the Imperial Family shall be specially determined.

ARTICLE LXI.—When in the future it shall become necessary either to amend or make additions to the present law, the matter shall be decided by the Emperor, with the advice of the Imperial Family Council and with that of the Privy Council.

B.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN*

CHAPTER I.—THE EMPEROR.

ARTICLE I.—The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

ARTICLE II.—The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE III.—The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

ARTICLE IV.—The Emperor is the head of the empire, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

ARTICLE V.—The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE VI.—The Emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

ARTICLE VII.—The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial ordinances in the place of law.

Such Imperial ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

ARTICLE IX.—The Emperor issues or causes to be issued the ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promo-

* Promulgated February 11, 1889.

tion of the welfare of the subjects. But no ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

ARTICLE X.—The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws shall be in accordance with the respective provisions bearing thereon.

ARTICLE XI.—The Emperor has supreme command of the army and navy.

ARTICLE XII.—The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the army and navy.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

ARTICLE XIV.—The Emperor proclaims the law of siege.

The conditions and effects of the law of siege shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XV.—The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders, and other marks of honour.

ARTICLE XVI.—The Emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments, and rehabilitation.

ARTICLE XVII.—A Regency shall be instituted in conformity with the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

The Regency shall exercise the powers appertaining to the Emperor in his name.

CHAPTER II.—RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SUBJECTS.

ARTICLE XVIII.—The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XIX.—Japanese subjects may, according to qualifications determined in laws or ordinances, be appointed to civil or military offices equally, and may fill any other public offices.

ARTICLE XX.—Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the army or navy, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXI.—Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

ARTICLE XXII.—Japanese subjects shall have the liberty of abode and of changing the same within the limits of law.

ARTICLE XXIII.—No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law.

ARTICLE XXIV.—No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the Judges determined by law.

ARTICLE XXV.—Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

ARTICLE XXVI.—Except in the cases provided for in the law, the secrecy of the letters of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The right of property of every Japanese subject shall remain inviolate. Measures necessary to be taken for the public benefit shall be provided for by law.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

ARTICLE XXIX.—Japanese subjects shall within the limits of law enjoy liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

ARTICLE XXX.—Japanese subjects may present petitions, by observing the proper forms of respect and by complying with the rules specially provided for the same.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The provisions contained in the present chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency.

ARTICLE XXXII.—Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding articles of the present chapter that are not in conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the army and navy shall apply to the officers and men of the army and of the navy.

CHAPTER III.—THE IMPERIAL DIET.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The Imperial Diet shall consist of two Houses—a House of Peers and a House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—The House of Peers shall, in accordance with the ordinance concerning the House of Peers, be composed of the members of the Imperial Family, of the orders of nobility, and of those persons who have been nominated thereto by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XXXV.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the law of election.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—No one can at one and the same time be a member of both Houses.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—Every law requires the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—Both Houses shall vote upon projects of law submitted to them by the Government, and may respectively initiate projects of law.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—A Bill which has been rejected by either the one or the other of the two Houses shall not be again brought in during the same session.

ARTICLE XL.—Both Houses can make representations to the Government as to laws, or upon any other subject. When, however, such representations are not accepted, they cannot be made a second time during the same session.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Imperial Diet shall be convoked every year.

ARTICLE XLII.—A session of the Imperial Diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, the duration of a session may be prolonged by Imperial order.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one. The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by Imperial order.

ARTICLE XLIV.—The opening, closing, prolongation of session, and prorogation, of the Imperial Diet shall be effected simultaneously for both Houses. In case the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the House of Peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

ARTICLE XLV.—When the House of Representatives has been ordered to dissolve, members shall be caused by Imperial order to be newly elected, and the new House shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

ARTICLE XLVI.—No debate can be opened, and no vote can be taken, in either House of the Imperial Diet, unless not less than one-third of the whole number of the members thereof be present.

ARTICLE XLVII.—Votes shall be taken in both Houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the President shall have the casting vote.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—The deliberations of both Houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the Government or by resolution of the House, be held in secret sitting.

ARTICLE XLIX.—Both Houses of the Imperial Diet may respectively present addresses to the Emperor.

ARTICLE L.—Both Houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

ARTICLE LI.—Both Houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present Constitution and in the law of the Houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

ARTICLE LII.—No member of either House shall be held responsible, outside the respective Houses, for any opinion uttered or for any vote given in the House. When, however, a member himself has given publicity to his opinions by public speech, by documents in print or in writing, or by any other similar means, he shall in the matter be amenable to the general law.

ARTICLE LIII.—The members of both Houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the consent of the House, except in cases of *flagrante delicto* or of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or with a foreign trouble.

ARTICLE LIV.—The Ministers of State and the delegates of the Government may at any time take seats and speak in either House.

CHAPTER IV.—THE MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

ARTICLE LV.—The respective Ministers of State shall give their advice to the Emperor and be responsible for it.

All laws, Imperial ordinances, and Imperial rescripts, of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of State, require the countersignature of a Minister of State.

ARTICLE LVI.—The Privy Council shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organization of the Privy Council, deliberate upon important matters of State when they have been consulted by the Emperor.

CHAPTER V.—THE JUDICATURE.

ARTICLE LVII.—The Judicature shall be exercised by the courts of law according to law, in the name of the Emperor.

The organization of the courts of law shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LVIII.—The Judges shall be appointed from among those who possess qualifications according to law.

No Judge shall be deprived of his position, unless by way of criminal sentence or disciplinary punishment.

Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE LIX.—Trials and judgments of a court shall be conducted publicly. When, however, there exists any fear that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended by provision of law or by the decision of the court of law.

ARTICLE LX.—All matters that fall within the competency of a special court shall be specially provided for by law.

ARTICLE LXI.—No suit at law which relates to rights alleged to have been infringed by the illegal measures of the executive authorities, and which shall come within the competency of the Court of Administrative Litigation specially established by law, shall be taken cognizance of by a court of law.

CHAPTER VI.—FINANCE.

ARTICLE LXII.—The imposition of a new tax or the modification of the rates of an existing one shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue having the nature of compensation shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the national Treasury, except those that are provided in the Budget, shall require the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXIII.—The taxes levied at present shall, in so far as they are not remodelled by new law, be collected according to the old system.

ARTICLE LXIV.—The expenditure and revenue of the State require the consent of the Imperial Diet by means of an annual Budget.

Any and all expenditures overpassing the appropriations set forth in the titles and paragraphs of the Budget, or that are not provided for in the Budget, shall subsequently require the approbation of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE LXV.—The Budget shall be first laid before the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE LXVI.—The expenditures of the Imperial House shall be defrayed every year out of the national Treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and shall not require the consent thereto of the Imperial Diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

ARTICLE LXVII.—Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet without the concurrence of the Government.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—In order to meet special requirements, the Government may ask the consent of the Imperial Diet to a certain amount as a Continuing Expenditure Fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

ARTICLE LXIX.—In order to supply deficiencies which are unavoidable in the Budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a reserve fund shall be provided for in the Budget.

ARTICLE LXX.—When the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may make all necessary financial measures by means of an Imperial ordinance.

In the case mentioned in the preceding clause, the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next session, and its approbation shall be obtained thereto.

ARTICLE LXXI.—When the Imperial Diet has not voted on

the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year.

ARTICLE LXXII.—The final account of the expenditures and revenue of the State shall be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, and it shall be submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, together with the report of verification of the said Board.

The organization and competency of the Board of Audit shall be determined separately.

CHAPTER VII.—SUPPLEMENTARY RULES.

ARTICLE LXXIII.—When it has become necessary in future to amend the provisions of the present Constitution, a project to that effect shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet by the Imperial order.

In the above case, neither House can open the debate unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members are present; and no amendment can be passed unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present is obtained.

ARTICLE LXXIV.—No modifications of the House Law shall be required to be submitted to the deliberation of the Imperial Diet.

No provision of the present Constitution can be modified by the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE LXXV.—No modifications can be introduced into the Constitution or into the Imperial House Law during the time of a Regency.

ARTICLE LXXVI.—Existing legal enactments—such as laws, regulations, ordinances, or by whatever names they may be called—shall, so far as they do not conflict with the present Constitution, remain in force.

All existing contracts or orders that entail obligations upon the Government and that are connected with expenditure shall come within the scope of Articles LXVI. and LXVII.

C.—ORDINANCES RELATING TO THE IMPERIAL DIET

CHAPTER I.—CONVOCATION, ORGANIZATION, AND OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL DIET.

ARTICLE I.—An Imperial proclamation for the convocation of the Imperial Diet, fixing the date of its assembling, shall be issued at least forty days beforehand.

ARTICLE II.—The members shall assemble in their respective Houses upon the day specified in the Imperial proclamation of convocation.

ARTICLE III.—The President and Vice-President of the House of Representatives shall both of them be nominated by the Emperor from among the candidates respectively elected by the House for each of those offices.

Until the nomination of the President and Vice-President, the functions of President shall be discharged by the Chief Secretary.

ARTICLE IV.—Each House shall divide the number of its members into several sections by lot, and in each section a chief shall be elected by and from among the members belonging thereto.

ARTICLE V.—Upon the organization of both Houses, the day for the opening of the Imperial Diet shall be fixed by Imperial order, and the ceremony of opening shall be celebrated by the assembling of the members of both Houses in the House of Peers.

ARTICLE VI.—On the occasion referred to in the preceding article, the function of President shall be exercised by the President of the House of Peers.

CHAPTER II.—PRESIDENT, SECRETARIES, AND EXPENSES.

ARTICLE VII.—There shall be in each House a President and a Vice-President.

ARTICLE VIII.—The term of the office of the President and the Vice-President of the House of Representatives shall be the same as that of the membership thereof.

ARTICLE IX.—When the office of President or of Vice-President of the House of Representatives has become vacant by the resignation of the occupant thereof, or for any other reason, the term of office of the successor shall be in correspondence with that of his predecessor.

ARTICLE X.—The President of each House shall retain order therein, regulate the debates, and represent the House outside thereof.

ARTICLE XI.—The President of each House shall continue to assume the direction of the business of the House during the interval that the Diet is not in session.

ARTICLE XII.—The President shall be entitled to attend and take part in the debates of both the Standing and of the Special Committees, but he shall have no vote therein.

ARTICLE XIII.—In each House, in the event of the disability of the President, he shall be represented in his functions by the Vice-President.

ARTICLE XIV.—In each House, in the event of the disability of both the President and the Vice-President at the same time, a temporary President shall be elected to exercise the functions of the President.

ARTICLE XV.—The President and the Vice-President of each House shall, upon the expiration of their term of office, continue to exercise their functions until their successors' have been nominated by the Emperor.

ARTICLE XVI.—In each House there shall be appointed a Chief Secretary and several Secretaries.

The Chief Secretary shall be of the Chokunin rank, and the Secretaries of the Sonin rank.

ARTICLE XVII.—The Chief Secretary shall, under the direction of the President, supervise the business of the Secretaries, and append his signature to official documents.

The Secretaries shall compile the records of the debates, make drafts of other documents, and manage business generally.

Functionaries, besides Secretaries, shall be appointed by the Chief Secretary.

ARTICLE XVIII.—The expenses of both Houses shall be defrayed out of the national Treasury.

CHAPTER III.—THE ANNUAL ALLOWANCES OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT, AND MEMBERS.

ARTICLE XIX.—The Presidents of the respective Houses shall receive each an annual allowance of 4,000 yen, and the Vice-Presidents that of 2,000 yen each; while such members of the House of Peers as have been elected thereto, and such as have been elected thereto by the Emperor, and members of the House of Representatives, shall each receive an annual allowance of 800 yen. They shall also receive travelling expenses in accordance with regulations to be specially provided. Members, however, who do not comply with the summons of convocation shall receive no annual allowance.

The President, Vice-President, and members shall not be allowed to decline their respective annual allowances.

Members who are in the service of the Government shall receive no such annual allowances.

In the case mentioned in Article XXV., the members concerned shall receive, in addition to the annual allowance mentioned in the first clause of the present article, an allowance of not more than 5 yen per diem, in accordance with the schedule determined by the respective House.

CHAPTER IV.—COMMITTEES.

ARTICLE XX.—Committees shall be of three kinds: a Committee of the whole House, and Standing and Special Committees.

The Committee of the whole House is composed of the whole number of the members of the House.

The Standing Committee shall be divided into several branches, according to the requirements of business; and in order to engage in the examination of matters falling within its province, the several sections shall, from among the members of the House, respectively select an equal number of members to the Standing Committeeship. The term of the Standing Committee shall last during a single session only.

The Special Committee shall be chosen by the House, and specially entrusted with the examination of a certain particular matter.

ARTICLE XXI.—The Chairman of the Committee of the whole House shall be elected for each session at the beginning of the same.

The chairman of both the Standing and Special Committees shall be respectively elected at the meetings of the Committees, by and from among the members thereof.

ARTICLE XXII.—No debate can be opened, nor can any resolution be passed, by the Committee of the whole House, unless more than one-third of the entire number of the members of the House be present; or by either the Standing or by the Special Committee unless more than one half of the members of the same are present.

ARTICLE XXIII.—No stranger, other than members of the House, shall be admitted to the meetings of either the Standing or of the Special Committees. Members may also be excluded from such meetings by resolution of the respective Committees.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The chairman of each Committee shall report to the House concerning the proceedings and results of the Committee over which he presides.

ARTICLE XXV.—Each House may, at the request of or with the concurrence of the Government, cause a Committee to continue the examination of Bills during the interval when the Diet is not sitting.

CHAPTER V.—SITTINGS.

ARTICLE XXVI.—The President of each House shall determine the orders of the day, and report the same to the House over which he presides. In the orders of the day the Bills brought in by the Government shall have precedence, except when the concurrence of the Government has been obtained to the contrary, in case of urgent necessity for debates.

ARTICLE XXVII.—A project of law shall be noted upon after it has passed through three readings. But the process of three readings may be omitted when such a course is demanded by the Government, or by not less than two-thirds of the members present in the House.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—Bills brought in by the Government shall never be voted upon without having been first submitted to the examination of a Committee. But it may happen otherwise when it is so demanded by the Government in case of urgent necessity.

ARTICLE XXIX.—When a member moves to introduce a Bill or to make an amendment of a Bill, such motion shall not be made the subject of debate, unless it is supported by not less than twenty members.

ARTICLE XXX.—The Government shall be at liberty at any time to either amend or withdraw a Bill which it has already brought in.

ARTICLE XXXI.—All Bills shall, through the medium of a Minister of State, be presented to the Emperor by the President of that House in which the Bill has been voted upon.

When, however, a Bill originating in either one of the Houses has been rejected in the other, the rule set forth in the second clause of Article LIV. shall be followed.

ARTICLE XXXII.—Bills which, having been passed by both Houses of the Diet and presented to the Emperor, may receive his sanction, shall be promulgated before the next session of the Diet.

CHAPTER VI.—PROROGATION AND CLOSING.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The Government at any time may order the prorogation of either House for a period of not more than fifteen days. When either House again meets after the termination of the prorogation, the debates of the last meeting shall be continued.

ARTICLE XXXIV.—In case the House of Peers is ordered to prorogue on account of the dissolution of the House of Representatives, the rule set forth in the second clause of the preceding article shall not apply.

ARTICLE XXXV.—Bills, representations, and petitions that have not been voted upon up to the time of the closing of the Imperial Diet shall not be continued in the next session. It is, however, otherwise in the case mentioned in Article XXXV.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—The closing of the Diet shall be effected in a joint meeting of both Houses, in accordance with Imperial order.

CHAPTER VII.—SECRET SITTINGS.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—In the following cases sittings of either House may be held with closed doors:

1. Upon the wish of the President or of not less than ten members, the same being agreed to by the House.
2. Upon the demand of the Government.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—When a motion to go into secret sitting is made either by the President or by not less than ten members, the President shall cause the strangers to withdraw from the House, and then shall proceed, without debate, to take votes upon the motion.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—The proceedings of a secret meeting shall not be made public.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE PASSING OF THE BUDGET.

ARTICLE XL.—When the Budget is brought into the House of Representatives by the Government, the Committee on the Budget shall finish the examination of the same within fifteen days of the day on which it received it, and report thereon to the House.

ARTICLE XLI.—No motion for an amendment to the Budget can be made the subject of debate at a sitting of the House, unless it is supported by not less than thirty members.

CHAPTER IX.—THE MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE DELEGATES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

ARTICLE XLII.—The Ministers of State and the delegates of the Government shall be allowed at any time to speak; but the speech of no member shall be interrupted that they may do so.

ARTICLE XLIII.—When a Bill has been referred in either House to a Committee, the Ministers of State and the delegates of the Government may attend the meetings of the Committee and there express their opinions.

ARTICLE XLIV.—A Committee in meeting may, through the President, demand explanations from the delegates of the Government.

ARTICLE XLV.—The Ministers of State and the delegates of the Government, except such of them as are members of the House, shall have no vote in the House.

ARTICLE XLVI.—When a meeting of a Standing or of a Special Committee is to be held, the chairman thereof shall every time report the fact to the Minister of State and to the delegates of the Government concerned in the matter to be considered.

ARTICLE XLVII.—The orders of the day and the notice relating to debates shall, simultaneously with the distribution thereof among the members, be transmitted to the Ministers of State and to the delegates of the Government.

CHAPTER X.—QUESTIONS.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—When a member in either House desires to put a question to the Government, he shall be required to obtain the support of not less than thirty members.

In putting such questions, the member proposing it shall draw up a concise memorandum and present it to the President, after he shall have signed it conjointly with the supporters.

ARTICLE XLIX.—The President shall transmit the memorandum on questions to the Government. A Minister of State shall then either immediately answer the question or fix the date for making such answer, and when he does not do so he shall explicitly state his reasons therefor.

ARTICLE L.—When an answer has been or has not been obtained from a Minister of State, any member may move a representation concerning the affairs in question.

CHAPTER XI.—ADDRESSES AND REPRESENTATIONS.

ARTICLE LI.—When either House desires to present an address to the Emperor, it shall be presented in writing; or the President may be directed, as the representative of the House, to ask an audience of the Emperor, and present the same to him.

The representations of either House to the Government shall be presented in writing.

ARTICLE LII.—No motion for such address and representation shall in either House be made the subject of debate, unless thirty members support it.

CHAPTER XII.—THE RELATIONS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE DIET TO EACH OTHER.

ARTICLE LIII.—With the exception of the Budget, Government Bills may be first presented in either of the Houses.

ARTICLE LIV.—When a Government Bill has been passed in either House, with or without an amendment, it shall then be carried into the other House. When the second House either concurs in or dissents from the vote of the first House, it shall, simultaneously with addressing the Emperor, report to the first House.

In case a Bill introduced by either House is rejected by the other House, the second House shall report the fact to the first House.

ARTICLE LV.—When either House makes amendments to a Bill carried into it from the other House, the Bill as amended shall be returned to the first House. When the first House agrees to the amendment, it shall, simultaneously with addressing the Emperor, report to the second House. When, on the other hand, the first House does not agree to such amendments, it may demand the conference of the two Houses.

When either House demands a conference, the other House cannot refuse it.

ARTICLE LVI.—Both Houses can elect an equal number, not more than ten, of managers to meet in conference. When the Bill in question has been adjusted in the conference, the adjusted Bill shall be discussed first in that House which had either received it from the Government or had initiated it, and the Bill is then carried to the other House. No motion of amendments can be made to a Bill that has been adjusted in a conference.

ARTICLE LVII.—The Ministers of State, the delegates of the Government, and the Presidents of both Houses, are at liberty to attend a conference of the two Houses, and to express their opinions thereat.

ARTICLE LVIII.—No strangers are allowed to be present at a conference of the two Houses.

ARTICLE LIX.—At a conference of the two Houses, votes shall be taken by secret ballot. In the event of a tie vote, the chairman shall have the casting vote.

ARTICLE LX.—The managers from the two Houses shall separately elect one of themselves chairman of the conference. The chairman thus elected shall occupy the chair at the alternate meetings of the conference. The chairmanship of the first meeting shall be settled by the drawing of lots.

ARTICLE LXI.—All other regulations, besides what is provided for in the present chapter, as to any business in which both Houses are concerned, shall be determined by a conference of both Houses.

CHAPTER XIII.—PETITIONS.

ARTICLE LXII.—All petitions addressed to either House by people shall be received through the medium of a member.

ARTICLE LXIII.—Petitions shall be admitted in either House to the examination of the Committee on Petitions.

When the Committee on Petitions considers that a petition is not in conformity with the established rules, the President shall return it through the member through whose medium it was originally presented.

ARTICLE LXIV.—The Committee on Petitions shall compile

a list in which shall be noted the essential points of each petition, and shall report once a week to the House.

When it is asked for by a special report of the Committee on Petitions, or by not less than thirty members of the House, either House may proceed to debate on the matter of the petition in question.

ARTICLE LXV.—When either House passes a vote to entertain a petition, the petition shall then be sent to the Government, together with a memorial of the House thereon, and the House may, according to circumstances, demand a report thereon of the Government.

ARTICLE LXVI.—Neither House can receive a petition presented by a proxy, excepting when such a proxy is a person recognised by law.

ARTICLE LXVII.—Neither House can receive petitions for amending the Constitution.

ARTICLE LXVIII.—Petitions shall be in the form and style of a prayer. No petition which is not entitled such, or that does not conform with the proper form and style, shall be received by either House.

ARTICLE LXIX.—Neither House can receive a petition that contains words of disrespect toward the Imperial Family, or those of insult to the Government or the House.

ARTICLE LXX.—Neither House can receive petitions interfering with the administration of justice or with administrative litigation.

ARTICLE LXXI.—Both Houses shall separately receive petitions, and shall not interfere with each other in such matters.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HOUSES AND THE PEOPLE, THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND LOCAL ASSEMBLIES.

ARTICLE LXXII.—Neither House is allowed to issue notifications to the people.

ARTICLE LXXIII.—Neither House is allowed, for the prosecution of examination, to summon persons, or to direct a member to repair outside the precincts of the House.

ARTICLE LXXIV.—When either House, for the purpose of examinations, asks the Government for necessary reports or documents, the Government shall comply, provided such reports or documents do not relate to any secret matter.

ARTICLE LXXV.—Other than the Ministers of State and the delegates of the Government, neither House can hold any correspondence with any Government office or with any local assembly.

CHAPTER XV. — RETIREMENTS AND OBJECTIONS TO THE QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS.

ARTICLE LXXVI.—When a member of the House of Representatives has been appointed a member of the House of Peers, or has received an official appointment, which by law disables him from being a member, he shall be considered as retired.

ARTICLE LXXVII.—When a member of the House of Representatives has lost any of the qualifications of eligibility required by the law of election he shall be considered as retired.

ARTICLE LXXVIII.—When an objection is raised in the House of Representatives as to the qualification of any of its members, a Special Committee shall be appointed to examine into the matter, upon a specified day, and the resolution of the House shall be taken upon the receipt of the report of the said Committee.

ARTICLE LXXIX.—Whenever, in a court of law, legal proceedings pertinent to an election suit have been commenced, the House of Representatives cannot institute inquiries into the same matter.

ARTICLE LXXX.—Until the disqualification of a member has been proved, he shall not lose either his seat or his vote in the House. In debates relating to inquiries into his own qualifications, a member, though at liberty to offer explanations, cannot take part in voting thereon.

CHAPTER XVI.—LEAVE OF ABSENCE, RESIGNATION, AND SUBSTITUTIONAL ELECTION.

ARTICLE LXXXI.—The President of either House shall have the power to grant to members a leave of absence for a period not exceeding a week. As to a leave of absence for a period of more than a week, permission may be given by the House. No permission shall be given for a leave of absence for an unlimited period of time.

ARTICLE LXXXII.—No member of either House can absent himself from the meetings of the House or of a Committee without forwarding to the President a notice setting forth proper reasons therefor.

ARTICLE LXXXIII.—The House of Representatives shall have power to accept the resignation of a member.

ARTICLE LXXXIV.—When from any cause whatever a vacancy occurs among the members of the House of Representatives, the President shall report the fact to the Minister of State for Home Affairs, demanding a substitutional election.

CHAPTER XVII.—DISCIPLINE AND POLICE.

ARTICLE LXXXV.—For the maintenance of discipline in either House during its session, the power of internal police shall be exercised by the President, in accordance with the present law and such regulations as may be determined by the respective Houses.

ARTICLE LXXXVI.—Police officials required in either House shall be provided by the Government and put under the direction of the President.

ARTICLE LXXXVII.—When, during a meeting of the House, any member infringes the present law, or rules of debate, or in any way disturbs the order of the House, the President shall either warn him, stop him, or order him to retract his remarks. When he fails to obey the order of the President, the latter shall have the power to either prohibit him from speaking during the remainder of the meeting, or to order him to leave the hall.

ARTICLE LXXXVIII.—When the House is in a state of excitement, and it is found difficult to maintain order, the President shall have power either to suspend the meeting or close it for the day.

ARTICLE LXXXIX.—When any stranger disturbs the debate the President may order him to leave the House, and in case of necessity may cause him to be handed over to a police officer.

When the Strangers' Gallery is in a state of commotion, the President may order all strangers to leave the House.

ARTICLE XC.—When any person disturbs the order of the House, the Ministers of State, the delegates of the Government, and the members, may call the attention of the President thereto.

ARTICLE XCI.—In neither House shall the utterance of expressions or the making of speeches implying disrespect to the Imperial House be allowed.

ARTICLE XCII.—In neither House shall the use of coarse language or personalities be allowed.

ARTICLE XCIII.—When any member has been vilified or insulted either in the House or in a meeting of a Committee, he shall appeal to the House and demand that proper measures shall be taken. There shall be no retaliation among members.

CHAPTER XVIII.—DISCIPLINARY PUNISHMENTS.

ARTICLE XCIV.—Both Houses shall have the power to mete out disciplinary punishment to the respective members.

ARTICLE XCV.—In each House there shall be instituted a Committee on Disciplinary Punishment for making inquiries into cases of disciplinary punishment.

When a case for disciplinary punishment occurs, the Presi-

dent shall, in the first place, instruct the Committee to inquire into the matter, and shall deliver sentence after having submitted the case to the consideration of the House.

When a case for disciplinary punishment occurs at a meeting of the Committee or in a section, the chairman of the Committee or the chief of the section shall report the matter to the President, and require measures to be taken thereon.

ARTICLE XCVI.—Disciplinary punishment shall be as follows:

1. Reprimands at an open meeting of the House.
2. Expression by the offenders of a proper apology at an open meeting of the House.
3. Suspension of the offender from presence in the House for a certain length of time.
4. Expulsion.

In the House of Representatives expulsion shall be decided upon by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of the members present.

ARTICLE XCVII.—The House of Representatives shall have no power to deny a seat to a member that has been expelled, when he shall have been re-elected.

ARTICLE XCVIII.—Any member shall, with the support of not less than twenty members, have a right to make a motion for the infliction of disciplinary punishment.

A motion for a disciplinary punishment shall be made within three days from the commission of the offence.

ARTICLE XCIX.—When, for non-compliance, without substantial reasons, with the Imperial proclamation of convocation within one week from the date specified therein, or for absence, without good reasons, from the meetings of the House or of a Committee, or for having exceeded his leave of absence, a member has received a summons from the President, and shall still delay his appearance without good grounds for so doing, for one week after the receipt of the said summons, he shall, in the House of Peers, be suspended from taking his seat, and the matter shall be submitted to the Emperor for his decision.

In the House of Representatives such member shall be expelled therefrom.

D.—TABLES SHOWING PAY AND WAGES IN THE JAPANESE NAVY

Officers and Warrant Officers.

Rank.	Per Annum.
	Yen.
Admiral	6,000.00
Vice-Admiral and officers of relative rank	4,000.00
Rear-Admiral and officers of relative rank	3,300.60
Captain and officers of relative rank :	
1st class	2,496.60
2nd class	2,263.00
Captain, junior grade, and officers of relative rank :	
1st class	1,898.00
2nd class	1,660.00
Commander and officers of relative rank :	
1st class	1,277.50
2nd class	1,095.00
Lieutenant and officers of relative rank :	
1st class	960.00
2nd class	864.00
3rd class	780.00
Lieutenant, junior rank, and officers of relative rank :	
1st class	600.00
2nd class	540.00
Sublieutenant and officers of relative rank	444.00
Chief warrant officer :	
1st class	780.00
2nd class	720.00
Warrant officers :	
1st class	600.00
2nd class	540.00
3rd class	480.00
4th class	420.00

Petty Officers and Men.

Rating.	Per Diem.
	Sen.
First class petty officer :	
1st rate	84
2nd rate	70
3rd rate	58
4th rate	44
Second class petty officer :	
1st rate	40
2nd rate	37
Third class petty officer :	
1st rate	32
2nd rate	30
Men :	
1st class	21
2nd class	18
3rd class	15
4th class	12
5th class, or boy	7

TABLE SHOWING EXTRA PAY FOR SEA SERVICE.

OFFICERS AND MEN.

	Extra Pay per Day.	Additional Extra Pay per Day.			
		Coast of China, Corea, Russian Possessions in Asia.	East of Long. 90° E., West of Long. 140° W., South of Lat. 60° N., North of Lat. 34° S.	West of Long. 90° E., East of Long. 30° E., East of Long. 140° W., West of Long. 70° W., North of Lat. 60° N., South of Lat. 34° S.	West of Long. 30° E., East of Long. 70° W., American Coast of the Atlantic Ocean.
	Yen. Sen.	Yen. Sen.	Yen. Sen.	Yen. Sen.	Yen. Sen.
Admiral, Commander-in-Chief	2 50	1 25	5 00	7 50	10 00
Vice-Admiral, Commander-in-Chief	2 20	1 10	4 00	6 60	8 80
Rear-Admiral, second in command, etc.	1 80	0 90	3 60	5 20	7 20
*Captain or other officers of same rank	1 70 to 0 70	0 85 to 0 35	3 40 to 1 40	5 10 to 2 10	6 80 to 2 80
*Captain, junior grade, or other officers of same rank	1 00 to 0 50	0 50 to 0 25	2 00 to 1 00	3 00 to 1 50	4 00 to 2 60
*Commander or other officer of same rank	0 60 to 0 40	0 30 to 0 20	1 20 to 0 80	1 80 to 1 20	2 40 to 1 60
*Lieutenant or other officer of same rank	0 45 to 0 35	0 23 to 0 18	0 90 to 0 70	1 35 to 1 05	1 80 to 1 40
Sublieutenants ...	0 30	0 15	0 60	0 60	1 20
Midshipmen and Warrant Officers	0 20	0 10	0	0 60	0 80
Petty Officers ...	0 04	0 02	0 08	0 12	0 16
Men, first and second class	0 03	0 02	0 06	0 09	0 12
Men, third and fourth class	0 02	0 01	0 04	0 06	0 08
Fifth class or boys	0 01	0 01	0 02	0 03	0 04

* Scales vary according to size of ship and the responsibilities. The extra pay for officers and men of torpedo-boats are higher than those of the above table.

TABLE MONEY.

For an Admiral (Commander-in-Chief), 300 to 1,500 yen per annum.

The mess money (per day) for the officers is as follows:

	At Home.	Abroad.
	Sen.	Sen.
Flag officers	60	80
Captains	50	70
Ward officers	40	60
Gun-room officers	30	50
Warrant officers	25	45

E.—CHAIRS OF PROFESSORSHIP IN THE UNIVERSITY

THE number of Chairs of professorship in the colleges of the University of Tokyo are as follows:

COLLEGE OF LAW.

Constitution, 1 Chair.
Public Law, 1 Chair.
Civil Code, 4 Chairs.
Commercial Code, 2 Chairs.
Code of Civil Procedure, 1 Chair.
Commercial Code, 1 Chair.
Code of Criminal Procedure, 1 Chair.
Political Economy and Finance, 3 Chairs.
Statistics, 1 Chair.
Politics, 1 Chair.
History of Politics, 1 Chair.
Administrative Law, 2 Chairs.
Public International Law, 2 Chairs.
Private International Law, 1 Chair.
History of Legal Institutions, 1 Chair.
Comparative History of Legal Institutions, 1 Chair.
Roman Law, 1 Chair.
English Law, 2 Chairs.
French Law, 1 Chair.
German Law, 1 Chair.
Jurisprudence, 1 Chair.

COLLEGE OF MEDICINE.

Anatomy, 3 Chairs.
Physiology, 2 Chairs.
Medical Chemistry, 1 Chair.
Pathology and Pathological Anatomy, 2 Chairs.
Pharmacology, 1 Chair.
Medicine, 4 Chairs.
Gynæcology and Obstetrics, 1 Chair.
Pædiatrics, 1 Chair.
Surgery, 3 Chairs.
Ophthalmology, 1 Chair.
Dermatology and Syphilis, 1 Chair.
Psychiatry, 1 Chair.
Hygiene, 1 Chair.
Forensic Medicine, 1 Chair.
Dentistry, 1 Chair.
Otology, Rhinology, and Laryngology, 1 Chair.
Pharmacy, 3 Chairs.

COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING.

Civil Engineering, 4 Chairs.
Mechanical Engineering, 3 Chairs.
Naval Architecture, 3 Chairs.
Marine Engineering, 1 Chair.
Technology of Arms, 2 Chairs.
Electrical Engineering, 3 Chairs.
Architecture, 3 Chairs.
Applied Chemistry, 3 Chairs.
Technology of Explosives, 1 Chair.
Mining and Metallurgy, 4 Chairs
Applied Mechanics, 1 Chair.
Dynamics, 1 Chair.

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.

Japanese Language and Japanese Literature, 2 Chairs.
Japanese History, 2 Chairs.
Chinese Classics and Chinese Language, 3 Chairs.
History and Geography, 2 Chairs.
Philosophy and History of Philosophy, 2 Chairs.
Psychology, Ethics, and Logic, 2 Chairs.
Sociology, 1 Chair.
Pedagogics, 1 Chair.
Æsthetics, 1 Chair.
Philology, 1 Chair.
Sanskrit, 1 Chair.
English Language and English Literature, 1 Chair.
German Language and German Literature, 1 Chair.
French Language and French Literature, 1 Chair.

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

Mathematics, 4 Chairs.
Theoretical Physics, 1 Chair.
Astronomy, 2 Chairs.
Physics, 2 Chairs.
Chemistry, 3 Chairs.
Zoology, 3 Chairs.
Botany, 2 Chairs.
Geology, Palæontology, and Mineralogy, 3 Chairs.
Seismology, 1 Chair.
Anthropology, 1 Chair.

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture, 2 Chairs.
Agricultural Chemistry and Chemistry, 2 Chairs.
Forestry, 4 Chairs.
Botany, 1 Chair.
Zoology, Entomology, and Sericulture, 2 Chairs.
Horticulture, 1 Chair.
Zootechny, 1 Chair.
Geology and Soils, 1 Chair.
Organic Physics and Meteorology, 1 Chair.
Agricultural Administration and Political Economy, 1 Chair.
Veterinary Anatomy, 1 Chair.
Physiology, 1 Chair.
Veterinary Medicine and Veterinary Surgery, 3 Chairs.
Zootechnical Products, 1 Chair.
Utilization of Forest Products, 1 Chair.

F.—FINANCE BILL

I.—GENERAL RULES.

ARTICLE I.—The financial year of the Government shall commence on the 1st day of the fourth month in each year, and end on the 31st day of the third month of the following year.

All transactions of matters relating to receipt and disbursement of the revenues and expenditures of each financial year shall be completed on the 31st day of the eleventh month of the following financial year.

ARTICLE II.—All receipts from taxes, and all other resources, shall be treated as revenues, and all expenses as expenditures. Revenues and expenditures shall be embodied in the general Budget.

ARTICLE III.—Sums appropriate for each financial year shall not be applied to the payment of expenses belonging to another financial year.

ARTICLE IV.—No Government Office is allowed to keep special funds other than those provided for by law or ordinance.

II.—BUDGET.

ARTICLE V.—The general Budget of annual revenues and expenditures shall be laid before the Imperial Diet of the previous year at the beginning of its session.

ARTICLE VI.—The general Budget of annual revenues and expenditures shall be divided into two parts, the ordinary and extraordinary; and each part shall be subdivided into titles and paragraphs.

The following documents shall accompany the Budget for the information of the Imperial Diet:

1. Paper stating the amount of the estimated expenses demanded by the respective departments of State. In this paper every item in each paragraph shall be explicitly stated.
2. Paper stating the actual accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the financial year, ended on the 31st day of the third month of the current year.

ARTICLE VII.—The reserves to be provided in the Budget shall be divided into the following two classes:

First reserve.
Second reserve.

The first reserve shall be used to supply deficiencies which are unavoidable in the Budget.

The second reserve shall be used to meet necessary expenses unprovided for in the same.

ARTICLE VIII.—The account of sums defrayed out of the reserve shall, after the lapse of the financial year, be laid before the Imperial Diet, and its approbation shall be sought.

ARTICLE IX.—The maximum amount of the Treasury bills to be issued during each financial year shall be determined with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

III.—Receipts.

Article X.—Taxes and other revenues shall be raised in accordance with provisions of laws and ordinances.

Taxes and other revenues shall not be levied except by officials qualified therefor by law or ordinance.

IV.—Expenditures.

Article XI.—The amount appropriated for the expenses of the Government for each financial year shall be defrayed out of the revenues of the same financial year.

Article XII.—The Ministers of State shall not apply the appropriations for any object other than that prescribed in the Budget; nor are they permitted to interchange the amounts of appropriation in each paragraph one for the other.

The Ministers of State shall hand over to the Treasury all receipts under their control, and shall not make use of them directly.

Article XIII.—The Ministers of State shall draw order of payment upon the Treasury, in order to defray the expenses appertaining to their respective administrations.

The power to issue order of payment, however, may be delegated to other functionaries, in accordance with rules specially provided for.

Article XIV.—The Treasury shall not make payment on such orders as are contrary to the provisions of laws and ordinances.

Article XV.—The Ministers of State shall not issue order of payment, except in favour of a legitimate creditor of the Government or his agent.

For the expenses enumerated below, the Ministers of State may, however, issue order of advance payment to competent officials or to banks specially assigned by the Government.

1. Payment on the principal and interest of national debts.
2. Expenses of troops and fleets and Government vessels.
3. Expenses of Government offices abroad.
4. All expenses to be paid in foreign countries, besides those mentioned in the preceding clause.
5. Expenses to be paid in those districts in the interior where the means of transportation and communication are incomplete.
6. Those miscellaneous ordinary expenses in the different Government offices, of which the whole annual amount is below 500 yen.
7. Expenses of offices, the situation of which cannot be settled in one place.

8. Expenses of works carried out under direct supervision of the different Government offices, provided such expenses do not exceed 3,000 yen for each superintending official.

V.—Final Accounts.

Article XVI.—General final accounts to be laid by the Government before the Imperial Diet, after they have received the verification of the Board of Audit, shall be drawn up in the same form as the general Budget, and shall contain explicit statements of accounts as to the following particulars:

Revenues.

Estimated amount of revenues.
Ascertained amount of revenues.
Amount of revenues received.
Amount of revenues not yet received.

Expenditures.

Estimated amount of expenditures.
Amount of expenditures increased after the determination of the Budget.
Amount of expenditures for which order of payment had been issued.
Amount to be carried over to the next financial year.

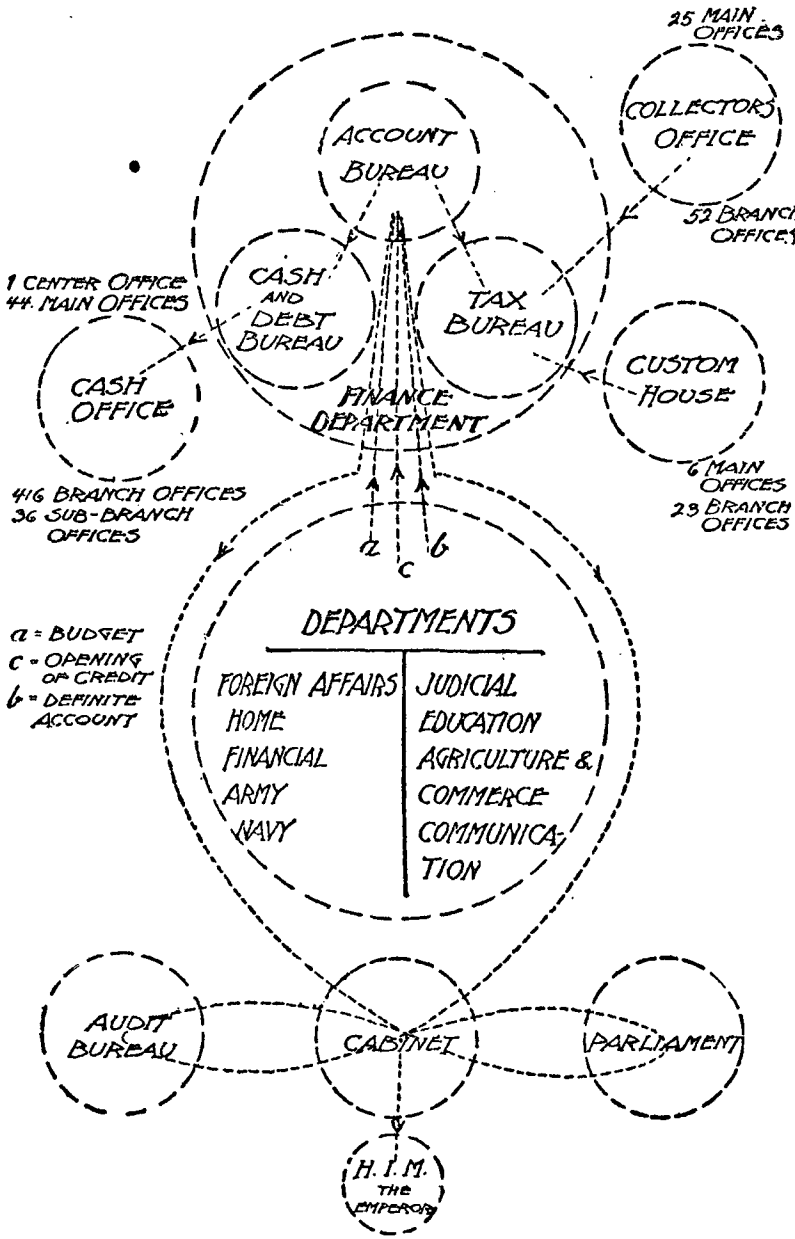
Article XVII.—The following documents shall accompany the general accounts mentioned in the preceding article, together with the report of verification of the Board of Audit:

1. Reports of final accounts submitted by the respective departments of State.
2. Accounts of the national debts.
3. Accounts of cases in which special modes of treatment are allowed.

VI.—Terms of Prescription.

Article XVIII.—As to those liabilities of the Government of which the creditor has not made the demand of disbursement or of payment within five years after the end of the financial year in which the payment should have been made, they shall be considered to have passed the term of prescription, and the Government shall be free from the liability. But in case the term of prescription is fixed by a special law, the provision of such law shall be followed.

Article XIX.—When concerning any amount of money due to the Government a person has not received notice for payment within five years after the end of the financial year in which such payment should have been made, he shall be



MR. SAKATANI'S DIAGRAM OF JAPAN'S FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Vide p. 331.

[*To face p.* 640.

freed from the liability. But in case the term of prescription is fixed by special law the provision of such law shall be followed.

VII.—Surplus. Transfer of Appropriations to another Financial Year. Receipts not provided in the Budget. Refunding of Appropriation.

Article XX.—When there occurs a surplus in the annual accounts of a financial year it shall be carried over to the revenues of the next financial year.

Article XXI.—In case any express permission is specially provided in the Budget, or in case expenses have not been wholly paid out during a financial year on account of delays caused by unavoidable circumstances in the progress of any work or manufacture which had to be completed within the said financial year, the appropriations may be carried over to, and disbursed in, the succeeding year.

Article XXII.—In case the total amount of a continuing expenditure fund is determined for any work, manufacture, or any other undertakings which require a number of years for completion, the surplus of each financial year may be successively carried over and disbursed until the end of the year in which the said work, manufacture, or other undertakings shall be finished.

Article XXIII.—Money paid back for refunding sums which had been paid out in mistake or had been overpaid, receipts belonging to a financial year of which the accounts of receipts and payments have been finished, and all other receipts not provided in the Budget, shall be taken into the revenue of the current financial year. However, in the case of an advance payment of a disbursement in approximate amounts, or of a disbursement by a temporary interchange of items which has been made in accordance with the provisions of law or Imperial ordinance, the sums of money paid back may be applied for refunding the respective appropriations out of which they had been originally paid.

VIII.—Works under the Government. The Sale and Purchase and Lending and Borrowing of Objects.

Article XXIV.—Excepting the cases otherwise prescribed by law or Imperial ordinance, works under the Government, and the sale and purchase and lending and borrowing of articles, shall be put to competition by giving public notice. In the following cases, however, contracts may be entered into at discretion without resorting to the competitive means:

1. In the case of the purchase or borrowing of articles in the exclusive possession of a single person or company.
2. In the case of works to be carried out, or of articles to be purchased or sold, or to be lent or borrowed, under circumstances requiring the actions of the Government to be kept secret.
3. In the case of extraordinary urgency, when there is no time to put to competition the undertaking of a work, or the purchase or sale or borrowing or lending of articles.
4. In the case of articles which, on account of their peculiar nature or on account of the special object for which they are to be used, require to be purchased directly in the place of production or manufacture, or from the producers or manufacturers.
5. In the case of the purchase of manufactures or instruments which cannot be manufactured except by special artists.
6. In the case of the purchase or lease of lands and buildings requiring particular situation or construction.
7. In the case of contracts relating to works and of the purchase or borrowing of articles of which the cost or value does not exceed 500 yen.
8. In the case of the sale of movable properties, the estimated value of which does not exceed 200 yen.
9. In the case of the purchase of men-of-war.
10. In the case of the purchase of horses in the army.
11. In case a work or manufacture is caused to be undertaken or some articles are purchased for experimental purposes.
12. In the case of the employment of the poor belonging to a charity establishment, or in the case of the direct purchase of things produced or manufactured therein.
13. In the case of the employment of convict labour, or of the direct purchase of things manufactured by the same, or in the case of the direct purchase of articles produced or manufactured at an agricultural or industrial establishment under the control of the Government.
14. In the case of the sale of articles produced or manufactured at an agricultural or industrial establishment under the Government, or an establishment for charity, education, or by convict labour.

ARTICLE XXV.—No payment shall be made in advance for

works or manufacture, or for the purchase of articles, excepting in cases of men-of-war, arms, and ammunition.

IX.—Accounting Officials.

Article XXVI.—Officials who are charged with the receipt and disbursement of cash and with serving articles in and out that belong to the Government shall be responsible in every case for the money and articles under their management, and receive the verification and decision of the Board of Audit.

Article XXVII.—In cases where the officials mentioned in the preceding article lose or injure the cash or articles, by fire or flood, or by being robbed, or by any other causes, they shall not be relieved from their responsibility, unless, by proving to the Board of Audit that the loss or injury has been unavoidable in connection with the custody, they shall have received decision of the said Board discharging them from the responsibility for the same.

Article XXVIII.—The officials who may be required to deposit security for being charged with the receipt or disbursement of cash and with serving articles in and out shall be determined by Imperial ordinance.

Article XXIX.—The capacity to order payment and that of dealing with the receipt and disbursement of money shall not be combined in one person at the same time.

X.—Miscellaneous Rules.

Article XXX.—In cases where it is difficult to follow the provisions of the present law on account of special requirements, a special mode of treatment may be allowed.

The establishment of a special mode of treatment shall be effected by law.

Article XXXI.—The Government may entrust the Nippon Ginko (Bank of Japan) with the management of the Treasury funds.

XI.—Supplementary Rules.

Article XXXII.—The provisions of the present law not relating to the Imperial Diet shall come in force from the 1st day of the fourth month of the 23rd year of Meiji; and those relating to the Imperial Diet shall come in force from the time of its opening.

The provisions of the present law relating to the final accounts shall have application from the accounts of the financial year for which the vote of the Imperial Diet shall have been obtained.

Article XXXIII.—Laws and ordinances which are incompatible with any provision of the present law shall be repealed from the day of the coming in force of such provision.

G.—THE PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

THE present system of the protection of industrial property is entirely founded on the Patent Law (Law No. 36), Design Law (Law No. 37), and Trade-Mark Law (Law No. 38), promulgated on the 2nd of March, 1890. Three Acts promulgated in December, 1888, were substituted by these laws. These contained much improvement from experience, and in conformity with the rapid progress of commerce and industry made since the introduction of the system of protection of industrial property into our country, and also on account of our joining the international convention for the protection of industrial property.

The present laws being based upon the principles adopted by the international convention above referred to, they guarantee the right of owners of industrial property perfectly and effectively, making no distinction between native subjects and foreigners, and giving the preferential right to those persons with regard to the same application in the dominion of the empire who have already made the application in any contracting State for the patent of inventions or registration of new designs or trade-marks. This preferential right is, however, valid for only seven months in the case of inventions, and four months in the case of designs and trade-marks.

Our country originally adopted the examination system for the protection of industrial property, so that under the laws in force the applications for patents or registrations are to be examined strictly and accurately by the experts of the Patent Bureau in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. In case these examiners refuse to grant the letters patent or to give approval for registration on the first examination, the applicant may demand the re-examination thereof; and should their applications be rejected again, they can appeal for the judgment of the chief examiners.

Any person having an interest in the patents obtained by other persons may appeal for the judgment of the Patent Bureau, to declare the invalidity of the said patents or to confirm his own right.

A person who is dissatisfied with the decision of the Patent Bureau may appeal to the Court of Cassation, as far as the appeal is made on the ground that the decision of the Bureau has been given without applying the provisions of the law, or by applying them unjustly to the case. The Patent Bureau is bound to obey the opinion expressed by the court on the trial of the said case.

If a person making an application for the patent of in-

ventions, or the registrations of designs or trade-marks, or the owner of letters patent, registered design, or trade-mark, does not reside in the empire, he is required to appoint an agent domiciled in the empire. The said agent may be either a native subject or a foreigner.

The terms of patents and the exclusive use of designs and trade-marks are fifteen, ten, and twenty years respectively, counting from the dates on which they are registered in the official records. The owners of letters patent or registered designs are to pay progressive fees annually, and the owners of trade-marks to pay the fixed fees when making application for the registration. In the following cases the Director of the Patent Bureau is entitled to revoke the patent: (1) When a patentee fails to pay the fee above referred to; (2) when a patentee rejects a reasonable offer of a third person to purchase or to use his right in case of not exploiting his invention in the empire within three years from the date of issue of the license, or in case of suspension of such exploitation for three years; (3) when a patentee not residing in the empire fails to appoint a proper agent. Similar regulations are provided for with respect to designs and trade-marks.

The system of the protection of industrial property was first introduced in April, 1871, by the Regulations for Monopoly of the Newly Invented Articles, which enabled inventors for the first time to enjoy their own intellectual rights. In 1885 the Act for the Patent of Monopolies was promulgated by Notification No. 7, which was replaced by the Patent Act promulgated by the Imperial Ordinance No. 84 in December, 1888, when the Design Act and Trade-Mark Act were also enacted by the Imperial Ordinance No. 85 and No. 86 respectively, in consequence of which the system of the protection of industrial property concerning inventions, designs, and trade-marks, was firmly established and made a marked development.

By Article XVII. of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded between Japan and Great Britain in August, 1894, it was prescribed that the subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall enjoy in the dominions and possessions of the other the same protection as native subjects in regard to patents, trade-marks, and designs, while in Article III. of the Protocol was given a consent to joining the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property. In most of the revised treaties concluded with other Powers the same articles were also included, in consequence of which, since the 15th of July, 1899, Japan joined the convention. Thus, the Acts of 1888 concerning patents, designs, and trade-marks have at length become perfect and complete after the lapse of over ten years since their promulgation.

H.—PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT AND IMPORT FOR THE YEARS 1890-1902.

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES OF EXPORT.

Articles.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Tea	6,326,680	7,033,049	7,525,315	7,702,088	7,930,286
Rice	1,321,635	6,213,331	4,162,451	5,001,157	5,593,152
Cuttle-fish	1,228,711	1,033,703	980,307	1,426,781	1,162,453
Kanten or Colle vegetable	323,444	453,123	581,218	682,139	495,625
Camphor	1,931,992	1,629,104	1,274,752	1,308,610	1,023,956
Copper, coarse and refined	5,352,313	4,877,089	4,863,921	4,569,229	4,900,754
Fish oil	63,238	175,802	248,621	533,479	668,062
Vegetable wax	266,848	316,835	285,566	383,765	562,134
Raw silk	13,859,338	29,356,338	36,269,743	28,167,411	39,353,155
Noshi silk	1,445,274	1,428,654	1,896,771	1,591,581	1,632,211
Waste silk	1,126,578	1,014,668	1,314,825	1,201,181	1,576,381
Habutai (silk tissues)	818,537	1,445,639	4,030,476	3,553,604	7,254,478
Kaiki (silk tissues)	—	—	—	—	—
Silk handkerchiefs	2,516,946	2,811,820	3,494,416	3,899,646	3,628,128
Cotton yarns	2,364	7,872	7,719	59,175	955,529
Carpets (hemp or cotton)	51,048	94,731	177,445	391,989	1,134,072
Bamboo	170,673	155,322	118,641	129,737	188,963
Coal	3,099,862	3,179,202	2,854,299	3,288,842	4,674,305
Fans	295,447	319,875	304,886	424,156	319,416
Lacquerware	572,157	577,371	528,075	708,992	797,539
Matches	1,489,029	1,843,636	2,202,041	3,537,974	3,795,634
Floor mats	347,541	656,122	1,176,679	1,723,382	1,965,493
Porcelain and earthenware	1,245,956	1,287,026	1,480,411	1,577,190	1,484,853
Straw plaits	87,195	193,776	155,162	378,349	743,399
Foreign style umbrellas	114,228	161,504	364,308	589,272	746,067
Seaweed	679,610	767,416	994,626	939,419	607,028

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES OF EXPORT—*continued.*

Articles.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Tea	8,879,241	6,372,328	7,860,460	8,215,664	8,498,782	9,035,819	8,854,327	10,484,017
Rice	7,207,345	7,951,087	6,141,217	5,920,185	10,282,011	3,576,569	6,908,913	6,769,544
Cuttle-fish	996,029	1,151,143	1,413,646	1,268,257	1,362,068	1,158,794	1,842,249	1,802,415
Kanten or Colle vegetable ..	449,271	595,818	591,057	611,335	674,434	964,321	1,217,195	1,108,544
Camphor	1,526,831	1,119,196	1,318,291	1,174,573	1,754,573	3,070,700	3,904,974	3,404,833
Copper (coarse and refined)	5,157,667	5,478,601	5,774,698	7,267,074	11,383,357	12,725,935	13,904,611	10,261,984
Fish oil	525,044	338,485	618,478	391,720	550,961	906,820	1,023,631	1,502,603
Vegetable wax	334,876	371,701	730,576	609,760	642,218	561,435	610,371	789,875
Raw silk	47,866,256	28,830,601	55,630,460	42,047,411	62,627,721	44,657,028	74,667,331	76,859,478
Noshi silk	1,347,255	1,247,812	1,187,530	1,082,917	1,298,248	960,687	995,407	1,694,272
Waste silk	1,515,463	1,516,251	1,832,441	1,573,014	2,775,837	3,200,630	3,473,362	4,019,524
Habutai (silk tissues) ..	8,354,489	7,052,217	9,530,676	12,055,505	15,799,013	17,436,381	23,912,356	24,685,408
Kaiki (silk tissues)	—	233,809	186,039	573,550	1,451,952	878,313	1,315,780	2,672,887
Silk handkerchiefs	5,339,955	4,617,720	3,390,145	3,555,114	3,461,572	4,318,552	3,951,192	3,154,237
Cotton yarns	1,034,478	4,029,424	13,490,196	20,116,585	28,521,438	20,589,262	21,465,573	19,901,522
Carpets (hemp or cotton) ..	1,635,902	1,035,195	847,479	850,758	721,126	866,591	707,770	653,330
Coal	5,409,110	6,242,931	8,316,776	12,340,621	11,784,730	13,703,654	17,542,273	17,270,417
Fans	399,519	693,892	885,600	499,233	532,175	911,077	733,432	727,458
Lacquerware	1,083,212	948,733	767,400	782,932	988,662	1,066,389	994,654	889,079
Matches	4,672,811	4,986,260	5,641,992	6,273,948	5,890,665	5,760,868	7,392,869	8,169,966
Floor mats	3,461,369	3,056,758	3,232,738	3,938,450	3,717,489	3,310,041	5,354,976	6,772,496
Porcelain and earthenware..	1,995,060	1,974,854	1,819,061	1,990,780	2,181,335	2,471,904	2,491,668	2,461,544
Straw plaits	1,387,643	2,234,353	3,181,915	2,404,002	2,770,177	4,025,159	2,989,836	2,938,858
Foreign style umbrellas ..	735,207	773,620	627,057	687,195	953,547	860,786	1,023,638	1,037,926
Seaweed	630,291	609,584	831,463	711,290	946,080	883,726	—	—

Articles.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Spirits	113,746	325,503	392,540	379,476	174,185
Aniline dyes	349,578	386,604	418,481	405,047	543,494
Peas, pulse, and beans	1,856,278	2,010,878	2,712,044	3,446,636	2,977,794
Cigarettes	92,130	129,586	170,628	254,639	232,343
Raw or ginned cotton	4,134,790	6,998,533	11,026,637	15,294,897	19,103,922
Cotton prints	478,462	140,904	436,544	635,902	521,697
Shirtings and other cotton tissues	19,445,925	17,263,063	24,208,613	29,201,994	34,563,062
Cotton yarns	9,928,091	5,589,289	7,131,979	7,284,242	7,977,365
Fresh eggs	31,370	33,441	70,444	108,055	56,118
Flax, hemp, jute, and China glass	139,777	149,660	213,216	326,337	537,924
Hides or skins (bull, ox, cow, and buffalo)	243,776	265,303	390,152	412,667	394,892
Irons and coppers	5,505,598	4,090,551	3,715,128	5,366,486	9,178,257
Sole leather	234,380	243,503	219,429	215,702	281,782
Locomotives	659,604	595,474	200,418	356,533	1,580,272
Machines and tools	933,531	407,905	326,905	491,391	875,266
Petroleum	4,950,256	4,535,720	3,328,398	4,401,040	5,135,332
Oil-cake	194,296	355,988	824,651	599,893	822,195
Velvets of silk and cotton mixed	—	—	—	—	—
Printing papers	413,485	159,621	217,309	217,694	257,857
Rice	12,302,883	3,907,991	2,052,900	3,254,842	8,413,148
Salted fish	5,259	10,927	12,064	44,202	63,197
Boilers and engines	345,016	136,328	180,547	157,958	215,155
Sugars	8,489,007	7,811,306	9,604,350	11,564,418	13,324,521
Leaf tobacco	—	—	—	—	—
Window glass	202,638	300,160	160,563	359,314	246,032
Wools, woollen and worsted yarns, tissues and cloths	7,590,354	5,184,294	6,393,376	7,415,695	7,400,100
Dry indigo	201,070	186,857	386,193	444,208	329,861
Watches	734,931	441,605	485,593	523,126	404,646

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES OF IMPORT—*continued.*

Articles.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
Spirits	440,904	481,464	969,360	2,699,982	2,060,800	132,051	—	—
Aniline dyes	682,137	1,139,929	931,197	1,218,842	904,012	1,328,750	884,884	1,653,220
Peas, beans, and pulse	2,554,763	3,475,015	5,889,616	7,101,103	8,822,110	4,817,767	5,177,360	4,956,009
Cigarettes	302,196	574,068	997,237	1,720,827	760,594	99,828	—	—
Raw cotton or ginned	24,304,814	32,106,275	43,122,262	45,410,457	61,365,754	58,500,001	59,799,300	78,779,858
Cotton prints	383,364	1,193,162	986,443	1,176,789	1,438,245	2,002,732	680,438	2,602,032
Shirtings and other cotton tissues	39,020,006	55,690,380	63,046,287	65,490,806	76,503,392	85,070,981	—	—
Cotton yarns	7,082,975	11,371,950	9,625,258	8,547,588	4,963,325	7,043,046	4,873,738	1,747,875
Fresh eggs	95,206	300,388	337,769	492,553	826,960	1,243,064	1,298,611	1,196,455
Flax, hemp, jute, and China glass	645,840	708,161	654,791	590,517	1,245,048	1,700,409	1,370,183	1,602,799
Hides or skins (bull, ox, cow, and buffalo)	695,984	539,675	346,394	587,948	719,930	656,643	—	—
Irons and coppers	10,487,435	14,503,323	16,777,771	19,491,302	15,469,754	31,664,874	15,784,045	14,337,238
Sole leather	497,774	576,584	462,524	716,879	549,028	984,797	590,713	531,392
Locomotives	1,163,694	1,620,767	4,235,616	4,282,502	1,968,373	1,089,209	1,749,408	1,708,014
Machines and Tools	1,336,174	1,601,365	3,151,947	3,083,290	2,181,496	3,849,500	—	—
Petroleum	4,303,928	6,331,036	7,667,350	7,552,879	7,918,148	14,162,652	14,943,401	14,937,169
Oil-cake	946,027	3,220,600	3,315,587	4,614,967	6,791,812	5,696,453	8,115,908	10,121,712
Velvets of silk and cotton mixed	—	136,469	325,646	599,495	675,230	984,934	379,402	631,233
Printing papers	307,699	723,437	856,957	2,283,214	748,413	2,036,844	804,041	1,402,862
Rice	4,357,096	5,662,336	21,528,428	48,219,810	5,960,166	9,021,536	11,878,958	17,750,817
Salted fish	107,144	231,035	495,907	609,736	1,212,896	2,184,845	1,442,790	2,011,487
Boilers and engines	431,925	818,240	1,308,137	697,173	327,144	773,254	—	—
Sugars	11,830,182	13,853,843	20,002,386	28,619,519	17,645,229	26,691,757	33,493,367	14,367,814
Leaf tobacco	—	35,536	320,853	4,527,659	5,086,354	454,292	30,272	956,817
Window glass	309,801	570,442	488,090	669,806	1,256,576	952,919	1,084,833	1,581,071
Wools, woollen and worsted yarns, tissues and cloths	11,192,108	18,268,460	12,009,902	13,069,869	13,900,185	23,474,048	10,468,934	13,173,106
Dry indigo	581,369	1,067,257	1,538,021	2,270,814	2,903,829	3,902,558	2,665,043	3,097,981
Watches	923,022	1,897,480	1,901,813	2,960,211	237,716	729,746	—	—

I.—SUBSIDIES AND BOUNTIES IN AID OF NAVIGATION.

In the 3rd year of Meiji (1870) Reiganjima Kaiso Kaisha (the Reiganjima Sea Transport Company) received a grant of two steamers from the Government, and opened the regular monthly service between Tokyo and Osaka, this being the first regular steamship service on the coast of Japan. In the 5th year of Meiji (1872) the company was dissolved, and soon after the Nippon Koku Yubin Jokisen Kaisha (the Japan Mail Steamship Company) was established. The new company also undertook the regular services under the order of the Government, in consideration of which the company was allowed to buy several boats belonging to the Government in yearly instalments. In the 8th year of Meiji (1875) the Government gave a grant to the Mitsu Bishi Kisen Kaisha (the Mitsu Bishi Steamship Company) of several steamers recently acquired by the Government. The Mitsu Bishi Company, receiving an annual subsidy, opened the Shanghai line and several regular coasting services, under the order of the Government. In the 15th year of Meiji (1882) the Government, giving aids to the Kyodo Unyu Kaisha (the Union Transport Company), ordered it to maintain regular lines. After a long struggle the rival companies were amalgamated into one, under the name of Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company). The newly-organized company came under an obligation to maintain several mail services—foreign and home—in consideration of which a yearly subsidy was granted by the Government. In the 21st year of Meiji (1888) the Government made an order to the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (the Osaka Mercantile Marine Company) entitling it to receive a subsidy for eight years, thereby obliging the company to improve the vessels within a certain specified time, and to maintain the regular mail services, especially on the western coasts of Japan. In September of the 35th year of Meiji (1902), the Government gave its consent to pay the Konan Kisen Kaisha (the Konan Steamship Company) interest, at a certain percentage, on the paid-up capital in case of any loss sustained.

Navigation Encouragement Act (enacted October, 1896).

Article I.—The bounty for the encouragement of navigation will be granted, according to the provisions of this Act, to Japanese subjects or mercantile companies of which the members or shareholders shall be exclusively composed of Japanese subjects, engaging in the business of transportation of goods and passengers, with ships solely owned by them and registered

on the register of ships of Japan, either between various foreign ports or between ports of Japan and those of foreign countries.

ARTICLE II.—A vessel entitled to the bounty according to this Act must be an iron or steel steamer of not less than 1,000 tons gross, having maximum speed of not less than 10 knots per hour, and complying with the requirements of the ship-building regulations to be determined by the Minister of Communications.

ARTICLE III.—An owner of a ship wishing to receive the bounty for his ship shall first obtain a certificate of competency of the ship from the Minister of Communications.

ARTICLE IV.—The following classes of ships are not entitled to receive the bounty:

1. Ships built in foreign countries which have passed five years since construction at the time of registration on the register of ships of Japan, the time of registration being after this Act is put in operation.
2. Ships that have passed fifteen years since construction.
3. Ships employed on routes under orders from the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE V.—The bounty will be granted at the following rates: For a vessel of 1,000 tons gross, having a maximum speed of 10 knots per hour, 25 sen per ton for every 1,000 miles she runs; and an increase of 10 per cent. for every additional 500 tons, and of 20 per cent. for every additional maximum speed of 1 knot per hour.

But for a vessel of not less than 6,500 tons gross, or not less than 18 knots maximum speed, the rate will be the same as for a vessel of 6,000 tons gross, or maximum speed of 17 knots per hour.

For a vessel which has not passed five years after construction the full amount of the bounty shall be granted, but for those having passed five years after construction every addition of one year to the ship's age will entail an annual reduction of 5 per cent. on the rate of the preceding year.

For foreign-built ships registered in the register of ships of Japan on and after the 1st day of the tenth month of the 32nd year of Meiji (1st October, 1899), one-half the amount of the bounty specified in the two preceding clauses shall be granted.

In making calculation of the amount of the bounty for a vessel fractions of a ton or a mile shall not be taken into account.

ARTICLE VI.—The number of miles navigated shall be calculated according to the distance of the shortest route between the respective ports.

In case of a vessel leaving Japan for foreign ports after

calling at various ports in Japan, the last port in Japan called at shall be deemed as the starting-point, and in case of a vessel coming from foreign countries to Japan, the first port called at in Japan as the last point.

In proof of the mileage navigated certificates issued by the local authorities of the ports called at shall be produced.

ARTICLE VII.—The Minister of Communications may issue an order to employ the vessel for which the certificate referred to in Article III. has been obtained for public service upon payment of reasonable compensation.

Should the owner be dissatisfied with the amount of compensation mentioned in the preceding clause, he may sue in the court within a period of three months from the date of receiving the notification.

The aforesaid lawsuit will not prevent the employment of the vessel referred to herein.

ARTICLE VIII.—Every owner of the vessel for which the certificate mentioned in Article III. has been obtained shall, at the order of the Minister of Communications, have to carry apprentices on board such vessel at his expense, within the limit of the following rate of number, and shall pay them such allowance as determined by the said Minister:

Gross Tonnage.	Number of Apprentices.
Above 1,000 and under 2,500	... 2
Above 2,500 and under 4,000	... 3
Above 4,000	... 4

ARTICLE IX.—Owners of the vessels for which the certificate mentioned in Article III. has been obtained are not allowed to employ foreigners in the head or branch offices, or as officers on board the said ships, without first obtaining the sanction of the Minister of Communications.

Should any vacancy in the officers be caused on board a vessel abroad, such vacancy may be filled up by the commander, but at the same time the certificate of the local authorities of the place where such an event takes place must be obtained.

In the event of having taken the aforesaid measure, the owner or master shall immediately seek the approval of the Minister of Communications.

ARTICLE X.—In the voyage undertaken by owners of the vessels for which the certificate mentioned in Article III. has been obtained, postal officers, mail matter, parcels and their accessories, shall be carried free of charge, if their conveyance be ordered by the Minister of Communications.

ARTICLE XI.—Owners of the vessels for which the certificate mentioned in Article III. has been obtained, or successors to their rights, are not permitted, either while employed on

voyages under the aid of this Act, or during a period of three years after the completion of such voyage, to sell, lend, exchange, give, pawn, or mortgage such vessels to any foreigner, except the bounty already received on said vessels be first returned, or in case of said vessels becoming unserviceable through natural calamity or any other irresistible force, or when the owners have the special permission of the Minister of Communications.

ARTICLE XII.—The Minister of Communications may issue necessary instructions in connection with the obligations laid down upon the owners of ships by this Act, directly to their representatives or to masters of such vessels.

ARTICLE XIII.—Any person who receives the bounty by means of fraud, or violates the provisions of Article II., shall be punished by imprisonment with hard labour for a period of not less than one year and not exceeding five years, with a fine of not less than 200 yen and not exceeding 1,000 yen.

Any person detected in his intention to commit the above offences shall be dealt with according to the provisions of the Criminal Code relating to the unconsummated infractions of law.

ARTICLE XIV.—Any person violating the provisions of Article IX., or acting in defiance of the instructions issued by the Minister of Communications in accordance with this Act, shall be liable to a penalty of not less than 20 yen, but not exceeding 500 yen.

ARTICLE XV.—The provisions of the Criminal Code relating to the concurrence of several infractions by the same person shall not be applied to a person violating this Act.

ARTICLE XVI.—Any person obtaining the bounty by means of fraud shall be ordered to refund all such amount as he unlawfully secured, and any person violating provisions of Article IX. shall be ordered to refund such amount as he has already received.

ARTICLE XVII.—The Minister of Communications is authorized to suspend the grant of the bounty to any shipowner violating this Act, as also in the case of violation of the Act by his representative, or by the master of his vessel, under the circumstances referred to in Article XII.

ARTICLE XVIII.—The rules of punishment mentioned in the preceding articles shall be applied in case of a commercial company to a managing member or director who is responsible for the acts mentioned in the respective articles.

ARTICLE XIX.—This Act shall be in force for a period of eighteen years, from the 1st October, 1896.

Since the operation of the Law for the Encouragement of Navigation, the number of steamships which have received the

bounty, their gross tonnage, the number of miles of their voyage, and the amount of the bounty which has been granted to them, in accordance with the said law, are as follows:

Fiscal Year.	Number of Ships.	Gross Tonnage.	Number of Nautical Miles of the Voyage.	Amount of Bounty. (Yen.)
30th (1897)	11	48,596	251,740	708,384
(1898)	24	115,102	771,647	2,508,802
(1899)	29	130,461	1,164,708	3,957,315
(1900)	18	74,530	543,906	1,188,761
(1901)	15	57,199	471,321	906,203

The names of steamships which held a valid certificate in September, 35th year of Meiji (1902), and for which the bounty is to be granted in accordance with the said law, their gross tonnage, their routes, and the names of their owners, are as follows:

Name of Ships.	Gross Tonnage.	Routes.	Owners.
Kiushiu-Maru.	3,853	—	The Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company).
Ryojun-Maru.	4,805	Hong Kong.	
Tosa-Maru.	5,823	Seattle Line.	
Idzumi-Maru.	3,229	Bombay Line.	
Akunoura-Maru.	1,717	Chinese Coast, Straits Settlements, and Australia.	The Mitsubishi Goshi-Kaisha (Mitsubishi Company).
Wakamatsu-Maru.	2,774		
Daiya-Maru.	2,795		
Atagosan-Maru.	2,043		
Asosan-Maru.	1,701	Ditto.	The Mitsui Busan Kaisha (Mitsui and Company).
Tsurugisan-Maru.	4,128		
Fujisan-Maru.	2,043		
Hikosan-Maru.	3,712		
Kelung-Maru.	1,669	Ditto.	The Osaka Shosen Kaisha (Osaka Mercantile Marine Company).

Between the years of 1899 and 1905 the yearly subsidies to be paid to the three leading steamship companies were approximately as follows:

Nippon Yusen Kaisha	4,696,324 yen.
Toyo Kisen Kaisha	1,013,880 yen.
Osaka Shosen Kaisha	994,943 yen.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES FOR MARINE ENTERPRISES.
(TAKEN FROM THE BUDGET OF 1901.)

	Yen.
Hokkaido Coastwise Navigation	170,061
Ogasawara Navigation	17,200
Minor Islands near Ogasawara	900
Oshima and other Islands off Kagoshima ...	18,000
Oki Navigation	6,000
Sakishima (Liu-Kiu)	10,000
Other Islands of Liu-Kiu	6,000
Navigation Encouragement Funds	797,766
Navigation Extension Funds	5,544,775
Shipbuilding Encouragement Funds	277,250
Education of Mariners	10,000
Life-saving Funds	20,000
Total	6,877,952

J.—THE SHIPBUILDING ENCOURAGEMENT LAW.

(*Enacted March*, 1896.)

ARTICLE I.—Japanese subjects, or mercantile companies of which the members or shareholders are exclusively Japanese subjects, engaging in the construction of ships at dockyards possessing the qualifications to be determined by the Minister of State for Communications, shall be entitled, in consideration of the ships so built, to the grant of shipbuilding encouragement bounty in accordance with the provisions of this law.

ARTICLE II.—Ships entitled to the bounty according to this law must be of iron or steel, with a gross tonnage of not less than 700 tons, and constructed under official supervision in accordance with the Shipbuilding Regulations to be determined by the Minister of State for Communications.

ARTICLE III.—The shipbuilding encouragement bounty shall be granted at the rate of 12 yen per ton gross in case of vessels of not less than 700 but less than 1,000 tons gross, and 20 yen per ton gross in case of and above 1,000 tons gross.

Where the engines are also manufactured, an additional bounty of 5 yen per indicated horse-power shall be granted.

The above-mentioned additional bounty shall also be granted in case the engines are manufactured at other works within Japanese dominions, provided the permission of the Minister of State for Communications shall have been first obtained.

ARTICLE IV.—In the construction of the hull and engines of ships for which the bounty is to be granted no foreign-made material should be employed, except in accordance with the regulations to be determined by the Minister of State for Communications.

ARTICLE V.—Anybody who has obtained shipbuilding encouragement bounty by fraud shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for not less than one year and not more than five years, with a fine of not less than 200 yen and not more than 1,000 yen. He shall further be required to refund the amount of the bounty fraudulently obtained.

Anybody who, while resolved to commit the offence mentioned in the preceding clause, has not yet consummated the act, shall be dealt with according to the provisions of the Criminal Code relating to unconsummated infractions of law.

ARTICLE VI.—The provisions of the Criminal Code relating to the concurrence of several offences by the same person shall not be applied to the infraction of the provisions of this law.

ARTICLE VII.—The punitive provisions of the two preceding articles shall apply, in case of mercantile companies, to the managing member or director responsible for the respective acts.

ARTICLE VIII.—This law shall be in force during a period of fifteen years from the 1st day of October, the 29th year of Meiji (1896).

Numbers, gross tonnage, and indicated horse-power of vessels for which the bounty has been granted in each fiscal year, according to the terms of the Law for the Encouragement of Shipbuilding, since the enforcement of the same law, are as follows:

Fiscal Year.	Where Built.	Number of Vessels.	Gross Tonnage.	Indicated Horse-power.	Bounty.
					Yen.
30th (1897) ...	Kawasaki Dockyard	1	727	877	13,109
31st (1898) ..	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	2	7,691	4,193	174,785
	Kawasaki Dockyard	1	1,694	1,042	39,090
32nd (1899) ...	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	2	8,026	5,452	187,780
33rd (1900) ...	Kawasaki Dockyard	2	3,822	4,084	96,860
	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	1	2,243	2,242	56,070
34th (1901) ...	Kawasaki Dockyard	3	2,950	3,105	68,645
	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	4	16,043	13,702	383,674
	Osaka Ironworks	2	3,644	3,411	89,935
	Tokyo Ishikawajima Dockyard	1	1,600	1,368	38,840
35th (1902) ...	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	2	5,569	4,645	134,605
Total	Kawasaki Dockyard	7	9,193	9,108	217,704
	Mitsu Bishi Dockyard	11	39,572	30,234	936,914
	Osaka Ironworks	2	3,644	3,411	89,935
	Tokyo Ishikawajima Dockyard	1	1,600	1,368	38,840
Grand Total	—	21	54,009	44,121	1,283,393

K.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION BUREAU

ARTICLE I.—The Revenue Administration Bureau shall, under the supervision of the Minister of State for Finance, transact all affairs relating to the internal revenue.

ARTICLE II.—Relates to the names, locations, and districts of each Revenue Administration Bureau as specified in a list annexed.

ARTICLE III.—Revenue officers shall be established at important places in the district of each Revenue Administration Bureau. The locations and jurisdictions of revenue officers shall be especially determined by Imperial ordinance.

ARTICLE IV.—The following officials shall be appointed in each Revenue Administration Bureau:

Director of the Bureau.	Clerks.
Chief Inspector.	Experts.

ARTICLE V.—The Director of the Bureau shall be of *Sonin* rank, and shall, under the directions of the Minister of State for Finance, execute the laws and ordinances pertaining to the internal revenue, and supervise all the affairs under his jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VI.—The Director of the Bureau shall superintend all his subordinate officers, and submit to the Minister of State for Finance the appointment and dismissal of such officers.

ARTICLE VII.—The chief tax-collector shall be of *Sonin* rank, and shall either supervise the affairs of internal revenue in the sections of the Bureau and the subordinate offices, under the instructions of the Director, or act as the chief of a revenue office specified by the Minister of State for Finance. The total number of chief tax-collectors shall be limited to 100 throughout all bureaus and offices.

ARTICLE VIII.—The clerks and the appraisers shall be of *Hannin* rank. Throughout all bureaus and offices there shall be 5,819 clerks and 375 appraisers. They shall be assigned either Revenue Administration Bureaus or Revenue Offices. Under the directions of chief officers, clerks shall transact general business and have charge of the accounts; and appraisers shall transact appraisement of *shurui* and other business relating to physical and chemical arts.

ARTICLE IX.—There shall be a chief at each revenue office, who shall be appointed either from among chief tax-collectors or clerks.

The chief of a revenue office shall, under the instructions of the Director of the Revenue Administration Bureau, transact all the affairs under its jurisdiction, and superintend all the subordinate officers in his office.

L.—TABLES RELATING TO THE LEGAL SYSTEM.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE, AS WELL AS OF JUDGES AND PUBLIC PROCURATORS, BELONGING TO EACH CLASS OF SUCH COURTS IN THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

Classification of the Courts of Justice.	Number of Courts.	Judges.	Public Procurators.	Average Population under the Jurisdiction of each Court.	Average Area under the Jurisdiction of each Court.
The Supreme Court	1	25	7	45,193,587	24998·80
Appeal Courts	7	121	29	6,456,227	3571·26
Local Courts	49	399	140	922,318	510·18
District Courts	310	557	159	145,786	80·64

NOTE.—The above figures represent the existing numbers at the end of December of the 34th year of Meiji (1901).

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES FOR THREE PAST YEARS IN THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

Kinds of Cases.	34th Year of Meiji (1901).	33rd Year of Meiji (1900).	32nd Year of Meiji (1899).
Total number of civil cases in the whole country	161,854	143,550	141,446
Total number of criminal cases in the whole country	183,562	172,321	169,834
Civil Cases:			
Original actions in local courts	34,289	30,547	28,315
Appeals to appeal courts or local courts	14,966	13,839	12,577
Last appeals to the supreme court or appeal courts	1,757	1,704	1,508
Criminal Cases:			
Original prosecutions in local courts	69,473	63,935	67,731
Appeals to appeal courts or local courts	15,006	11,943	8,090
Last appeals to the supreme court or appeal courts	2,694	2,298	2,083
District Courts Cases:			
Civil cases in first instance	128,194	978,830	99,046
Criminal cases in first instance	44,660	19,194	91,930

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF ACCUSED FOR THREE PAST YEARS, IN FAVOUR OF OR AGAINST WHOM JUDGMENTS HAVE BEEN PRONOUNCED IN FIRST INSTANCE IN THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

Nature of Cases.	34th Year of Meiji (1901).	33rd Year of Meiji (1900).	32nd Year of Meiji (1899).
Infractions of the penal code:			
Felonies	3,323	3,136	3,315
Misdemeanours	140,124	141,599	144,568
Contraventions	3,810	3,247	2,809
Infractions of other laws and regulations	61,041	51,315	50,441
Nature of felonies and misdemeanours committed:			
Offences against the public welfare	66,638	65,909	63,860
Offences against the person ...	10,612	10,536	11,038
Offences against property	66,197	68,290	72,985

TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF CONVICTS IN FIRST INSTANCE FOR THREE PAST YEARS IN THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN, CALCULATED ACCORDING TO THE NATURE OF THEIR PUNISHMENT.

Nature of Punishment.	34th Year of Meiji (1901).	33rd Year of Meiji (1900).	32nd Year of Meiji (1899).
Deaths	49	60	47
Penal servitudes	591	605	731
Confinements	1,419	1,399	1,378
Imprisonments	130,275	130,790	132,810
Attachments	2,388	2,308	2,239
Fines	44,066	36,093	34,403
Fines of the police	12,955	11,140	11,529

M.—THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PUNISHED ANNUALLY BY DISCIPLINE

TABLE I.

ANNUAL NUMBER OF NEWLY-IMPRISONED CONVICTS FOR SEVENTEEN RETROSPECTIVE YEARS FROM 1900 TO 1884 INCLUSIVE

Year.	Annual Number of Newly-imprisoned Convicts.	Number of Newly-imprisoned Convicts per 1,000 Persons.
1900	160,269	3·62
1899	151,425	3·46
1898	182,280	4·22
1897	180,656	4·23
1896	175,634	4·15
1895	175,264	4·19
1894	188,494	4·55
1893	178,217	4·34
1892	170,572	4·19
1891	157,570	3·90
1890	138,501	3·45
1889	102,123	2·58
1888	102,641	2·63
1887	124,586	3·24
1886	151,507	3·97
1885	167,108	4·41
1884	153,812	4·11

NOTE.

1. The general population prior to 1887 is that of the 1st of January in each year. The general population subsequent to 1887 is that of the inhabitants at the end of the previous year.

2. The figures in this table include all cases of felonies, misdemeanours, and contraventions where the penalty of loss of liberty has been enforced.

3. The increase in number of newly-imprisoned convicts for the three years from 1884 to 1886 is probably due to the enforcement of Articles 260 and 261 of the Penal Code with reference to gamblers, which placed the punishment of such offenders in the hands of the Executive Police Authorities in 1884.

The decrease of criminals in 1888 and 1889 is traceable to the remarkable decrease of offenders against property as the natural outcome of the increase in corn products and other favourable conditions of commerce and industry during those two years. But misfortunes followed this happy condition of affairs, and the result is shown in the gradual increase of criminals from 1890 for the following six years. The offences during this period showing increase are mainly those against property or the public morals.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PUNISHED BY DISCIPLINES, AND OF GENERAL INMATES OF PRISONS FOR 1899 AND 1900.

Distinction of Prison Inmates Punished by Discipline.	Nature of Disciplinary Penalties.	1899.						1900.					
		Annual Number of Inmates Punished by Discipline.			Number of Inmates Punished by Discipline among 100 of Daily Average Population of Prisons.			Annual Number of Inmates Punished by Discipline.			Number of Inmates Punished by Discipline among 100 of Daily Average Population of Prisons.		
		Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Condemned criminal inmates under the Penal Code and other laws	Condemned to solitary confinement in detached cells	360	117	477	0·7	0·5	0·6	519	11	530	1·1	0·3	0·7
	Condemned to the reduction of food	36,641	1,524	38,165	71·5	40·6	69·4	32,902	1,203	34,105	68·3	35·3	66·1
	Condemned to solitary confinement in dark rooms	1,242	36	1,278	2·4	1·0	2·2	1,411	30	1,441	2·9	0·9	2·8
	Condemned to solitary living in special rooms	14	—	14	0	—	0	31	—	31	0·1	—	0·1
	Total	38,257	1,577	39,834	74·6	42·1	72·4	34,863	1,244	36,107	72·3	36·5	64·4
Non-condemned children under correction.. ..	Condemned to the reduction of food	130	5	135	77·4	29·4	73·0	83	1	84	58·5	5·9	52·8
	Condemned to solitary living in special rooms	13	—	13	7·7	—	7·7	10	2	12	7·0	11·8	7·5
	Total	143	5	148	85·1	29·4	80·1	93	3	96	65·5	17·6	60·4
Ex-convicts in special penitentiary establishments having no residence outside ..	Condemned to the reduction of food	1,259	44	1,303	106·0	50·6	102·3	672	44	716	83·9	66·7	82·6
	General Total ..	39,659	1,626	41,285	75·4	42·2	73·1	35,628	1,291	36,919	72·5	36·9	70·1

TABLE II.—ANNUAL POPULATION OF PRISONS AT THE END OF EACH YEAR FOR TWENTY RETROSPECTIVE YEARS, FROM 1901 TO 1882 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Prisoners.	Non-condemned Children under Correction.	Accused Persons.	Ex-convicts in Special Penitentiary Establishments having no Residence outside.	Babies.	Total.	Percentage for Twenty Years.					
							Prisoners.	Non-condemned Children under Correction.	Accused Persons.	Ex-convicts in Special Penitentiary Establishments having no Residence outside.	Babies.	General Average.
1901	49,579	152	8,058	998	93	58,880						
1900	49,260	144	7,275	923	100	57,702						
1899	50,576	174	6,287	1,008	102	58,147						
1898	58,918	213	9,395	1,774	332	70,632						
1897	57,127	185	10,050	1,551	352	69,265						
Average for 5 years	53,092	174	8,213	1,251	196	62,925	93·8	91·6	86·3	82·3	69·8	91·1
1896	64,287	157	9,202	1,436	341	75,423						
1895	65,234	209	10,070	1,694	344	77,551						
1894	67,261	252	10,895	2,192	401	81,001						
1893	65,617	230	11,243	1,693	392	79,175						
1892	64,153	244	9,292	2,001	367	76,057						
Average for 5 years	65,310	218	10,140	1,803	369	77,847	115·5	114·7	106·6	118·6	131·3	114·4
1891	61,595	274	9,728	1,656	341	73,594						
1890	57,615	258	9,378	1,829	366	69,446						
1889	54,408	231	8,173	850	346	64,008						
1888	54,126	173	5,466	1,064	228	61,057						
1887	55,688	179	6,542	1,419	222	64,080						
Average for 5 years	56,686	223	7,857	1,364	301	66,431	100·2	117·4	82·6	89·7	107·1	97·6
1886	61,121	217	8,560	1,920	272	72,090						
1885	63,338	169	12,278	2,540	355	78,680						
1884	55,517	124	14,191	1,867	320	72,019						
1883	42,257	119	14,322	1,237	202	58,137						
1882	33,351	105	9,848	782	147	44,205						
Average for 5 years	51,117	147	11,840	1,663	260	65,026	90·4	77·4	124·5	109·4	92·5	95·5
Average for 20 years	56,551	190	9,513	1,520	281		100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

NOTE.—The considerable increase of babies after 1900 is the result of an amendment of Prison Regulations restricting the age of admittable children to that of less than one year instead of less than three years, as in the old provisions.

In 1899 the tendency was towards a gradual decrease, the result, no doubt, of strong measures taken at that time against petty crimes, the number of thefts, in particular, having become much less since that date.

TABLE III.—CLASSIFICATION OF FELONS, MISDEMEANANTS, AND CONTRAVENERS AMONGST THE ANNUAL NUMBER OF NEWLY-IMPRISONED CONVICTS FOR THIRTEEN RETROSPECTIVE YEARS, FROM 1900 TO 1888 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Felons.			Deaths among 100 Felons.	Felons among 100 Convicts newly imprisoned.	Misdemeanants.	Misdemeanants among 100 Convicts newly imprisoned.	Contraveners.	Contraveners among 100 Convicts newly imprisoned.
	Deaths.	Penal Servitudes, Transportations, Confinements, and Detentions.	Total.						
1900	34	1,513	1,547	2·2	1·0	113,165	70·6	45,557	28·4
1899	39	1,852	1,891	2·1	1·2	113,816	75·2	35,718	23·6
1898	39	2,028	2,067	1·9	1·1	145,367	79·8	34,846	19·1
1897	21	2,172	2,193	1·0	1·2	146,725	81·2	34,738	17·6
1896	73	1,709	1,782	4·1	1·0	141,443	80·5	32,409	18·5
1895	73	2,019	2,092	3·5	1·2	141,100	80·5	32,072	18·3
1894	53	2,026	2,079	2·5	1·1	154,324	81·9	32,091	17·0
1893	45	2,137	2,182	2·1	1·2	150,130	84·3	25,905	14·5
1892	52	2,247	2,299	2·3	1·3	144,598	84·8	23,675	13·9
1891	70	2,579	2,649	2·6	1·7	136,034	86·3	18,887	12·0
1890	39	2,008	2,047	1·9	1·5	124,287	89·7	12,167	8·8
1889	58	1,741	1,799	3·2	1·8	921,127	90·2	8,197	8·0
1888	72	2,369	2,441	2·9	2·4	95,101	92·6	5,099	5·0

NOTE.—1. The table shows us that, in the course of the past thirteen years, the number of serious offences has been gradually decreasing, while those of a more trivial nature have considerably increased; or, to be exact, in 1900 the number of felons amongst 100 newly-imprisoned convicts decreased by more than one-half, and that of misdemeanants amongst 100 newly-imprisoned convicts decreased by more than one-fifth, compared with the original numbers of both cases in 1888, while, on the contrary, it is an extraordinary fact that the number of contraveners increased to five times their original number in 1888.

2. The number of deaths varies, sometimes increasing and sometimes decreasing during the seven years from 1888 to 1895 inclusive. But they considerably increased in 1896 and 1897, the probable cause being the agitation of people during the war then waging between Japan and China. Since 1898, however, they have decreased in a greater degree.

TABLE IV.—NATURE OF SERIOUS OFFENCES INCURRING THE SENTENCES OF NEWLY-IMPRISONED CONVICTS FOR THIRTEEN RETROSPECTIVE YEARS, FROM 1900 TO 1888 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Offences against Property.			Offences against Persons.	Offences against the Public Morals.	Offences against the Public Peace.	Offences against the Public Trust.
	Clandestine Robberies.	Other Offences.	Total.				
1900	36,763	13,667	50,430	7,432	59,357	7,299	2,504
1899	38,699	15,871	54,570	7,590	36,606	7,384	3,115
1898	55,670	21,498	77,168	9,353	44,147	8,835	3,304
1897	54,750	21,152	75,902	9,983	47,818	10,165	3,288
1896	52,278	19,906	72,184	9,227	47,238	9,661	2,947
1895	55,222	19,654	74,876	8,628	42,500	10,025	3,250
1894	64,912	21,373	86,285	9,897	43,316	10,498	3,089
1893	62,670	20,221	82,891	9,070	43,803	10,300	2,749
1892	62,957	19,511	82,468	7,909	40,612	9,677	2,788
1891	61,876	17,446	79,322	7,106	36,717	9,407	2,418
1890	57,786	17,066	74,852	6,222	32,076	7,821	1,895
1889	37,008	13,164	50,172	5,299	26,150	5,970	1,469
1888	35,793	13,250	49,043	5,142	28,635	6,549	1,798

N.—FORMOSAN STATISTICS

I. FINANCIAL CONDITIONS, 1896-1901.

EXPENDITURE.

	£
Total expenditure apart from military expenses :	
1896	965,000
1897	1,049,000
1898	1,197,000
1899	1,791,000
1900	2,330,000
1901	2,454,000
	£9,786,000

REVENUE.

	£	£
(*a*) Total revenue collected in Formosa :		
1896 ..	271,000	
1897 ..	532,000	
1898 ..	825,000	
1899 ..	1,175,000	
1900 ..	1,490,000	
1901 ..	1,637,000	
		5,930,000
(*b*) Subsidy from Home Government :		
1896 ..	694,000	
1897 ..	596,000	
1898 ..	398,000	
1899 ..	300,000	
1900 ..	260,000	
1901 ..	238,000	
		2,486,000
(*c*) Formosan Public Works Loan		1,370,000
		£9,786,900

This expenditure was incurred under the heads of:

	£
Railway, Harbour, and Public Works ..	3,072,000
Prosecution of Government Monopolies ..	2,315,000
Civil Service various Departments ..	4,399,000
	£9,786,000

The proceeds of this Public Loan of £3,072,000 were apportioned to the various public works in the island as follows:

	£
To Railway Construction	900,000
To Cadastration	170,000
To Harbour Works	195,000
To Government Buildings	40,000
To Prisons	65,000
	£1,370,000

II. Formosan Trade Returns.

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Foreign trade:	£	£	£	£	£
Imports ..	1,266,000	1,687,000	1,428,000	1,357,000	970,000
Exports ..	1,276,000	1,283,000	1,111,000	1,057,000	1,188,000
Interstate trade:					
Imports ..	374,000	428,000	802,000	845,000	912,000
Exports ..	211,000	420,000	378,000	468,000	872,000
Totals:					
Imports ..	1,640,000	2,115,000	2,230,000	2,202,000	1,882,000
Exports ..	1,487,000	1,703,000	1,489,000	1,525,000	2,060,000

III. Subsidy from Home Government Compared with Profits on Interstate Trade Accruing to the Mother Country.

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Subsidy from Home Government ..	£ 1,290,000	£ 398,000	£ 300,000	£ 260,000	£ 238,000
Profits accruing to Home Government	88,000	127,000	183,000	249,000	324,000
Balance against Formosa	1,202,000	271,000	117,000	11,000	—
Balance in favour of Formosa	—	—	—	—	86,000

IV. The Original Twenty Years' Scheme Compared with the Later Proposal.

Under Baron Kodama's proposal in 1898, the annual revenues and expenditures upon which he based his loan scheme of 3½ millions sterling was to be calculated as shown below. The later scheme of 1902 provides for its extinction in 1922, instead of 1918, as also shown.

	Revenue.			Expenditure.		
	Estimated Receipts per Annum.			Estimated Yearly Expenditure.		
	Under Original Scheme.	Under New Scheme.	Increase.	Under Original Scheme.	Under New Scheme.	Increase.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1899 ..	1,271	—	—	1,215	—	—
1900 ..	1,226	—	—	1,190	—	—
1901 ..	1,224	—	—	1,156	—	—
1902 ..	1,250	1,511	261	1,167	1,418	251
1903 ..	1,278	1,589	311	1,167	1,450	283
1904 ..	1,404	1,687	283	1,175	1,482	307
1905 ..	1,454	1,815	361	1,209	1,495	286
1906 ..	1,473	1,875	402	1,211	1,516	305
1907 ..	1,490	1,889	399	1,210	1,529	310
1908 ..	1,510	1,904	394	1,214	1,525	311
1909 ..	1,540	1,932	392	1,248	1,517	269
1910 ..	1,476	1,900	424	1,204	1,511	307
1911 ..	1,517	1,905	388	1,217	1,504	293
1912 ..	1,563	1,888	325	1,220	1,401	181
1913 ..	1,615	1,906	291	1,231	1,382	151
1914 ..	1,673	1,895	222	1,244	1,367	123
1915 ..	1,739	1,914	175	1,258	1,351	93
1916 ..	1,813	1,925	112	1,276	1,335	59
1917 ..	1,839	1,916	77	1,273	1,314	41
1918 ..	1,867	1,920	53	1,271	1,308	37
1919 ..	—	1,924	—	—	1,302	—
1920 ..	—	1,911	—	—	1,297	—
1921 ..	—	1,923	—	—	1,293	—
1922 ..	—	1,928	—	—	1,282	—

The figures given represent, not units, but thousands.

V. The Extinction of the Loan under the New Twenty Years' Scheme is thus Provided For:

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus Revenue.	Amount devoted to Loan.	Balance remaining in Hand (Actual).
	(*a*) £	(*b*) £	(*c*) £	(*d*) £	£
1903 ..	1,589	1,450	139	138	178
1904 ..	1,687	1,482	205	204	468
1905 ..	1,815	1,495	320	291	28,828
1906 ..	1,875	1,516	359	320	38,506
1907 ..	1,889	1,529	360	340	19,023
1908 ..	1,904	1,525	379	360	18,447
1909 ..	1,932	1,517	415	376	38,099
1910 ..	1,900	1,511	389	389	176
1911 ..	1,905	1,504	401	398	2,895
1912 ..	1,888	1,401	487	480	6,791
1913 ..	1,906	1,382	524	523	401
1914 ..	1,895	1,367	528	525	1,656
1915 ..	1,914	1,351	563	556	7,155
1916 ..	1,925	1,335	590	589	585
1917 ..	1,916	1,314	602	601	772
1918 ..	1,920	1,308	612	607	497
1919 ..	1,924	1,302	622	621	460
1920 ..	1,919	1,297	622	615	6,636
1921 ..	1,923	1,293	630	627	3,971
1922 ..	1,928	1,282	646	638	7,268

The figures in columns *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* represent thousands.

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BILLING AND SONS, LIMITED, PRINTERS, GUILDFORD.

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Digitized with financial assistance from
Ms.Vaidehi Thakar
on 06 November, 2019